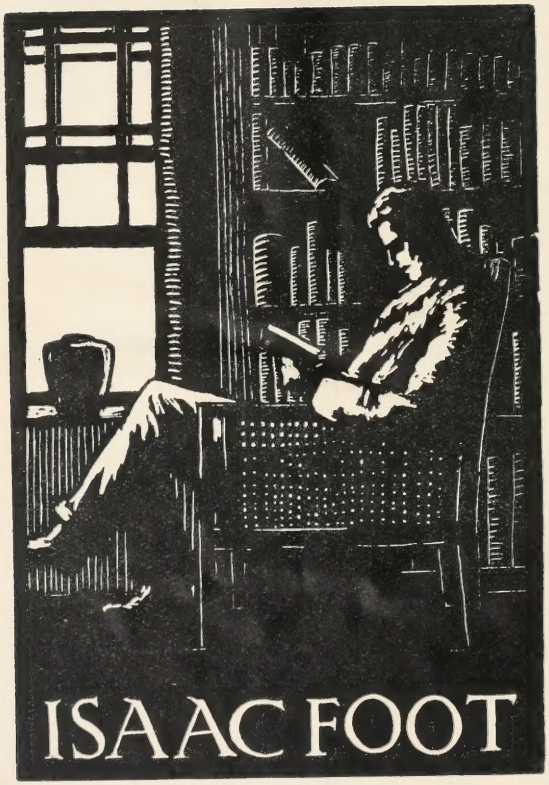
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A SHORT HISTORY OF EUROPE

FROM THE DISSOLUTION OF THE HOLY ROMAN EMPIRE
TO THE OUTBREAK OF THE GERMAN WAR

1806–1914

BY

CHARLES SANFORD TERRY

BURNETT-FLETCHER PROFESSOR OF HISTORY IN
THE UNIVERSITY OF ABERDEEN

LONDON
GEORGE ROUTLEDGE & SONS, LIMITED
NEW YORK: E. P. DUTTON & COMPANY
1915

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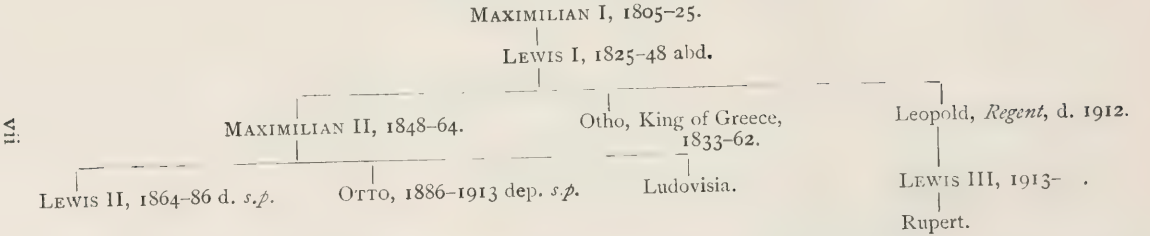
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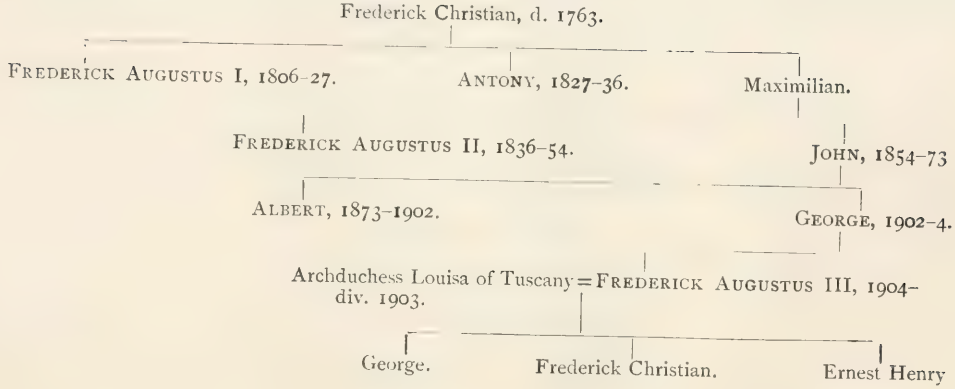
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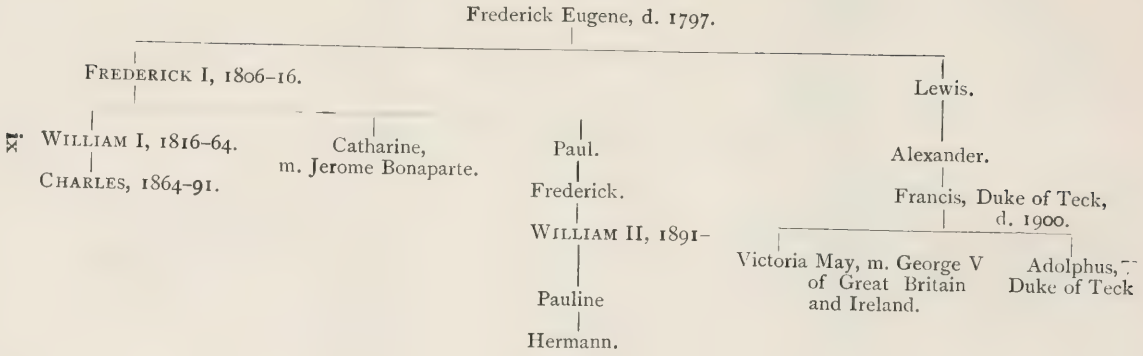


* Note.—Other tables for the period 1815–70 will be found in vol. ii. of this "Short History of Europe." They illustrate France (Bourbon and Orleans), 1589–1848; France (Bonaparte); Austria, 1493–1914; Spain, 1700–1914; Denmark, 1448–1914; Sweden, 1523–1914; Portugal, 1640–1910; the Netherlands, 1609–1914; Russia, 1462–1914; Prussia, 1417–1914.

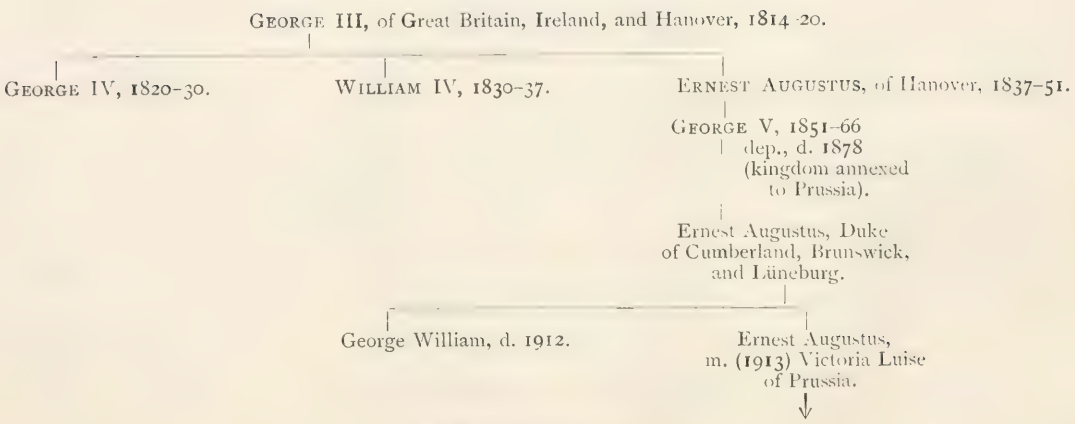
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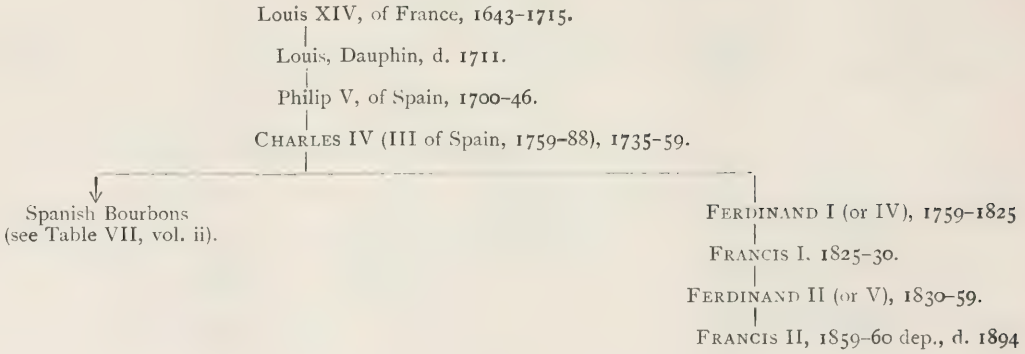


IV. HANOVER (GUELF)*

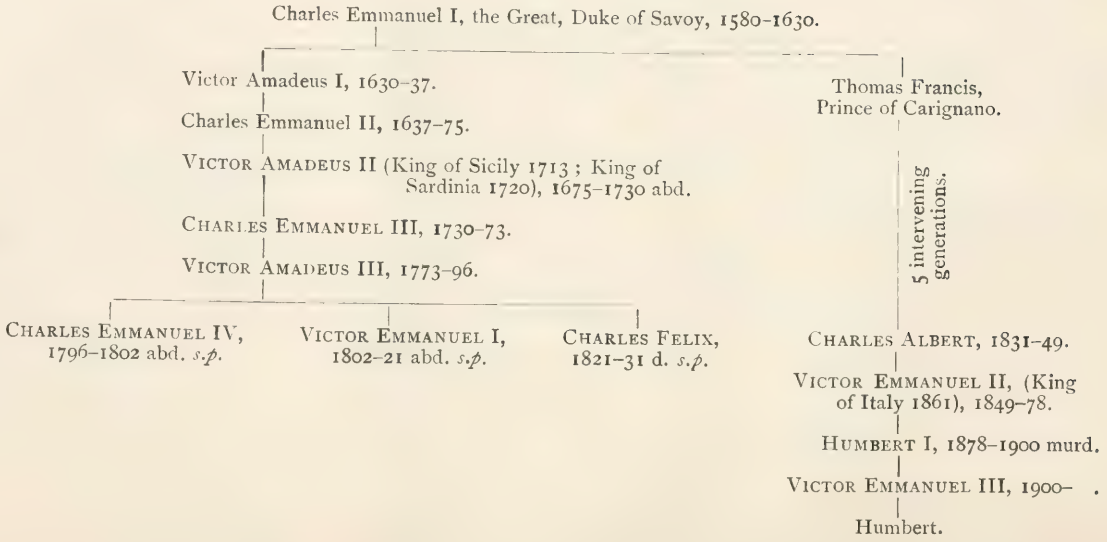


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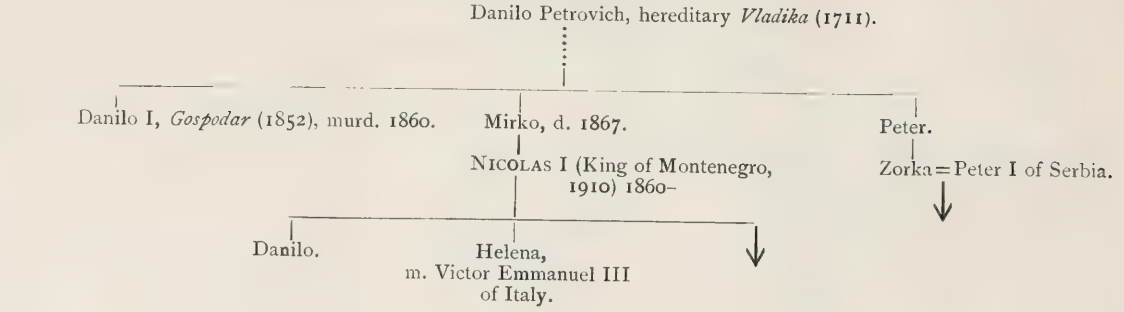
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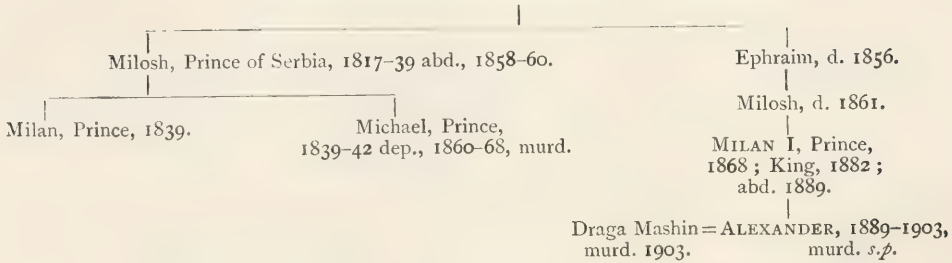
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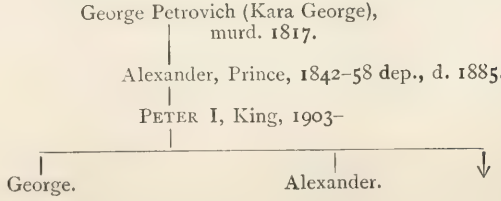
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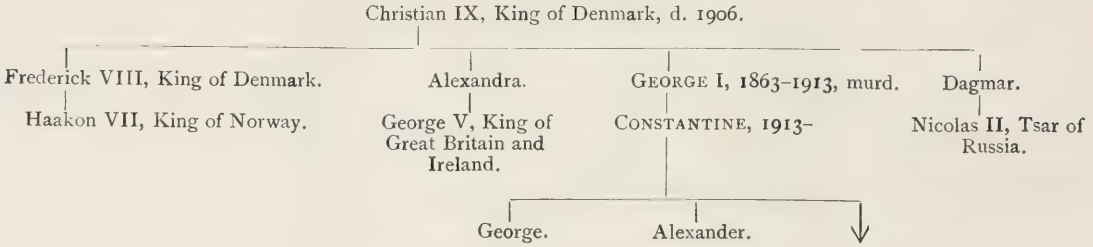
VIIIA. SERBIA (OBRENOVICH)



VIIIB. SERBIA (KARAGEORGEVICH)



IX. GREECE (SCHLESWIG-HOLSTEIN-SONDERBURG-GLÜCKSBURG)



X. BULGARIA (COBURG)

Louis Philippe, King of France, 1830–48.

Clementina = Augustus, Prince of Coburg.

FERDINAND I (Prince of Bulgaria, 1887; King, 1908), 1887–

Boris

Cyril

XI. ALBANIA (WIED)

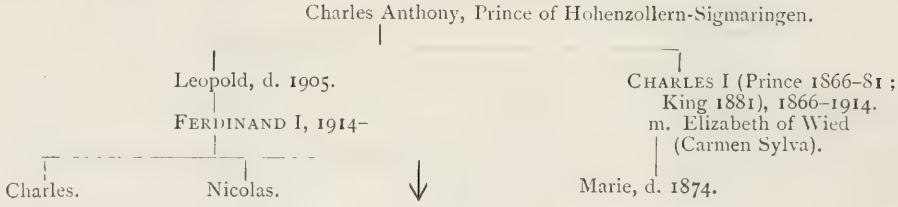
Hermann, Prinz von Wied, d. 1864

Elizabeth (Carmen Sylva) = Charles I, of Roumania, d. 1914.

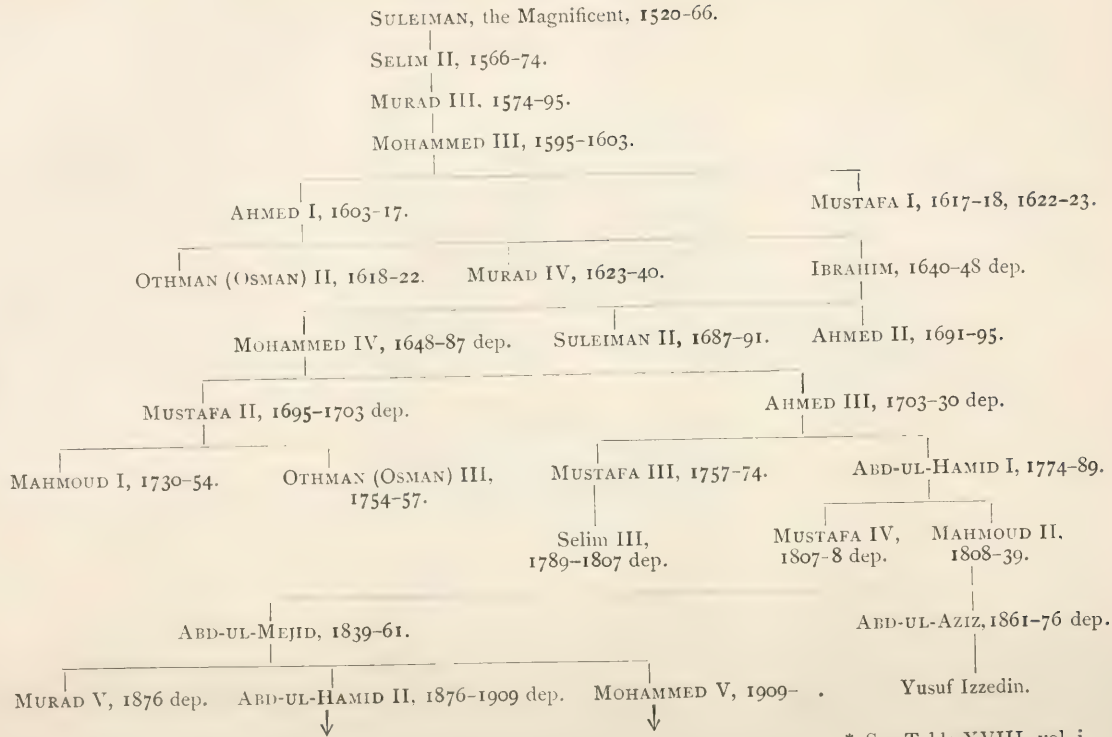
William, d. 1907.

WILLIAM, Mpret of Albania, 1914.

XII. ROUMANIA (HOHENZOLLERN-SIGMARINGEN)

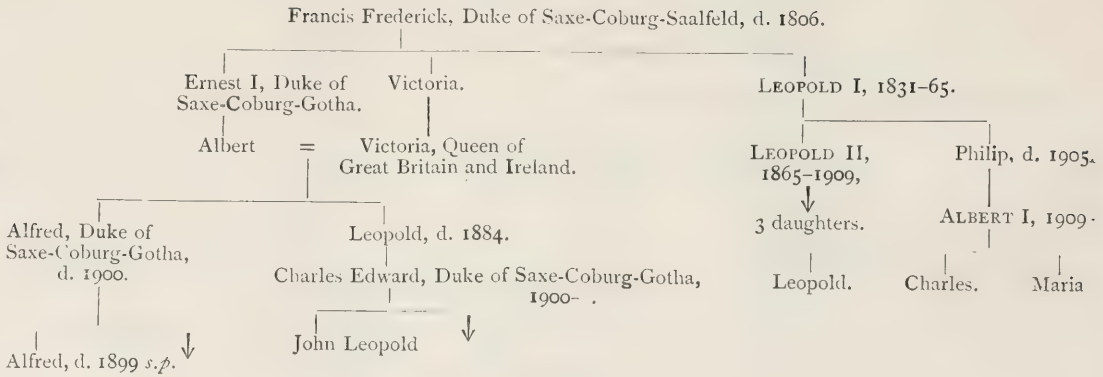


XIII. TURKEY *

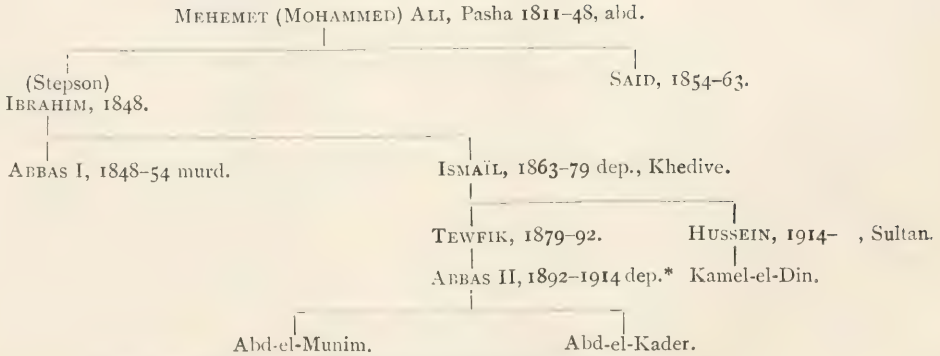


* See Table XVIII, vol. i.

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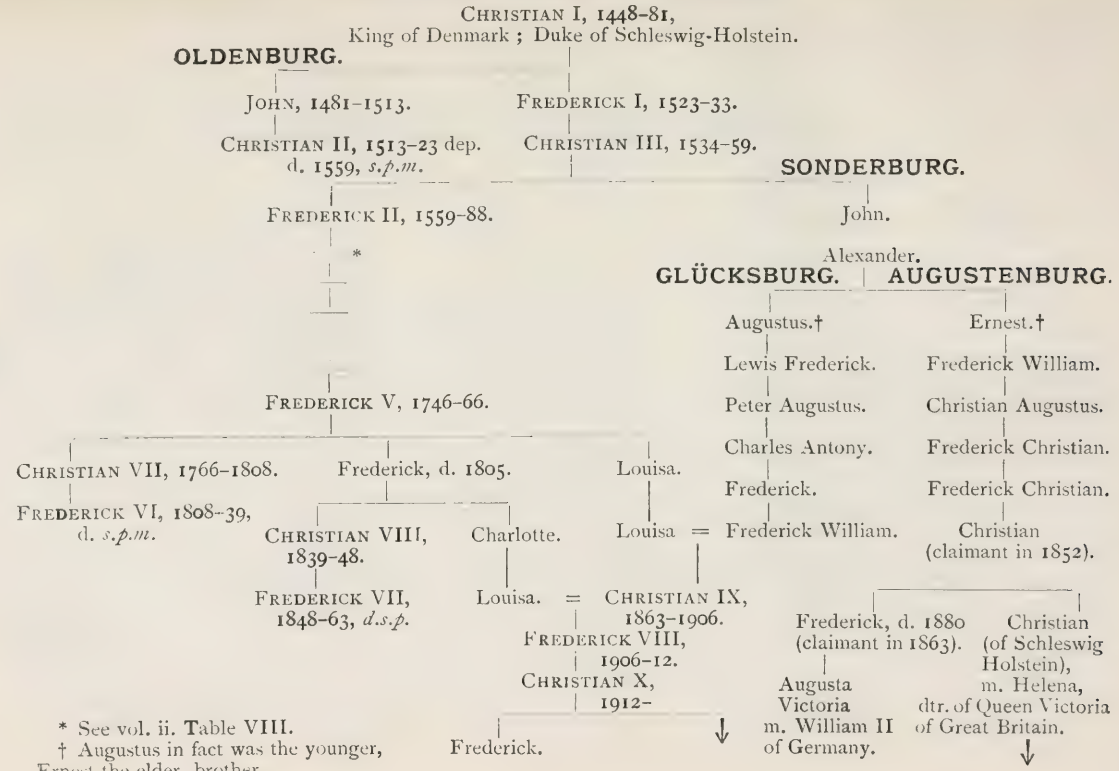


XV. EGYPT (MOHAMMED ALI)



* Egypt was proclaimed a British Protectorate on December 17, 1914

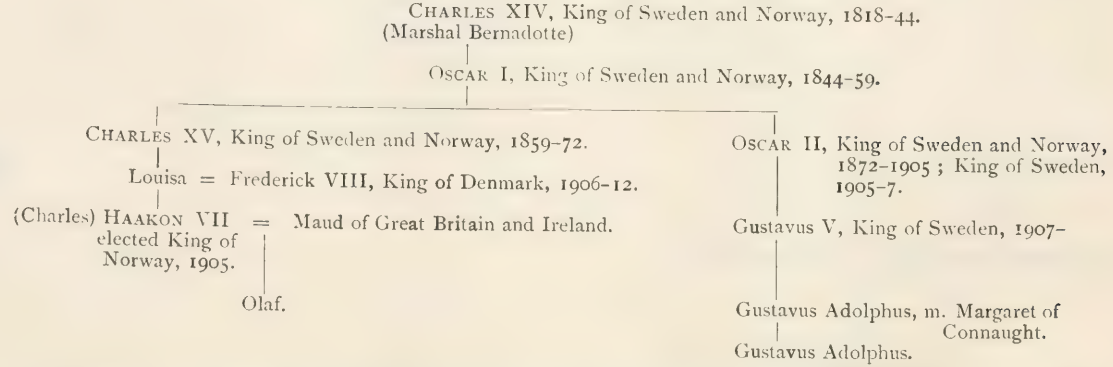
XVI. DENMARK, SCHLESWIG-HOLSTEIN, SONDERBURG-GLUCKSBURG, AUGUSTENBURG (OLDENBURG)



* See vol. ii. Table VIII.

† Augustus in fact was the younger, Ernest the elder, brother.

XVII. NORWAY (BERNADOTTE: SONDERBURG-GLÜCKSBURG).*



* From 1814-1905 Norway was united to Sweden. From 1818-1905 the conjoined Kingdoms were ruled by the House of Bernadotte. In 1905 the Norwegian Crown passed to the House of Sonderburg-Glücksburg.

THE OUTLINE

Peace and War

In build and consequence the nineteenth century (1815–1914) differs from its immediate predecessors. On the whole it provided an expanse of international calm. It inherited a legacy of strife from the eighteenth century, laid the foundations of a settlement rapidly (1815), and thereafter gave Europe international quiet for a generation. The Crimean War (1854–6), breaking in upon a peace of almost unprecedented duration, inaugurated the century's brief storm-period, which disturbed seventeen years (1854–71) in five short outbreaks :—the Crimean War (1854-6), which engaged France, Great Britain, Russia, Turkey, and Sardinia ; the Italian War (1859), which involved France, Austria, and Sardinia ; the Danish War (1864), in which Denmark, Prussia, Austria, and the Germanic *Bund* took part ; the Austro-Prussian War (1866), in which the protagonists were joined by the Germanic *Bund* and Italy ; and the Franco-German War (1870–1), in which France was opposed by the North German *Bund*, Würtemberg, Bavaria, and Baden. The combatants in the brief war-cycle were, principally, France and the German States. But all the Powers were belligerent, and Russia contributed a prologue and epilogue to the main cycle—Turkey being her enemy in both—which belong less to the general life of Europe than to the stubborn Eastern Question, whose consideration the Powers shirked in 1815, and of which the Treaty of Berlin (1878) afforded a tentative solution merely.

Upon the conclusion of the Franco-German War in 1871, the international life of Europe settled again to a calm which, persisting for forty-three years, was broken by the German *Zweikaiserkrieg* of 1914. The interval witnessed the premature

building of a Palace of Peace, constructed in the mistaken hope that European Democracy no longer would tolerate war, which conscription and the horrid ingenuity of science had made so destructive that its incidence was deemed impossible, at least between the Powers. The latter, none the less, continued to amass armaments on a scale unprecedented, and to condone and even glorify them as the surest foundation of peace. Yet, during the forty-three years, only two Powers drew the sword in Europe—Russia in 1877, and Italy in 1911. Both challenged Turkey, and successfully. Otherwise the wars of 1871–1914 were between the Balkan States—the Serbo-Bulgar War of 1882; the Greeco-Turkish, or Thirty Days' War, of 1897; and the Balkan War of 1912–3. Outside Europe, only Spain, Great Britain, and Russia fought campaigns of magnitude—Spain against the United States of America in 1898, Great Britain against the South African Boer Republics in 1899–1902, and Russia against Japan in 1904–5.

The settlement of 1871 introduced incendiary materials into the European system. France, conquered and robbed, cherished, as Gambetta adjured her, a "policy of recollection." If necessary strategically, the rape of Alsace-Lorraine was a political blunder for which Germany paid dearly:—"You can't mutilate a great country with impunity," Bismarck gave warning. The event circumscribed the policy of the young Empire and hampered seriously the development of its larger ambitions. The Franco-German War also brought the Kingdom of Italy to a tardy birth, with interests as a Mediterranean Power which from the outset threatened complications with France, and in the Adriatic and *Italia irredenta* inherited difficult relations with Austria-Hungary.

The German Empire

The governing fact in the international life of Europe after 1871 is the emergence then of a unified mid-Continental State with an external policy of its own and material power to enforce it. The circumstance was novel to the experience of Christendom. Medieval Germany never seriously menaced her neighbours; the "monstrous complication" of her political geography—Napoleon III's phrase—forbade a policy of aggression. The Germanic Confederation (*Deutscher Bund*),

into which Germany was regulated at Vienna (1815), was not more effectual than the Holy Roman Empire (*Deutsches Reich*) as the instrument of an assertive or national policy. For more than a thousand years, in fact, Central Europe had shown no ability to repeat the menace of that primitive time when, in the present Kaiser's words, " the sceptre of the Caesars slipped from the feeble grasp of their successors, and the Germans, flushed with victory and unspoiled in spirit, diverted the history of mankind into a new channel which it has followed ever since." The Crusades were the effort rather of the Latin peoples. Spain was *dominator rerum* in the sixteenth century. France took her place in the seventeenth and retained it in the eighteenth, under Louis XIV at the beginning, under Bonaparte at the end. Prussia, midway between the two supremacies, rattled the sabre in characteristic pose under Frederick the Great. But her activities were local and brief. It was France, again, who drew Europe at her heels in the nineteenth century.

But the foundation of the German Empire in 1871 gave Central Europe a structure and potential assertiveness it so far had not possessed. Victory over France justified the Empire's claim to be the leading military State, though it proclaimed its outlook pacific as loudly as Napoleon III. It rapidly reproduced the characteristics of its Prussian god-parent: a dull and unimaginative militarism, the pursuit of *Machtpolitik*, and frank unscrupulousness in pushing State interests. In the very method of its creation the Empire was, as its first Kaiser called it, *ein erweitertes Preussen*, fashioned in *Eisen und Blut*. Calculated aggression secured every stage of its growth, from the theft of Schleswig-Holstein in 1864 to the robbery of Alsace-Lorraine in 1871. The Germany of Goethe, Schiller, Bach, Beethoven, Voltaire's idealist Germany that " ruled the air," vanished under Prussian domination and *Realpolitik*. A new Germany took its place, *sans passions généreuses*, said a French observer in 1870; absorbed in the achievement of material prosperity and power, holding war the providential instrument of policy, actually preaching it as " an ordinance of God " (Heinrich von Treitschke) at a time when older nations held it the discredited survival of barbarism, planning and waging it with an unscrupulousness unknown in Europe since Germany's earlier exhibition of

barbarism in her own Thirty Years' War. Tardily Europe realized that the nineteenth century was passing on to the twentieth the legacy itself had received from the eighteenth, and that Prussian ambition was inflating Germany to the hazardous flights of Louis XIV and Napoleon I, in the proud spirit of sixteenth century Spain's " The World sufficeth Us."

Actually, from May 10, 1871, when Germany made peace with France, to August 1, 1914, when she declared war upon Russia, her Empire did not break the peace of Europe. But she was the menacing force in five dangerous crises which threatened war : in 1875 and 1887, when her recent enemy's quick recovery tempted her to " bleed France white " ; in 1905, when the Kaiser swooped down upon Tangier to intimidate France ; in 1908, when mutual interests placed him " in shining armour " by Austria's side in challenge of Russia ; and in 1911, when Germany's brow-beating *politik* had its first rebuff at Agadir. For a generation before the German Empire drew sword in 1914, it pursued a calculated system of menace and provocation, shaking its " mailed fist " in the face of its neighbours, and exhibiting the bullying manners of its Prussian tutor.

After the fall of Bismarck in 1890, Germany's determination to overthrow the international system of which she was the youngest member became more apparent. The Triple Alliance, formed (1879–82) by Bismarck as a shield against France, was used by his successors to promote the interests of the Germanies by aggressive means. In North Africa, South Africa, and South America, German policy sought the " place in the sun " from which, a suspicious and uneasy disposition convinced her, her neighbours were conspiring to exclude her. Eventually she turned to Asia Minor, with an eye upon the Persian Gulf, and, beyond it, to India. She embraced decadent Turkey, proclaimed her a " natural ally " in her projected expansion, buttressed Austria-Hungary's feud with the Serbs of the Balkans, and stood ostentatiously aloof from Europe's effort to mitigate the barbarities of Turkish rule. Meanwhile, her Navy Law of 1898 carried ultimate challenge to Great Britain, whose aversion from her own pipe-clay, bureaucratic *Kultur* misled Germany to disregard and deride her as decadent. Within a generation of Bismarck's death Germany seemed to Europe, as Frederick William IV's Testament appeared to his

great-nephew the third Kaiser, " a barrel of gunpowder " in the international basement. Established interests were challenged on all sides. The Balkan situation was permitted to remain unsettled precisely because the Germanies held Turkey " a useful and important link in the chain of [their] political relations " (Prince von Bülow). Even Italy, a member of the *Dreibund*, showed increasing unwillingness to follow her domineering ally. Russia joined France in an attitude of suspicion which developed to a close *entente* in 1897, when the two countries became " friendly and allied." France and Great Britain adjusted their Egyptian differences, and in 1904 formed an *entente cordiale*, as once before they had done when Louis Philippe was on the throne of France. Later, in 1907, Great Britain and Russia composed their quarrels in Afghanistan and Persia. With that event the new alignment of Europe was complete. A Triple Alliance faced a Triple *Entente* which Germany's blustering policy had conjured out of a situation originally entirely favourable to herself. For seven years the two alliances faced each other in gathering suspicion, the Germanies using the Balkans as the anvil of their policies. In 1908 and 1911 war was avoided only by the refusal of Russia, in the first case, to accept Germany's challenge, and by the failure of Germany herself, in the second case, to take up the gage she had thrown down to Great Britain. In 1913 the victory of the Balkan League over Turkey threatened ruin to the plans of the Central Powers. They succeeded in mitigating somewhat the severity of the blow which simultaneously battered Turkey, their main hope, and exalted Serbia, their chief foe. But the larger rivalry which divided Europe could be concealed no longer behind the cover of Balkan politics. Hence, when Serbia in 1914 once more threw herself across Austria-Hungary's path, the quarrel was not permitted to remain local. Germany decreed the moment arrived to strike for her " position in the world," and " armed peace " gave place to a more candid state of war.

Liberalism and Constitutionalism

Upon the domestic history of Europe the hundred years 1815–1914 left an impress deeper than that produced by any era since the Reformation. Violent and general commotion,

revolutions, civil wars, and national risings recurred in detached periods of agitation (1820–3, 1830–5, 1847-50, 1859–71). France, pioneer of revolution, changed her Constitution four times (1830, 1848, 1852, 1875), expelled two kings, (1830, 1848), and overthrew an Empire (1870). Her Peninsular neighbours were hardly less disturbed. Portugal lost Brazil in 1825, plunged into civil war in 1832, expelled the House of Braganza in 1910, and proclaimed herself a Republic. Spain, like Portugal, lost what remained to her of the New World conquests of her heroic era. Civil war racked her upon the death of Ferdinand VII in 1833. She succumbed to a military revolution in 1854, overthrew the Bourbon monarchy in 1868, adopted a Republic in 1873, and upon the restoration of Alfonso XII in 1874 settled at length to domestic quietude under a Constitutional Monarchy. In Italy union, achieved in 1870, extinguished all but one (Sardinia) of the States restored in 1815 (the Kingdoms of Sardinia and the Two Sicilies, the Grand-Duchy of Tuscany, the Duchies of Parma, Modena, and Lucca), and swept away the surviving relic of the Temporal Power of the Church. In Germany the settlement of 1815 survived for half a century. The *Deutsche Bund* fell in 1867, and the *Norddeutsche Bund* four years later, in 1871. Austria was expelled from the German system in the process. In Switzerland deep seated differences culminated in the *Sonderbund* War of 1847. The Kingdom of Belgium, incongruously linked with Holland in 1815, gained independence after a revolution in 1830, Holland protesting to the extremity of war (1831). In the Scandinavian system, Norway, torn from Denmark and arbitrarily joined to Sweden in 1814, established herself as an independent monarchy in 1905. Denmark experienced a dangerous dynastic crisis in 1863, and after two wars (1848–52, 1864) lost the Duchies of Holstein, Schleswig, and Lauenburg. Sweden severed her long connection with the House of Vasa in 1818, and in 1905 suffered the defection of Norway. Russia passed through the Terror of Nihilism towards Constitutionalism. Turkey staggered under a succession of revolutions which almost expelled her from Europe, which established Greece, Serbia, Bulgaria, Roumania, and Albania as independent States, and confirmed to Montenegro the freedom she never had abandoned.

In the course of the nineteenth century every European

country modified or replaced the political system under which it began the period, in many cases under the pressure of revolution. At the outset Great Britain and Hungary retained, and Sweden (1809), France (1814), Holland (1814), Norway (1814), Switzerland (1815), and Poland (1815) received Constitutions which associated an aristocratic representative Assembly with the Sovereign. Elsewhere the prevalent type of government was that of the eighteenth century—personal and hereditary rule, such as the Hohenzollern, Habsburg, and Romanoff dynasties exercised, based upon an asserted divine right. Its characters were invariable: a muzzled Press, the tyranny of stipendiary armies, and a close coalition between Court, landowning aristocracy, place-holders, and Church. Opposition was inarticulate, but found utterance spasmodically in the Universities, the Press, and in public agitation. Neither the lower middle class nor the peasantry was educated to an intelligent experience of public responsibility, and acquiesced passively in irresponsible tyranny. In Russia, Austria, Prussia, in most of the German States, in Spain, Portugal, and Italy, Absolutism of this type was rampant, the Sovereign being unfettered by limiting or restraining institutions.

Not until the third decade of the century approached did Liberalism breach the stubborn defences of Absolutism. But it was active almost simultaneously with the pacification of 1815. In Great Britain a Reform campaign, opening in 1816, was stifled by the "Six Acts" of 1819. In France a movement to widen the *pays légal* was inaugurated by the Electoral Law of 1817. In Germany the *Burschenschaft* Wartburg Festival (1817) betokened political unrest which the Carlsbad Decrees (1819) were summoned by Metternich to repress. Latin Europe was agitated violently. In 1820, Naples, Spain and Portugal, and in 1821 Sardinia, were shaken by revolutions against their Absolutist systems. But the Moral Directorate of Europe controlled by the Holy Alliance triumphed. Naples and Sardinia were coerced by Austria (1821), Spain by the French *Ultras* (1823). Portugal alone escaped reaction: a Constitution conferred by Dom Pedro in 1826 established there a limited Monarchy of the French (1814) type, which persisted until the Republic was proclaimed in 1910.

Excluded from power in 1815, European Liberalism became

a triumphant force in 1830. Its programme so far was moderate, Whiggish, non-Radical. In Absolutist countries it clamoured for a Constitution. In countries already converted to Constitutionalism it asserted the supremacy of the representative Chamber over its aristocratic partner, over the Sovereign, over his Executive. On the Continent it demanded Volunteer National Guards for the protection of popular liberties against stipendiary force; freedom of the Press; concession of the right of public meeting and association. It won its first victory in the French Revolution of 1830, repeated it in the Belgian Constitution of 1831, and in the English Reform Act of 1832. Simultaneously Switzerland entered upon her era of "Regeneration" (1830–47). Spain received an illiberal Parliamentary system in 1834. Elsewhere the example of the July Revolution was followed less successfully. Mazzini was expelled from Italy after the abortive movements of 1831. Poland's stroke for freedom cost her (1831) her Constitution. In Central, Eastern, and Southern Europe Absolutism remained impervious to the assaults of Liberalism. In South-Eastern Europe the Greek Constitution of 1844 was the pioneer of Liberal victory.

The Swiss *Sonderbund* War of 1847 signalled a political storm-period of greater intensity than that of 1830–5. Its motive force, as in 1830, came from France, where the establishment of the Second Republic in 1848 initiated it. Achieved by a coalition of Socialists and Radicals, the Revolution set up, suddenly and unexpectedly, the complete Democratic system—a Republic, universal suffrage, a single-Chamber sovereign Legislature, a free Press, liberty of public association, and a popular National Guard. Invigorated by the triumph, Liberalism forthwith assailed positions which as yet it had failed to breach. In Holland the Fundamental Law of 1848, promulgated under the menace of the Paris revolution, established a popularly elected Parliament, a responsible Ministry, and terminated the personal rule which the Constitution of 1814 had perpetuated. Belgium passed safely through the same crisis by adopting a new Fundamental Law (1848) which doubled the electorate, a reform extended in 1887 and 1896 to *suffrage universel plural*. Switzerland in the same year (1848) adopted her existing Democratic Constitution. In Italy the Sardinian *Statuto* of 1848

provided the basis of the Constitution of the present united kingdom and the conception of the lay Italian State, the efforts of Mazzini and the Democrats to found Republics in Rome and Central Italy (1849) being without permanent success. Denmark passed from the category of Absolutist into that of Constitutional Monarchies upon the grant of the short-lived Constitution of 1849, which established a limited hereditary Monarchy and a bicameral Diet (*Rigsdag*). In Germany, whose system was violently agitated by the eruption in France, revolutions in their capitals drove the Austrian and Prussian Sovereigns to accord Constitutions to their people. The Austrian Constitution (1849) was withdrawn in 1851. The Prussian Constitution (1850), carefully drafted to assist Hohenzollern Absolutism, survived.

Nine years (1850–9) of prevalent reaction followed, during which Absolutism, alarmed by Democratic Socialism's revelation of itself in 1848, organized universally a new force, Catholic or Clerical, ultra-Conservative, which drew support largely from the peasantry alarmed by the predatory doctrines of the Socialist "Reds," *les partageurs*. Supported by this credulous but powerful body of opinion, Louis Napoleon Bonaparte engineered in France the reaction which created the Second Empire in 1852. In Great Britain, where the Chartist demonstration of 1848 showed insular Liberalism in touch with the more formidable movements on the Continent, the last Whig Cabinet fell in 1852, and was followed by a succession of coalition and transition Ministries. Italy, outside the Kingdom of Sardinia, which held fast to the *Statuto* of 1848, relapsed into universal reaction and the illiberal domination of Absolutist Austria. In Spain the *Moderados* adopted an Absolutist programme in collusion with the Crown, the aristocracy, and the Church, and maintained it until the military revolution of 1854 gave the country to the *Progressistas*. Prussia, Austria, and the rest of Germany experienced a similar reaction. Only in Great Britain, Holland, Belgium, and Switzerland was Liberalism impregnably entrenched as yet; though the Prussian and Sardinian Constitutions, and France's endorsement (1848) of universal suffrage and popular sovereignty, marked significant progress elsewhere.

The century's war-period (1856–71) almost coincided with a counter-movement correcting the preceding reaction, though

the Nationalist wars of 1859–71 more accurately space it. European opinion was not converted yet to the extreme conclusions which France adopted in 1848. But it found the Absolutist *régime* neither reasonable nor tolerable, and, endorsing the Liberalism of 1830 rather than that of 1848, achieved a peaceful revolution which completed the political transformation of the Continent. Once more France led the van. Napoleon's gathering difficulties drew concessions which converted Imperial tyranny into a Liberal Empire in 1860, and in 1869 established the short-lived *Empire parlementaire*. Great Britain moved another step towards democracy in the Reform Act of 1867, and took yet another in 1884. The Scandinavian kingdoms also remodelled their Constitutions. Denmark, after losing the Elbe duchies in 1864, entered upon a political conflict from which emerged the democratic Constitution of 1866, by which the kingdom still is governed. In 1866 also Sweden transformed the old Diet, which represented her four social Orders, into a bicameral Parliament (*Riksdag*) based on popular suffrage. In Norway a later contest with the King (1872–84) released the 1814 Constitution's bicameral Assembly (*Storthing*) from its dependence on the Crown and established a Parliamentary system. Austria, chastened by misfortune in Italy and by financial distress, adventured a course of Constitutional experiment (1860–7) which produced the *Ausgleich* of 1867. Under it Hungary recovered her Parliamentary autonomy, briefly enjoyed in 1848, and Austria became a Constitutional Monarchy in form. Spain, after making experiments in 1837 and 1845, succumbed to a Progressist revolution in 1868, which overthrew the Bourbon dynasty and promulgated (1869) a democratic Constitution. It was superseded, upon the Bourbon restoration (1874), by that of 1876, which established a Liberal Constitutional Monarchy. Russia, under Tsar Alexander II, while once more repressing Poland (1863), entered upon a period of reform (1861–70) which paved the way for the summoning of a representative Assembly (*Duma*) in 1905. In the Balkans, Greece adopted her present democratic Constitution in 1864, a single-Chamber Assembly (*Boule*) elected by universal suffrage. Roumania's Constitution of 1866 (revised in 1884) established her as a Constitutional Monarchy. Serbia reconstructed her Constitution in

1869 (revised in 1889) on the European plan and converted her Assembly into a representative body (*Skupshtina*) elected on practically universal suffrage. Bulgaria in 1879 followed Serbia's example and received a single-Chamber Assembly (*Sobranje*) elected by universal suffrage. The small State of Montenegro established a legislating Council of State in 1879, and in 1905 adopted a Parliamentary Assembly.

Thus, within little more than half a century after the establishment of the Holy Alliance in 1815, Absolutism was almost driven from Europe, persisting as a survival only in Russia and Turkey, and in a disguised form in Central Europe. Elsewhere, excepting France and Portugal, which reverted to Republicanism in 1870 and 1910, Europe remained constant to political forms planted prior to the "armed peace" that followed the war-cycle of 1856–71.

The National Principle

In the external relations of the European States the impulse of Nationalism holds the place of Constitutionalism in their internal development, as the spring of activity and progress. Concisely, the principle of Nationality involves the conclusion that the State must conform in its boundaries to the symmetry of nationality, and that an alien *enclave* is justified in detaching itself either to independence or to another State congruous to itself racially. France and England developed the national idea early in the Middle Ages. It captured the Iberian kingdoms, the Netherlands, and Scandinavia in the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries, leaving only Central, Eastern, and South-Eastern Europe strange to it when the nineteenth century opened. The diplomatists assembled at Vienna in 1815, *inter alia* to effect "the regeneration of the political system of Europe" and "the reconstruction of the moral order," paid slighting regard to it. It was redolent of the French Revolution and anathema on that score. Austria, in particular, would hold no converse with it. Hence, in the settlement of 1815 it was disregarded on all hands. Norway was thrown, an unwilling sacrifice, to Sweden, Finland to Russia, Belgium to Holland, Upper Italy to Austria, Poland to her old spoilers, Sicily to Naples. Germany and Italy resumed their medieval and denationalized systems.

The international quarrels of the nineteenth century were rooted in varying soils. Some, like the Franco-German relations of 1871–1914, grew out of a violation of territorial rights. Some, for instance, the acute Austro-Prussian controversy of 1848–66, or the Austro-Italian quarrel of 1820–66, arose out of the political settlement of 1815. Others, instance the differences which held Great Britain aloof from France and Russia until the beginning of the twentieth century, and from 1890 onwards exacerbated the relations of Germany and her neighbours, sprang from competing economic Imperialisms, which, Europe being inadequate to satisfy its population, and other areas being appropriated already, impelled the States of Europe in the last quarter of the nineteenth century to keen rivalry in Africa, and Germany to her tireless courtship of decadent Turkey. Other quarrels, such as the wars of 1828–9, 1854–6, 1877–8, 1911–13, sprang in a measure from the stubborn Eastern Question.

More general as a provocative cause of international disagreement, and more deadly as the instigator of actual conflict, was the vitality of Nationalism throughout the century. British Imperialism, of which Beaconsfield was the founder, Pan-Germanism, and Pan-Slavism, three Titan forces which met in conflict in 1914, had their roots in it. The less tremendous warfare of the preceding hundred years hinged almost invariably on it. It inspired Greece to dare Turkey in 1821. It was the cry " Down with the Germans ! " in that year (1821) that initiated Sardinia's half-century's wrestle with Austria. It was the same enthusiasm, rekindled by the French Revolution of 1830, that heartened Belgium to denounce her partnership with Holland, Poland to challenge Russia, and Central Italy to raise the Tricolour in 1831. The aggressive war of the German *Bund* upon Denmark in 1848 was a manifestation of Pan-Germanism eager to attach to the Fatherland districts which racially were held to belong to it. The cry of submerged nationalities in some degree spurred Russia to provoke Turkey in 1854. It led Napoleon timidly into Italy in 1859. Even the wars deliberately engineered, with characteristic Prussian premeditation, by Bismarck in 1864, 1866, and 1870, were designed to stimulate Germany to a vivid national sense that should summon Prussia to the seat of polyglot Austria.

The very fact that Europe enjoyed so long a span of peace

after 1871 was due to the fact that over the larger part of the Continent by then the principle of Nationality was recognized, and the more flagrant violations of it perpetrated in 1815 had been corrected. Austria had been expelled from Italy, retaining, however, a foothold in Italian Tyrol about Trent, as well as in Trieste and Istria. Germany and Italy had broken down the restrictions imposed upon their political form in 1815 and were no longer mere "geographical expressions." Significantly, too, the most serious threat to the continuance of peace after 1871 grew out of violation of the national principle; for the rape of Alsace-Lorraine was a divorcing act of robbery, though it restored to the new *Reich* a portion of the territory of the old one. The Schleswig Danes also were immolated upon the altar of Prussian ambition in 1864. But their "policy of recollection" lacked France's intensity, and within a generation a daughter of Schleswig-Holstein was sharing the Kaiser's throne. Poland also endured passively the wrong done to her in 1815, and Norway tolerated her union with Sweden until 1905.

Hence, apart from Alsace-Lorraine, Europe's eruptive area from 1871 to 1914 was in the Balkans. And here, too, the impulse of Nationalism was at work, though Germany's economic and Austria-Hungary's political ambitions there impeded its progress. Twice, in 1878 and 1913, the conflicting interests of those Powers intervened to prevent a lasting settlement on the basis of Nationalism. At the root of the great outbreak in 1914 was the same exciting cause—denial by the Germanies of Serbia's national aspirations. Indeed, the forces arrayed against the Germanies entered that war in the conviction that, over and above the Imperial and economic rivalry of the Powers to be decided by it, its issue would clear the situation in South-East Europe by applying at length the remedy which the Central Powers had been most insistent to withhold. Russia's adoption of Slav "Petrograd" in place of German "Petersburg" for the name of her capital, and her promise to afflicted Poland in 1914, were significant of that spirit.

Elsewhere, the principle of Nationality awaited recognition in Austria-Hungary, which formed a flagrant instance of a European State settled on no national basis whatever. The *Ausgleich* of 1867 placed Hungary by the side of Austria in a Dual Monarchy. In each State the ruling race, German or

Magyar, represented a minority, submerging the Czechs of Bohemia, the Slovaks of Moravia, the Poles and Ruthenes of Galicia, and the Roumanians of Bukovina and Transylvania, whose kinsmen held the monarchy across the Carpathians and the Russian province Bessarabia. The southern provinces of the Dual Monarchy, Croatia-Slavonia, Bosnia, Herzegovina, and Dalmatia (part) were the immemorial home of Serbs and Slovenes, racially akin to the population of the neighbouring kingdom of Serbia. On the Adriatic, Trieste and the peninsula of Istria once belonged to the Venetian Republic, suppressed by Napoleon in 1797. In Tridentine Tyrol Austria retained another district ethnically Italian. Hence the Habsburg, who until 1866 had been the chief impediment to German nationalism, maintained his own Empire by defying the same principle. If it were conceded, Bohemia and Hungary would resolve into national units, Bukovina and Transylvania would unite with Roumania, Galicia would fall into a reconstructed Poland, the Slav and Italian provinces would be drawn into Serbia and Italy, and Austria's sparse German population would return to the fold from which Bismarck expelled it.

Between Austria-Hungary and the Baltic lay the dissevered trunk of once powerful Poland. Carved into three parts, round Warsaw, Cracow, and Posen, Poland in 1914 looked back upon a century of unlifting gloom. Russia had mitigated her severities upon the advent of Constitutionalism to her Empire. Prussian rule, in the preceding generation especially, had been brutal in its resolve to eradicate the Polish tongue and Polish sentiment. Austria, influenced to lenity by her own precarious situation, had no such stain upon her Galician administration. But the memories of Polish independence remained as vivid in Galicia as in Posen and Warsaw.

Between 1815 and 1914 great progress was made towards settling the Balkan peninsula on a national basis. Turkey was driven almost completely across the Hellespont, and the subject *rayah* of 1815 stood upright in independent and vigorous States. But the selfish interests of the Powers, particularly Austria-Hungary and Germany, complicated or resisted their complete deliverance. Albania only secured freedom in 1913, and even then Serbia was placed in possession of Albanian territory to which ethnically she had no right.

Serbia still longed for the Greater Serbia, which included Bosnia and Herzegovina. Serbia, Greece, Turkey, and Roumania occupied territory which, if the national principle was applied, belonged to Bulgaria. From Roumania, again, Austria-Hungary and Russia withheld large provinces (Bukovina, Transylvania, and Bessarabia) which ethnically were hers. Greece, greatly as she had expanded the frontiers imposed upon her in 1832, still lacked, if the racial test was applied. Imbros and Tenedos, retained by Turkey in 1913 to protect the mouth of the Dardanelles ; the Sporades, which Italy had occupied since 1912 ; and Cyprus, which Great Britain held since 1878.

Thus, ranged behind the combatants in the German War of 1914 were principles which had contended for the redemption of Europe for a century. The association of Hohenzollern, Habsburg, and the Turk revived the obstinate medievalism of the Holy Alliance one hundred years earlier ; for Germany and Austria-Hungary, in spite of their Constitutions, were political survivals of the eighteenth century. Turkey's *Tanzimat* and more recent subjection to the young Turks had not corrected the ineradicable corruption and ineptitude of her government. Both Habsburg and Turk were fighting for their existence. Germany was battling for her own ambition, conducting herself with a contempt for public law and international conventions, and with unabashed barbarity, that compelled a doubt of her moral sanity. To the ideals that had raised Europe from the abyss of 1815 she opposed a soulless militarism whose dismal record in Poland, Alsace-Lorraine, and Schleswig, and later in Belgium stricken by the war, admonished a wondering world that German *Kultur*, great as had been its gifts to thought and science, connoted neither humanity, practical wisdom, nor fine feeling. Never before in the life of medieval or modern Europe had a great nation established so unanimous a conviction that its defeat was necessary if civilization was to survive.

International Relationships

Bismarck, writing his *Reflexions and Reminiscences* shortly before his death in 1898, declared that the pacific instincts of Russia and Germany were too firmly rooted to permit anything

but diplomatic stupidity to disturb them. Yet, in spite of a long tradition of friendship, the two Powers were at war within fifteen years. The fact is characteristic of an era in whose course all the Powers reoriented their friendships. France alone ended the century as she began it, implacably facing the inveterate foe who had robbed her of the Rhine in 1815 and of Alsace-Lorraine in 1871. No other nation showed France's concentration of enmity. Of those who were opposed in 1914, only France and Prussia stood in that relation one hundred years before, when France, isolated and defiant, faced the assault of Russia, Austria, Prussia, and Great Britain. But the two situations are not dissimilar. If Germany and Austria-Hungary be held a single geographical expression, the century ends, as it began, with a general European concentration against one of its members impeached of treason to the comity and public law of the Continent.

France

Until France revealed her weakness under the assault (1870) of the German people Prussianized for war and conquest, the tradition of Napoleonic achievement clung to her—indeed, her victory over Austria at Magenta and Solferino in 1859 strengthened it. She endured briefly the ostracism of Europe. In 1818 she was re-admitted to its Concert, and in 1823 executed the mandate of the Holy Alliance in Spain. Cautiously she resumed her external activities. Under Charles X (1824–30) and the July Monarchy (1830–48) she expended it in Algeria, and founded a second colonial France. The Second Republic (1848–52) revived, in moderated degree, the older Republican ardour, though its single and incongruous achievement was the destruction of the Roman Republic in 1849. Louis Napoleon Bonaparte was given the Imperial throne in 1852 under the *prestige* of his uncle's name and in the hope, notwithstanding his insistent *L'Empire c'est la paix !* that France again would dominate Europe. In stronger hands and under other conditions she might have done so. But Napoleon's policy, weighted by subservience to Clericalism, was opportunist and greedy for cheap and transitory triumphs. No vital interests drew the Empire to the Crimea (1854–6), and Italy eventually assumed the responsibilities to the Latin East under which

Napoleon affected to take action. His adventure in Mexico (1861) was irrelevant and disastrous. In Italy his policy lacked consistency and bred suspicion and enmity. Towards Germany he was at once undecided and vain-glorious.

From the outset France regarded Prussia with suspicion, and in the Egyptian crisis of 1840 and the Italian war of 1859 there was danger of conflict. Napoleon watched the gathering cloud between Prussia and Austria, convinced that the issue would reveal Austria the stronger. When Königgrätz (1866) proved him in error, he gave his benediction to Prussia's aggrandisement in North Germany, assuming that German unification would be impeded rather than accelerated thereby, since the apprehensions of South Germany presumably would drive her to dependence upon France. Therein also Napoleon was mistaken; for in 1870 Baden, Bavaria, and Würtemberg supported the *Norddeutsche Bund*.

France's interests came into conflict with Austria in Italy, where Austria's restoration (1815) undid Bonaparte's work. To keep the Habsburg off the Mediterranean was a policy inherited from the early Bourbons, and French aid recovered Lombardy for Italy in 1859. On the other hand, no more than Austria was Italy welcome to France as a Mediterranean Power. Nor would French Clericalism hear of the sacrifice of the Temporal Power on the altar of Italian union. In 1831 Liberalism, active in Central Italy, looked vainly to France for help. In 1849 the Second Republic rescued the Pope from Mazzini and the Democrats. In 1859 Napoleon left Italy in the lurch the moment the effects of Magenta and Solferino threatened to be felt across the Tiber. From thenceforward until 1870 France was the chief obstacle between Italy and her coveted capital. Prussia aided her to expel Austria from Venetia in 1866, and Papal Italy was absorbed into the new kingdom only after the same Power had stricken France at Sedan.

Russia played a large part in compassing Napoleon's fall. But after 1815 no vital question held the two countries apart, though French sentiment was stirred by Poland's sufferings. Dynastic considerations and the insistence of the Clericals, rather than deeply conflicting interests, drew France into the Crimean War (1854-6), whose concluding pacification bore evidence of the Emperor's anxiety to conciliate a potential

enemy of Prussia. Outside Europe their interests did not clash, and no stubborn obstacle impeded the *entente* between them which formed one of the features of the international landscape later in the century.

With Great Britain, whose policy, founded on the experience of two Hundred Years' Wars, demanded either an *entente* with France or a Continental ally opposed to her, France's relations were almost continuously harmonious before the Franco-German War. The old colonial rivalry was buried, the new one had not begun. The constitutional basis of the two countries brought them together naturally in a system of their own, with the Iberian and Netherland kingdoms as satellites, in opposition to the three Absolutist Eastern Powers. Great Britain's support restored France to her place in the European Concert in 1818. And, after France's lapse in Spain in 1823, the two countries presented a united and Liberal front in Belgium and across the Pyrenees. A lack of candour in her dealings with the Powers alone disturbed France's relations with Great Britain over the Greek and Egyptian questions. Their *entente cordiale* in Louis Philippe's reign (1830–48), though interrupted by the Spanish Marriages in 1846, was restored under the Second Empire and confirmed by comradeship in the Crimea. But Napoleon III roused interest rather than confidence in England, and Bismarck's carefully timed revelation (1870) of the Emperor's proposal (1866), that Prussia should aid him to acquire Belgium in return for France's connivance at Prussia's aggrandisement in North Germany, alienated British sympathy in France's approaching crisis. After the second Reform Act of 1867, also, Great Britain was absorbed in Gladstone's programme of domestic reform (1868–74). Hence, though she took charge of French interests in North Germany during the war of 1870–1, she declined to engage herself actively on the side of her neighbour. Still less was she moved to enter the lists against her, though the historian Heinrich von Treitschke assailed her for taking no hand in the correction of one who had "embarked on a career of plunder with the over-confidence of a bully," a characterization apt to Germany herself in 1914. Great Britain failed to recognize in Germany the champion of international morality in 1870, and contented herself with demanding and receiving from both belligerents an undertaking

to respect the neutrality of Belgium. A clearer vision would have placed her armies again, as in 1854, by the side of France.

With extraordinary vitality France recovered from her defeat, freed her soil from German occupation, discharged the enormous indemnity exacted from her, adopted a stable Constitution (1875) which has lasted to the present time, and purging her spirit of the vain-glory that had contributed to her fall, set herself to strengthen her defences against another assault. For ten years (1871–81) she recuperated and reorganized, keeping an anxious eye upon Germany, who in 1875 indulged in the first of her Imperial sabre rattlings. But in 1881 the reinvigorated Republic acquired Tunis, and by an economical system of "peaceful penetration," rendered necessary by her stationary population, built up in twenty years a colonial Empire in Africa, Madagascar, and the Indo-Chinese peninsula, second only to that of Great Britain. Its growth embroiled France with her neighbours. Italy was driven (1882) into alliance with the Central Powers by France's acquisition of Tunis, on which she had set her hopes, and conducted a tariff war with her until 1898, when a mutually agreeable commercial treaty was completed. An interchange of diplomatic visits in 1903 and 1904 completely dissipated the cloud between the two countries.

France's relations with Great Britain produced a more dangerous situation. From Napoleon I France inherited an interest in Egypt, which displayed itself in her relations with Mehemet Ali in 1840 and in the construction of the Suez Canal (1859–69). The British occupation of Egypt in 1882 therefore roused strong resentment in France, which was intensified by the Fashoda incident in 1898. Not until the *entente* of 1904 did Anglo-French relations become amicable, at the moment when Franco-Italian friendship also was consolidated. From 1904-14 France faced the growing German peril, free from anxiety on the side of Great Britain and Italy.

Germany chose that moment to enter the arena in which France had just secured her position. German policy, hungrily seeking a "place in the sun" for the Fatherland's economic development, particularly coveted Morocco for its position and possibilities as a "white man's colony," and resented the agreement with Great Britain which enabled France to

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establish a Protectorate over it. In 1905 and again in 1911 Germany challenged her position there, and though on the second occasion she secured an addition to her Cameroons at France's expense, she failed to weaken the Anglo-French *entente* which had nerved France to resist her.

The fall of Bismarck in 1890 and the simultaneous cutting of the wire he had held open between Berlin and Petrograd were followed by increasing tension between Russia and the Central Powers. Already in 1875 and 1887 Russia had intervened between France and German bullying. From 1891 Franco-Russian relations developed rapidly to the alliance of 1897. France's *entente* with Great Britain seven years later (1904) inclined her to draw her two friends together, and her good offices contributed to that result. In 1907 they composed their differences, and French diplomacy achieved a triumph which added fuel to the leaping blaze of indignation in Germany. Alike as a rival whose colonial ability exceeded her own, and as the engineer of an international system which she foolishly but characteristically regarded as directed aggressively against herself, Germany looked upon France, whom she despised and twice had humbled, as blocking the path of German *Weltpolitik*.

Germany

From 1815 to 1871 "Germany" connoted a geographical area, not a political unit, and until 1871 was not covered by a national flag. Between 1815 and 1867 it formed a federation (*Deutscher Bund*) of sovereign States, including Austria and Prussia, whose number varied from 39 in 1817 to 27 in 1867. From 1867 to 1871 "Germany" contained two separate systems: (1) North Germany (*Norddeutscher Bund*), under Hohenzollern (Prussian) direction, retained the federative system of the *Deutsche Bund* and absorbed 22 of its 27 surviving members, though one of them (the Grand-Duchy of Hesse-Darmstadt) was only included for part of its territory: (2) South Germany, though the idea was mooted, was not linked by a common organization. It included five independent States (the Kingdoms of Austria, Bavaria, Würtemberg, the Grand-Duchy of Baden, the insignificant Principality of Liechtenstein), and part of a sixth (Hesse-Darmstadt). In

1871 the North German system attracted to itself three of the South German States (Bavaria, Baden, and Würtemberg), and also the residue of Hesse-Darmstadt, added the newly-won Reichsland (Alsace-Lorraine), and constituted its fellowship, thus enlarged to 26 members, a federative Empire (*Deutsches Reich*), leaving Austria-Hungary (*Österreichisch-ungarische-Monarchie*) and Liechtenstein outside it. Unlike the *Bund* out of which it grew, the German *Reich* ranked with Austria as a sovereign member of the European international system, with diplomatic representatives at foreign Courts, with national administrative organs, an Imperial army and navy, an Imperial flag, and the apparatus of a Great Power. Thus, in just over half a century, the "Germany" of 1815 developed two Imperial systems, controlled respectively by Prussia and Austria, through whom Germany to that point had conversed with her neighbours diplomatically.

The absorbing significance of the period 1815–71 is the effort of the German people to reduce their geographical complexity and to express their conviction of nationality, stimulated by recent Napoleonic and Latin domination, in a uniform and powerful State. The process was aided by the fact that the Imperial Recess of 1803 already had suppressed 112 petty German States, though it intensified the particularism of those that survived to form the *Bund* of 1815. But the achievement of national unity encountered grave obstacles. While the *Bund* possessed no diplomatic status in Europe, it was regulated by a Diet (*Bundestag*) which, in some degree, represented an international Board of Control. Austria and Prussia brought into it interests which were extra-German. Great Britain regulated the policy of Hanover until their Crowns were separated in 1837. Luxemburg's vote in the Diet was exercised by the King of the Netherlands until 1867. The King of Denmark was Duke of Holstein-Lauenburg, with a voice in the Diet, until 1864. Nor was the Diet responsive to popular opinion. It represented the reigning princes alone, was illiberal in outlook, the battle-ground of parochial squabbles, and incompetent even to complete the Constitution outlined in the *Bundesakte* of 1815. Even if the Diet had been sensitive to the popular voice, Germany presented no unity of aim in the task that faced her. In default of a better solution, Austria was restored in 1815 to the supremacy she held in the defunct

(1806) Roman Empire. Uniformity of religion and aversion from Prussia inclined the South German States to support Austria's claim to the *Präsidium* of a nationalized Germany. Others, impressed by Prussia's resources and by Austria's surrender (1815) of the watchman's post on the Rhine, preferred the Hohenzollern to the Habsburg, though, with rare exceptions, Prussia's history revealed her concentration upon Prussian rather than German interests. Others, rejecting both Baltic Prussia and Slav-ruling Austria as non-German states, advocated a federation of the old historic German duchies from which both should be excluded. The Democrats, again, who carried France and assaulted Italy in 1848, made an effort to win Germany also, but experienced a dragooning at Prussia's hands (1849) from which German Republicanism did not recover. Nor was much divided Germany educated to a uniform political standard. Varied experiences confused the standpoint of its peoples towards the fundamentals (*Grundrechte*) of the new State they had in view.

But the most obstinate deterrent to German unity was the impossibility of fitting both Austria and Prussia into it on conditions satisfactory to both. Behind Austria was a tradition of Empire that stretched to the Middle Ages. Already it could be epitomized as "a martyrology of peoples." But its victims were outside Germany, among the Slav and Italian races. Of set purpose in 1815 Austria withdrew from the Netherlands (Belgium) and Rhenish Vorderösterreich (Breisgau and Ortenau), sacrificing them to regain her lost position in North Italy (Lombardy and Venetia). Neither racially nor geographically was she preponderantly a German State. Her German population formed the minority of her people, while the Kingdom of Hungary and its dependencies (Transylvania and Croatia-Slavonia), the Kingdom of Lombardy-Venetia, Dalmatia, and Istria lay outside the German *Bund*. On that non-German region her interests centred increasingly as the century advanced, released by her deliberate withdrawal from Western Europe (1815) and the responsibilities her presence there entailed. On the other side, Prussia exceeded all the German States in the area of her purely German territory. She stretched athwart North Germany from Königsberg on the Baltic to the Belgian frontier, though Hanover, Nassau, and Hesse-Cassel drove a wedge between her eastern and

western provinces which she removed in 1866. Her action then was characteristic ; for her history is that of a predatory State, whose depredations, unlike Austria's, have been made for the most part at the expense of other Germans.

The progress of German Nationalism is sharply divided by the summons to Bismarck to direct the " Ministry of Conflict " in 1862. After 1815 a wave of Liberal and patriotic fervour passed over Germany which found lyric expression in Hoffmann von Fallersleben's *Deutschland, Deutschland über alles* (1840), in Max Schneckenberger's *Die Wacht am Rhein* (1840), and Nikolaus Becker's *Rheinlied* (1840) :

> Sie sollen ihn nicht haben,
> Den freien deutschen Rhein.

which drew Alfred de Musset's answering

> Nous l'avons eu, votre Rhin allemand.
> Où le père a passé, passera bien l'enfant.

Material prosperity quickened the need for union and aided Prussia's deft organization of a general German Zollverein. Popular fervour culminated in a Constituent Assembly or *Nationalparlament* which met at Frankfort in 1848. It created tentatively an *Imperial* Administration, an *Imperial* Navy, and offered an *Imperial* Crown to Frederick William IV of Prussia. But it failed to anticipate Bismarck's achievement, chiefly because Prussian diplomacy was not yet educated to use the weapon that Bismarck did not scruple to employ. Nor in 1848 had Austria begun to experience her " tradition of defeat." Facing Prussia resolutely, she won a diplomatic victory at Olmütz (1850) and for the moment maintained her claim to the *Präsidium*. Nor were the princely governments reconciled as yet to a Hohenzollern Empire. Saxony and Hanover already had reason to fear Prussia as a neighbour. South German Bavaria and Würtemberg were as little inclined to substitute Hohenzollern for Habsburg. In the *Vierkönigsbündnis* of 1850 the four kings let Prussia understand that if she provoked civil war, the balance of forces would be against her. Russia also stood behind Austria. Moreover, Frederick William was reluctant to challenge his Habsburg relation, and the Imperial Crown was offered by the Liberalism that had humiliated him in the March Days of

1848. Nor was he disposed, as Bismarck complained, to "use the Prussian army in the German cause."

The events of 1848–50 founded Bismarck's contention that German unity could not be achieved "by speeches, associations, decisions of majorities," but that it demanded a "contest which could only be settled by iron and blood." His attitude towards Austria was that of Cromwell towards Charles I: "I had as lief shoot him as another man." But an open assault upon her *vi et armis* threatened external complications which the Parliamentary effort of 1848 escaped. Had Bismarck been in power in 1859 it is conceivable that he would have used Austria's difficulties in Italy to push Prussia's advantage. But Bismarck, in his own words, "lacked the accommodating disposition" which official association with Frederick William IV demanded, and declined to take office under him. The re-opening of the Schleswig-Holstein question in 1863, soon after he became Minister-President, gave him opportunity to apply a policy long matured. By condoning the Tsar's illiberal *régime* in Poland he detached from Austria the support of Russia, smarting under Vienna's action during the Crimean War. Completely dominating the confused diplomacy of Austria he made her his accomplice (Convention of Gastein, 1865) in the theft of Schleswig-Holstein-Lauenburg from Denmark, and having her alliance in the act, dared the intervention of the Western Powers and the indignation of Germany over a contemptuous disregard of German opinion and its administrative organ. Two months after the Gastein Convention, Bismarck at Biarritz (1865) made another Imperial dupe and assured Napoleon's neutrality in the approaching duel with Austria. Italy was gained by the prospect of winning Venetia. Russia remained complacent. Great Britain maintained a neutrality which she continued in 1870, Disraeli defending it actually on the ground that she had "outgrown the European Continent." Thus isolated, Austria fell an easy prey to Prussia. A single battle (Königgrätz) drove her out of the German system and founded the Hohenzollern *Norddeutsche Bund* (1867).

In a retrospect of Prussian policy shortly before his death Bismarck insisted that since the death of Frederick the Great in 1786 Prussian policy had lacked definite aims, or, having them, had chosen them unskilfully; while from 1786 to her defeat at Jena in 1806 it was aimless, confused, and without

a trace of *national* purpose. Before the French Revolution the rivalry between Prussia and Austria was fed chiefly by common greed for the spoils of Poland, Cracow in particular, which fell to Austria eventually in 1846. After 1815 Prussia restored her military organization more quickly than her neighbours, and in Bismarck's view, was in a position thenceforward to act with independence and decision, whereas, in fact, her policy was controlled alternately by Vienna and Petrograd. In the Crimean War it wavered between Vienna and Petrograd, and again in 1859 followed no definite aim.

From the charge of indefiniteness and dependence Bismarck in four years relieved Prussian policy. For centuries Germany had been pinned to *Kleinstaaterei*, and unity had been deferred because the German dynasties on the whole were unwilling to disturb one another's interests. Unity was accomplished the moment the Hohenzollern was induced to adopt a particularist standpoint towards his peers. In 1866 the long-standing rivalry of Hohenzollern and Habsburg was settled. A final war (1870–1) sufficed to solve the older quarrel between Bourbon and Habsburg which had devolved on the new master of Germany. France employed the brief interval between the fall of Austria and her own in haggling with the victor instead of applying the concentration which had given him victory. Russia remained in accord with Berlin. Great Britain, preoccupied by the Education Act of 1870 and estranged from France by Bismarck's adroit revelation of Napoleon's designs on Belgium, again stood neutral. Hence, in 1870, France was as isolated as Austria in 1866, and Sedan, crowning Bismarck's rapid work, conferred an Imperial diadem on Prussia and unity upon Germany.

As Bismarck's accession to power in 1862 divides the history of German unity, so his dismissal in 1890 ends a period of the Empire he founded. He had accomplished his work by force and aggression, and from the outset faced his neighbours, like Frederick the Great, *toujours en vedette*. To isolate France, to block every avenue of assault upon Germany, to close the door upon any possible coalition against her was the absorbing aim of his policy. Joint sufferers at Germany's hands, an understanding between Austria-Hungary and France seemed most to be feared. To detach one or the other was imperative. And since France was implacable, Austria's capture by

Germany was necessary. Their dynasties were related and German, and centuries of common history stood behind them. Their geographical situation provided a strong offensive and defensive position on two fronts. And elsewhere a satisfactory alliance was not to be found. An exclusive *entente* with Russia did not commend itself to Bismarck. Her geographical situation and her autocratic constitution, he feared, would make her too independent, and subject German interests to "the moods of the reigning Emperor." Great Britain, by reason of her system of party government, he held equally unstable. Therefore, after only six anniversaries of Königgrätz, Bismarck succeeded in "throwing a bridge across to Vienna," without, however, "cutting the wire" to Petrograd.

But the *Dreikaiserbund* of 1872 continued briefly. The growing acerbity of Austro-Russian relations did not permit the Tsar's government to rest satisfied with an understanding which insecurely defined Germany's relations to itself. Therefore, to Bismarck's embarrassment, Russia pointedly asked in 1876 what Germany's attitude would be in the event of war with Austria. Bismarck's reply left no doubt as to the side on which Germany's sympathies would lie. The Russo-Turkish War that followed (1877–8) illustrated his warning and brought about a crisis in Germany's foreign relations. Indignation at her philo-Austrian diplomacy impelled Russia towards France, while Germany, already suspicious of Pan-Slavism, entered into a formal Dual Alliance with Austria-Hungary in 1879, an agreement which carried the partners into war in 1914. Italy also was drawn to Germany by the Treaty of Berlin, out of which she gathered no spoils. Her adherence to the Central Powers in 1882 completed the Triple Alliance which for thirty-two years formed the most stable fact in international politics. Its conclusion perfected Bismarck's *Einkreisungspolitik* round France. At the same time he refused to estrange himself from Russia, and in 1884 and 1887 bound the Tsar in a "Reinsurance Compact" which bound them and Austria to neutrality in the event of war with a fourth. On that characteristic note of caution his diplomatic activities ended. Old age found him as little able to adopt the attitude of self-effacement that the service of Frederick William IV had required. In 1890 the third

German Kaiser " dropped the pilot " and the " New Course " began.

The most striking, and, in its effect upon foreign relations, the most important result ot the Empire's creation was the sudden and startling increase of its material prosperity and population. In 1870 its steam merchant fleet was only half the tonnage of that of France. Six years after Bismarck's death (1904) it stood to France's in the proportion of two to one. A population of 41,000,000 in 1871 rose to 56,000,000 in 1900. And whereas, in the early days of the Empire, about 170,000 Germans emigrated annually, the number fell to 22,000 and less after 1898, when the population was considerably greater. The decrease, significant of growing industries and enlarged demands for home labour, was expressed in a growing volume of trade. Between 1880 and 1899 German imports increased from £143,000,000 to £218,000,000, and exports from £147,000,000 to £289,000,000. The Empire's life was becoming international, and its policy became international, too.

But German *Weltpolitik* was not based solely on expanding prosperity. It founded itself partly on what a successor of Bismarck called " our old vice, Envy," partly on a humourless habit of self-admiration and a resulting conviction of racial and intellectual superiority. Demands for a " place in the sun," loud-voiced insistence upon " our position in the world " became the commonplace of writers and of Imperial utterances. Arrogance united with discontent to give Germany a voice, harsh, boastful, insolent. Year by year the Empire's resources were organized to permit a resumption of the Frederickian *rôle* at a chosen time. Already the first military Power, Germany laid the foundation of a navy in 1898, and in little more than a decade ranked second among the maritime States. Having lost the security Bismarck's diplomacy gave her, she maintained her position by periodic bursts of terrorism, now threatening France, as in 1905 and 1911, now Russia, as in 1908.

Meanwhile, *Weltpolitik* discovered its *terrain* in Asia Minor, and took decadent Turkey to its heart as Germany's " natural ally." With much lip-service to the cause of peace, it was consistently provocative, and professed to discover in the suspicion it provoked evidence of aggressive coalition against

Germany herself. Its repulse at Agadir in 1911 conveyed no lesson of caution, but confirmed the conviction that "there can be only a short respite before we have to decide either to draw the sword for our position in the world or renounce that position for ever." The war of 1914 was the direct consequence of the recall of the *Panther* from Agadir. The interval was spent in preparation for *Der Tag*. The Navy Law of 1912 added a third battle squadron to the fleet. The Kiel Canal was adapted to the passage of the largest battleships. The Army Bill of 1913 marked the supreme effort of the General Staff. Confident in the strength of her armaments, and vaunting German *Kultur* and its alleged "historic mission," Germany ranged herself in 1914 for a war deliberately provoked by herself.

Italy

From 1815 to 1861 the word "Italy" connoted simply a geographical area. By the Congress of Vienna the peninsula was divided between eight sovereign principalities. Transpadane Italy formed the Austrian Kingdom of Lombardy-Venetia. Middle Italy (the Papal Patrimony, Umbria, Ancona, Romagna (*i.e.* the Legations of Ravenna, Bologna, and Ferrara)) constituted the States of the Church, the surviving relic of the Church's Temporal Sovereignty in Christendom. Between the States of the Church and Austrian Italy lay the Kingdom of Sardinia (Piedmont, Savoy, Nice, Genoa, and the island Sardinia), the Grand-Duchy of Tuscany, and the three small duchies of Parma-Piacenza, Modena, and Lucca. South Italy below the States of the Church belonged to the Kingdom of Naples, which attached Sicily in 1816. Only one of the seven secular sovereignties was held by an Italian dynasty—the Sardinian House of Savoy. Naples was Bourbon (Spanish) since 1735, and three of its five sovereigns between 1735–60 married a Habsburg. Not one of them made an Italian alliance. The Dukes of Parma also were Bourbon (Spanish) since 1748. The remaining royal Houses were Austrian. The Tuscan Grand-Dukes since 1737 derived from the House of Habsburg-Lorraine. The Dukes of Modena since 1803 were similarly descended. Lucca from 1815–47 was ruled by the Bourbon ex-Queen of Etruria, and in 1847 was absorbed into Tuscany.

For Italy, as for Germany, the significant achievement of the period 1815–70 was the compression of her geographical complexity and the creation of a unified State, which, unlike Germany, assumed a centralized, monarchical, and not a federal form. Both achievements demanded Austria's expulsion. Otherwise the obstacles to Italian unity differed from those which confronted Germany. Nothing analogous to the rivalry of Austria and Prussia impeded the victory of the House of Savoy (Sardinia). Union, again, was accomplished with the minimum of civil conflict ; a fact largely due to Mazzini's burning appeal to the Italians' sense of nationality. The determining battles, Custozza (1848), Novara (1849), Magenta (1859), Solferino (1859) were lost or won against Austria. Mentana (1867) was won by the *Chassepots* of the French. Unlike Germany, foreign help was needed and invoked. Unlike Germany, again, the annexed populations were permitted to express their wishes by *plébiscites*.

Lucca having fallen to Tuscany in 1847, two of the surviving seven divisions were attached by foreign intervention—Lombardy by the aid of France in 1859 ; Venetia by the assistance of Prussia in 1866. The other States joined Sardinia between 1860–70. The whole of Central Italy, except the Patrimony of St. Peter round Rome, Ancona, and Umbria, did so after a *plébiscite* in March, 1860. In the autumn of the same year (1860) an unofficial war conducted by Garibaldi and The Thousand overthrew the Bourbons in South Italy and permitted Naples-Sicily to vote union with Sardinia. Simultaneously, Cavour's intervention added Ancona and Umbria, after another *plébiscite*. In 1861 the Kingdom of Italy was proclaimed. Ten years later (1870) it challenged the Holy See and Rome was entered by the Italian troops. A final *plébiscite* decreed the fall of the Temporal Power and extinguished the last survivor of the Octarchy of 1815.

Her fight for freedom and unity left on Italy's mind two firm impressions : suspicion of France, and a conviction that her interests demanded a foreign alliance. France had disappointed her of Venetia in 1859. Prussia had forced a peace in 1866 which deprived her of the Trentino and Istria. It was the accident of the Franco-German War alone that enabled her single-handed to gain Rome and complete her unity. She owed both Lombardy and Venetia to the interested friendship

of other Powers. The conviction was intensified in 1878–81, when Great Britain and France took spoils from Turkey in the Mediterranean (Cyprus and Tunis), and Italy herself returned empty from Berlin. More than pride inspired her resentment. Her geographical situation forbade a dominant or menacing interest in the Mediterranean, and she watched both the Near East and the North African littoral, of which France and Great Britain between them had an almost complete monopoly, with apprehension.

Hence, in 1882, Italy entered into the orbit of the German Powers. Her association with them was incongruous ; since only at Austria's expense could she complete her unity. The Dual Monarchy still retained the secularized (1803) Bishopric of Trent (the Italian-speaking Tridentine or Trentino), as well as Trieste and the Istrian peninsula, spoils of the defunct Republic of Venice. But for the moment, Italy was content to abandon *Italia irredenta*, and, encouraged by Germany, grasped at colonial power. Tripoli was closed against her so long as Great Britain stood behind Turkey. But in Eritrea and Somaliland a Greater Italy began to expand after the first renewal of the Triple Alliance in 1887.

After the third renewal of the Triplice in 1902, Italy's relations with her partners no longer reflected their original cordiality. It had become clear that, viewed from Berlin, the Triple Alliance existed merely for the promotion of German interests, and that Italy, exploited commercially and politically, was to take her place as a province of a revived " Holy Roman Empire of German tongue." Germany's interests purposely kept open the old sore of *Italia irredenta* in order to make her two partners dependent on herself. The international situation also was reshaping itself. With Great Britain Italy had been on good terms for generations ; indeed, Great Britain's suspicions of France had made her welcome Italy's association with France's enemies. But in 1902 the Western Powers were moving rapidly towards the *entente* of 1904, while Italy already had completed a mutually agreeable commercial treaty with France in 1898. Great Britain, too, was realizing the disposition of the German Empire towards herself ; the Imperial Navy Law of 1900 and German vituperation during the Boer War (1899–1902) revealed it completely. Italy also suspected Berlin ; for the Kaiser's visit to Agadir in 1905

indicated an intention to enter the Mediterranean. Hence, the Conference at Algeçiras (1906) which German diplomacy succeeded in assembling, instead of demonstrating, as Germany intended, the instability of the Anglo-French *entente*, exhibited Italy's detachment from her own allies. Five years later, and probably to forestall Germany, Italy took over Tripoli, with the goodwill of the Western Powers.

Before the Triple Alliance was renewed for the fourth and last time in 1912, Italy's place in it had become still more difficult by reason of her partners' Balkan policy. It touched her through the Adriatic, whose eastern coast throughout her history she has found it necessary to master or control. For while the Adriatic provides her with no good harbour below Venice, the opposite and dangerously contiguous coast is lavishly provided with them. The census of 1890 also revealed nearly 1,000,000 Italian subjects of the Austro-Hungarian Monarchy, a large proportion of whom were on the Istrian peninsula and Dalmatian coast. But the main consideration that moved Italy was the need to fend off a strong Power from holding the other side of the Adriatic.

When Austria-Hungary was licensed by the Berlin Conference in 1878 to "occupy" Bosnia, Herzegovina, and Novibazar, Italy was not in a position to protest or resist. But when Austria turned occupation into sovereignty in 1908, Italy became restive, and had Russia in that year ventured to accept Germany's challenge, Italy might then have broken with the Central Powers. She renewed her agreement with them in 1912 with misgivings. But in 1913, when victorious Serbia imperilled Austro-German policies, Italy refused to join them in their projected assault upon the inconvenient champion of Slavdom in the Balkans, though she shared their unwillingness to admit Serbia to Albania. In 1914 their clumsy policy committed the assault without communicating their intention to her, and audaciously invoked her treaty obligations after the event. In May, 1915, she denounced the Triple Alliance and ranged herself in arms with its enemies.

Russia

For Russia the nineteenth century was one of territorial expansion pre-eminently. While her neighbours contracted

their European territory, as was the case of Germany, Denmark, Sweden, and Austria-Hungary, Russia enormously expanded an already bulky area. In 1815 she contained $7\frac{3}{4}$ million square miles and 45,000,000 inhabitants. In 1914 her population had increased to 180,000,000, and her area to nearly 9 million square miles. On the other hand, Russia, like Austria-Hungary, acquired no territory outside Europe and Asia, excepting the islands in the Arctic Sea (Nova Zembla and the Liakhof group), and Saghalin off the Pacific coast. She acquired the latter in 1854 and surrendered the southern half of it to Japan in 1905.

Russian expansion in the period was preponderantly in a southerly or south-easterly direction. By the cession of the Grand-Duchy of Finland to Russia in 1809 Sweden withdrew entirely from the eastern shore of the Baltic and freed Russia to pursue her interests elsewhere. On the Pacific coast her activities began with the appointment of Count Nicolai Muravieff as Governor-General of Eastern Siberia in 1847. He obtained from China in 1858 (Treaty of Aigun) the province of Amur on the left bank of that river, and two years later (1860) the part of it between the Amur, Ussuri, and the sea. Saghalin already had been acquired in 1854. The advisability of linking up the new Pacific province with European Russia was suggested by Muravieff, and in 1891 the construction of the Trans-Siberian Railway was begun. It was completed in 1901, on the eve of the Russo-Japanese War of 1904–5.

Meanwhile, China's weakness tempted spoliation from another quarter. In 1895 the Treaty of Shimonoseki bound her to surrender to Japan the Liao-Tung peninsula, with Formosa and the Pescadores Islands. The ceded peninsula contained the ice-free Port Arthur, and on the plea that foreign possession of it threatened the integrity of China, Japan was coerced by Russia, France, and Germany into surrendering it. The intervention of the European Powers vitally affected both China and Japan. It killed the reform movement in China which Japan's victory had inspired her to attempt, and initiated the anti-Boxer European movement which called out the international expedition of 1900 for the relief of the Pekin Legations. Japan's indignation was intensified by the fact that Germany and France immediately secured from China concessions similar to that of which they had deprived herself,

while Russia actually obtained (1898) a twenty-five years' lease of Port Arthur, which Russia had forced her to surrender. To that grievance Russia added others. The Boxer rebellion gave her a pretext to occupy Manchuria. She also intervened in the affairs of Korea, in which Japan was closely concerned as a potential economic outlet for her over-populated island.

Fortified by an alliance with Great Britain (1902), Japan challenged Russia in 1904. Port Arthur fell on January 1, 1905, and the Russian fleet was destroyed in the battle of Tsushima on the following May 27. The Treaty of Portsmouth (1906) deprived Russia of Port Arthur, and compelled her evacuation of Manchuria. It deprived her also of the southern half of Saghalin, and left her otherwise only the acquisitions of the Muravieff period. Her expansion in the Far East received a positive check.

But the main route of Russian expansion was towards the south, and, as elsewhere, the sea was the goal it sought. On this front Russia's expansion ran in three channels. The south-western effort aimed deliberately at the Mediterranean, through the Black Sea and the Dardanelles. The second, the southern, drove between the Black Sea and the Caspian through the Caucasus towards Armenia. The third, the south-eastern, led eastward of the Caspian, across the Steppes of Central Asia, towards Afghanistan and the Himalayan frontier of China. Turkey, Persia, and the Cossacks were those at whose expense Russia's southern development was achieved.

Russia's south-western advance had more than economic aim. It was directed by Pan-Slav feeling and sympathy with the Christian population of the Balkans whom Turkish rule oppressed. Five treaties with the Porte mark the stages of its progress—Bucharest (1812), Akkerman (1826), Adrianople (1829), Paris (1856), and Berlin (1878). The general result of the five pacifications was to set the Russian frontier on the western littoral of the Black Sea permanently at the Pruth and the northern (St. Kilia) mouth of the Danube; a boundary exceeded between the two treaties of 1829 and 1856 by the whole Delta of the Danube, and diminished between 1856 and 1878 by the southern strip of Bessarabia.

Russia's advance in the Caucasus was pushed vigorously by Alexander I (1801–25). Georgia, finally annexed in 1800, drove a cleft of territory between the littorals of the Black

and Caspian Seas. The acquisition of Imeretia and Mingrelia in 1804 added the Euxine province of Kutais. Two years later (1806) Russia's influence entered the khanates of Daghestan and Karabagh, and her hold upon the western littoral of the Caspian was almost complete. The war with Persia, which the Treaty of Turkmanchay concluded (1828), added the province Erivan and the sole right of navigation on the Caspian, which by now was a Russian lake. Russia's acquisition of the rest of Daghestan by 1859 gave her the whole western Caspian littoral between her boundary on the Terek and the Persian frontier. After five years' farther fighting the Circassian or Kuban province fell, and completed her hold on the Black Sea eastern littoral also. Finally the Treaty of Berlin (1878) wrested from Turkish Armenia the districts of Kars and Ardahan and the port of Batum.

Equally insistent was Russia's advance towards Afghanistan and Persia eastward of the Caspian. In 1822 the Kirghiz Cossacks were absorbed and Russian territory unrolled to the Sea of Aral. Within the following forty-three years (1822–65) it advanced to the confines of Chinese Turkestan and threatened Afghanistan. In 1873 Khiva was conquered, and Ferghana became a province three years later (1876). In 1884, pushing through the country of the Tekke Turcomans already largely in her hands, Russia settled herself at Merv. In 1885 she penetrated the valley of Penjdeh, and found herself in what was regarded indisputably as Afghan territory. War with Great Britain was imminent, but was avoided by a settlement which left Russia in possession of the Penjdeh region. An acute Anglo-Russian crisis continued for the next twenty years, and was finally cleared by the Anglo-Russian agreement of 1907, which maintained the integrity of Persia, and closed Afghanistan and Tibet against Russia's further advance.

Russia's concentration upon the Black Sea and Caspian is the most constant factor in her diplomacy in the nineteenth century. In the Far East her relations with Japan were critical only for a short period. With Great Britain her interests did not actively clash except during the last quarter of the century. In the Baltic, the Schleswig-Holstein question, in which the Tsar was interested dynastically, alone concerned her. But with Turkey she was at war at intervals throughout the century, in 1828–9, 1854–6, 1877–8, and again in 1914. In 1833 she

imposed upon her the Treaty of Unkiar Skelessi, and in 1878 hardly was prevented from establishing herself at Constantinople.

With the rest of Europe Russia's relations were less consistent. In the course of the century, in fact, she completely reoriented her foreign policy. During the reign of Alexander I (1801–25) she bound herself to Austria and Prussia in an illiberal league of repression which was active in Italy and Spain. The agreement was confirmed in 1833 (Convention of Munchengrätz), at the moment when the Treaties of Adrianople (1829) and Unkiar Skelessi (1833) were rendering her an object of suspicion to the Western Powers, who twenty years later (1854–6) challenged her in the Crimea. That war caused the first rift between herself and Austria, already suspicious of each other's designs in the Balkans. With Prussia Russia preserved friendship. In 1864, 1866, and 1870 she countenanced Bismarck's aggressions and made no effort to save either Austria or France from Prussian ambition. In 1872, also, she permitted Bismarck to draw her with Austria-Hungary into a renewal of their older alliance. But the association was brief. Austria continued to pursue a policy in the Balkans patently at variance with Russia's sympathies as a Slav Power, and Germany's support of it destroyed Russia's agreement with her also. She was induced with difficulty to renew Bismarck's "Reinsurance Compact" in 1887, and in 1890 it was abandoned finally.

The year 1890 was the dividing point in the evolution of Russia's foreign relations. Austria-Hungary and Germany since 1879 were firmly united in an alliance directed against herself. Since 1882 Italy was a member of it, and the Penjdeh incident in 1885 had strained her relations with Great Britain also. Economic and political considerations alike forbade her to prolong her isolation. Happily, between France and herself no grounds of collision had appeared since the Crimean War, and in 1875 and 1887 she intervened with Germany in France's behalf. Hence, in 1897 the two countries concluded an alliance. The increasing menace of *Deutschtum* prompted an agreement with Great Britain also. It was concluded in 1907. In 1908 Germany challenged it with results satisfactory to herself and her ally. In 1914 she did so again, with other consequences.

Great Britain

The Treaty of Vienna (1815) confirmed Great Britain's position as the chief colonial, maritime, and commercial Power. Hence, throughout the century her activities concentrated upon the development of her Empire, and after Disraeli's successful appeal to an Imperial spirit, upon its efficient organization. Immersed in the task, Great Britain acquired a habit of indifference towards Europe, maintained herself in " splendid isolation," and was suspicious of binding agreements with other Powers. In 1815, it is true, she joined the Quadruple Alliance and renewed it in 1818. But she attached herself to it in defence of the European situation created at Vienna rather than in the interests of a group of Powers. In 1834, again, she formed a Quadruple Alliance with France, Spain and Portugal. But it had an immediate and local object merely, the expulsion of the Carlist and Miguelist Pretenders from the peninsula. Until the first decade of the twentieth century Great Britain clung to her habit of detachment; and then, suddenly discarding the prejudices of a century, allied herself with Japan in 1902, with France in 1904, and Russia in 1907.

Between 1815–1914 Great Britain participated actively in only one of the European wars, the Crimean (1854–6), of the period. Popular excitement nearly drew her into its sequel in 1878, and suspicion of Russia was the motive in both cases. Before her agreements with France and Russia in 1904–7, she faced the prospect of imminent war upon two other occasions: in 1885 (Penjdeh) and 1898 (Fashoda). In both cases her Asiatic interests were involved closely. British diplomacy, however, was by no means negligible throughout the period. It was active in opposition to the illiberal Holy Alliance. At Aix-la-Chapelle (1818) Wellington and Castlereagh protected France against the more suspicious views of the Eastern Powers, and defeated Spain's attempt to turn the Concert upon her Republican colonies in South America. Castlereagh refused to send a plenipotentiary to Troppau (1820), challenged the Absolutist Powers'asserted right of intervention, and refused to sanction their repression of Liberalism in Italy. At Verona (1822) Wellington maintained the same position against the proposal to commission France to act against the

Constitutionalists in Spain. In 1823, Canning, by recognizing them as lawful belligerents, heartened the Greeks in their struggle for freedom against the Turk. In 1825 he adopted a similar policy towards the South American Republics separated from Spain. The French Revolution of 1830, unwelcome to the Absolutist Powers, was accepted instantly by Wellington, who refused the suggestion that it created a ground for intervention under the renewed agreement of 1818. The consequent Belgian revolution also had British support, and an Anglo-French naval demonstration in 1832 warned Holland that she could not be permitted to restore the unnatural union broken by Belgium. In the same year (1832) the Kingdom of Greece was constituted under British guarantee and support. In fact, so persistently had the diplomatic activity of Great Britain, and latterly of France, opposed the policies of the Eastern Powers, that in 1833, Russia, Austria, and Prussia reaffirmed at Münchengrätz and Berlin their earlier " Holy " alliance.

Palmerston, the first Foreign Minister of the new reign (1837–1901), continued his predecessors' encouragement of Liberalism and Constitutionalism on the Continent. In the Eastern crisis of 1839–40 the Porte's recent surrender to Russia in 1833 (Unkiar Skelessi) led him to risk a breach with France in order to rescue Turkey from Mehemet Ali, on one side, and the dangerous friendship of Russia, on the other. Upon his return to power in 1846, the Spanish Marriages (1846) disturbed the *entente cordiale* which Guizot and Louis Philippe formed with Great Britain during Lord Aberdeen's intervening administration of the Foreign Office. In Switzerland, Palmerston refused to allow Metternich to use the *Sonderbund* (1846) as a pretext for reactionary intervention. In the *année folle* 1848 he encouraged enthusiastically the Liberal hopes that inspired it, but was active only in backing Turkey's refusal to surrender Kossuth and other fugitive leaders of the Hungarian rebellion to Austria and Russia. In the Italian crisis of 1859 he consistently supported the claim of Central Italy to determine its own destinies, and aided Cavour to defeat the threats of Austria and the indecision of Napoleon III.

The death of Palmerston in October, 1865, coincided with the appearance of an equally dominating personality elsewhere, and British diplomacy withdrew into a less assertive mood.

Palmerston himself failed to gauge or encounter Bismarck's policy in Schleswig-Holstein in 1864, and Prussia had her way in spite of British sympathy for Denmark. After that event British policy exhibited a prejudice against involving itself in matters which did not affect it closely, a disposition which accompanied a more vivid recognition of the fact that, in Disraeli's words (1866), Great Britain was " really more of an Asiatic than a European Power." She held herself neutral in the Austro-Prussian War of 1866, and during the momentous period 1868–74 was preoccupied by Gladstone's programme of domestic reform. Alienated from Napoleon III by Bismarck's revelations regarding Belgium, she stood neutral in the Franco-German War (1870), and merely exacted from both belligerents an undertaking not to violate Belgian territory.

But upon the return of Disraeli to power in 1874, domestic affairs ceded in interest to events which appealed vividly to the imagination of Englishmen. In 1875 the government purchased the Khedive Ismail's Suez Canal shares and acquired a large financial interest in that undertaking, a circumstance that contributed to compel British intervention seven years later (1882). In the same year (1875) the Prince of Wales visited India, of which the Queen was proclaimed Empress in 1876, a change of style which made a strong appeal to the loyalty of the Indian peoples. Simultaneously the " Bulgarian Atrocities " (1876) drew attention once more to Turkish misrule in the Near East. But Britain's interests as an Asiatic Power triumphed over considerations of humanity. She supported the Porte's obduracy, and intervened in 1878 to save it from the Russian Treaty of San Stefano. Asiatic interests, again, prompted Gladstone's intervention in Egypt in 1882, and aggravated a quarrel with France which lasted until 1904.

During the last fifteen years of the Queen's reign (1886–1901), excepting the period August, 1892, to June, 1895, the Conservatives were in power, and Disraeli's vigorous colonial policy was continued by Lord Salisbury, his colleague at Berlin in 1878, and Mr. Joseph Chamberlain. The first Colonial Conference met in 1887. British interests in Africa were consolidated by agreements with Portugal, France, and Germany. And the South African War of 1899–1902 brought the Boer Republics under the British flag permanently.

After the fall of Bismarck in 1890, German policy announced itself with increasing emphasis as anti-British. The Kaiser's telegram of sympathy to President Krüger (1896), on the occasion of the Jameson " Raid," was a calculated advertisement of Germany's anxiety to undermine the British position in South Africa. A theatrically arranged Imperial pilgrimage in Palestine (1898) appealed to Islam against the same Power. Anglophobia was exploited to ease the passage of the German Navy Laws of 1898, 1900, 1906, and 1908. Simultaneously France and Russia were menaced by " mailed fists " and apparitions in " shining armour." Germany's neighbours could not fail to remember that the preparation and sudden release of military force was the rule of Prussian *politik*. Hence, in the course of the ten years 1897–1907, the three Powers outside the Triple Alliance drew together in a league of observation. Enmity towards France, deeply engrained in British experience, and suspicion of Russia, a factor of British policy for three-quarters of a century, gave place to a new suspicion of Germany and her Austrian ally, which the German War of 1914 proved to rest on a sound diagnosis.

Turkey

Measured by the standard of territorial losses, Turkey in Europe stands by herself in the nineteenth century. Austria-Hungary suffered loss in Italy (1859–66), but found compensation in Bosnia-Herzegovina (1878–1908). France lost Alsace-Lorraine (1871), but already had gained Nice and Savoy (1860). Other States experienced losses without compensating gains : The Netherlands lost Belgium (1830) and Luxemburg (1839–90). Denmark was deprived of the Elbe duchies (1864). Sweden lost Norway (1905). But Turkey's losses exceeded all others, and were matched by no gains whatever. In 1815 she was almost the largest State in Europe. The Treaty of Constantinople (1913) left her the smallest, except Belgium and Luxemburg.

In spite of the Young Turk revolution in 1908, and the earlier *Tanzimat*, Turkish administration remained corrupt and inefficient throughout the century. For the maintenance of Turkey's position in Europe it relied upon the jealousies of the Powers rather than its own efforts. Russia was its most

persistent enemy down to the Treaty of Berlin (1878), and to that point Great Britain was its main prop. From the formation of the Dual Alliance in 1879, Germany increasingly imposed herself upon Turkey as a "natural ally" in her economic development towards Asia Minor.

But neither Great Britain nor Germany availed to save Turkey from disruption. In 1815, in addition to the Danubian provinces of Wallachia-Moldavia, she owned the whole Balkan mainland and Morea except a strip of the Dalmatian coast. Excepting the Ionian Isles, which were British, she possessed all the islands of the Eastern Mediterranean and the whole of the Mediterranean littoral, except the Moroccan, Spanish, French, Italian, and Austrian coasts. But European Turkey had the weakness of Austria-Hungary. She was a State, but not a nation. The forces which made Italy and Germany broke her up in the course of the century, and the cupidity of the Powers removed her from the European waters of the Mediterranean.

Greece was Turkey's first loss. The Treaty of London (1832) constituted her a kingdom, with Euboea and the Cyclades in addition to the Morea. Great Britain added the Ionian Isles in 1864. Serbia received administrative autonomy in 1817, and Roumania (Wallachia-Moldavia) in 1858. In 1878 (Treaty of Berlin) Serbia, Bulgaria, Roumania became completely independent, and Turkey abandoned her asserted suzerainty over Montenegro. By the same Treaty Eastern Roumelia received administrative autonomy; Bosnia-Herzegovina and the Sanjak of Novibazar were "occupied" by Austria-Hungary; Great Britain received an indefinite lease of Cyprus; and Russia made good her hold on the entire extent of Bessarabia. In 1881 France, established in Algeria since 1830, attached Tunis. In 1882, Great Britain began an occupation of Egypt which led, in 1914, to the annulment of Turkish sovereignty there and over Cyprus. In 1885 Eastern Roumelia united with Bulgaria, and a brief lull interrupted the monotonous sequence of Turkish disaster. It was resumed in 1908, when Austria-Hungary annexed Bosnia-Herzegovina (but released the Sanjak). In 1911–12 Italy, seeking compensation for France's action in Tunis and her ally's recent excursion into Bosnia, seized Tripoli and the Sporades. In 1912 Turkey's misrule in Macedonia invited a league of the Balkan States

which reduced her, after a brief war (Treaties of 1913), to a bare 12,000 square miles round Constantinople and Adrianople. Crete and her remaining islands, excepting Imbros and Tenedos, were lost at the same time. Turkey ceased to be a European "Power," and in the German War of 1914 fought for her survival in Europe at all.

Other Countries

Among the minor States few events called for the attention of the Powers. After the Peninsular War, the Iberian kingdoms receded into the background, and the loss of their South American colonies reduced them to the rank of minor States. Neither of them participated in the European Wars of the century, though the Hohenzollern candidature for the Spanish Crown was the pretext for the Franco-German War (1870). Both Portugal and Spain were disturbed by civil commotions. In 1910 Portugal extruded her Braganza Monarchy and proclaimed a Republic. But their affairs did not invite intervention, except in 1823 (the French expedition in behalf of Ferdinand VII), 1834 (Quadruple Alliance), and 1846 (Spanish Marriages).

Belgium, having obtained recognition of her neutrality in 1839, ceased to claim the care of Europe, except in 1870, when her neutrality was in danger, and later, in connexion with the affairs of the Congo Free State, which she acquired in 1908.

In the Scandinavian system two matters threatened international complications. A crisis arose in 1848 when the Duchies of Schleswig and Holstein established a provisional government in defiance of Denmark. The intervention of the interested Powers having reasserted the rights of the Danish Crown (Treaty of London, 1852), Prussia and Austria intervened in 1864, on the plea of a breach of that agreement, and detached both duchies and Lauenburg. In 1865 Prussia bought Lauenburg. In 1866 she annexed Schleswig-Holstein. The disruption of the union between Sweden and Norway in 1905 was accomplished without either domestic or European complications.

A SHORT HISTORY OF EUROPE

CHAPTER I

NAPOLEON AND EUROPE, 1800–1809

THE tyranny of the *ancien régime* engendered passionate attachment to the principles of liberty, equality, and popular sovereignty. Not content to establish them within her borders, France set herself to impose them upon her neighbours, combining the zeal of the missionary with a more prosaic ambition to find her "natural" frontier. But the cult of liberty, equality, and popular sovereignty led to inconsistencies of action. Political liberty was the essence of the Constitution of 1791, the first constructive experiment of the Revolution. From the Legislative Assembly downwards it placed France under popularly elected institutions. Even the judicial and episcopal benches were invaded by the elective principle; so great was the reaction from the era of privilege. But French democracy had neither experience nor education to support its new responsibility. Politics became the occupation of professional Club politicians, developed a ferocity which culminated in the Terror, and more and more offered an arena for the few. France's administration under the *ancien régime* was so closely centralized that the lavish gift of popular local government needed accessories which circumstances withheld. The aristocracy, the natural provincial leaders, were in exile; the persistent wars compelled the central executive to recover its control; and the extension of the factions of the capital to the provinces completed the ruin

of the experiment of 1791. France's zeal for liberty, also, marched with active disapproval of corporations, industrial as well as ecclesiastical, on grounds set forth in 1791: "Corporations no longer exist in the State, but only the interests of the individual and of the community. It is forbidden to implant in citizens an intermediary interest, or to set them apart from the public interest by engendering a corporate spirit." The fact that industrial corporations, as were the guilds, professional corporations, as were the *Parlements*, and so wealthy a society as the Church, were guardians of vested interests and hostile to a predatory policy contributed a practical reason for the Revolution's inability to countenance them.

The abolition of feudal rights and privileges, primogeniture, feudal dues, entails, and tithes consecrated the Revolution's devotion to "equality." All Frenchmen were put upon a uniform legal footing and obligation to public service and taxpaying. Yet, in an important particular, Revolutionary France matched the Bourbons' disregard of the principle of equality. Her public officials were removed from the control of the judiciary, and her citizens were deprived consequently of effective protection against administrative tyranny. The anomaly was condoned by the prevalent view of the executive, legislature, and judiciary as separate and sovereign functions of the commonwealth, and by the Revolution's insistence upon the State's supremacy and the sacrosanct position of its agents.

In pursuing the principle of popular sovereignty the leaders of the Revolution blundered, through their ignorance of the English Constitution which they affected to copy, into a serious alteration of it. The Constitution of 1791 expressly excluded Ministers of the Crown from the Legislature, and from that period the conception of Legislature and Executive as equipotential authorities has remained a fixed principle in the Constitutions of modern France. To be effective popular sovereignty must act upon the administration through the Legislature, as is the method of the English Constitution. But French theory elevated the Executive to equality with the Legislature as the mandatory of the nation, and on occasion, as in the Second Republic under Louis Napoleon Bonaparte, brought the two forces into violent conflict. Hence French

and British legislation have developed essentially different characters. The latter is detailed and concrete. The former is abstract and declaratory. British legislation instructs the administrative arm. French legislation leaves to it ample margin of interpretative action.

A characteristic of the French Revolution was its rejection of Socialism, and its persistent maintenance of an individualistic standpoint. The fact that the men who guided and controlled the Revolution belonged to the property-owning classes explains the characteristic. The Declaration of the Rights of Man (1789) admitted the equity of private property. Its conservative attitude was a concession to the large class of peasant proprietors which, in the early days of the Second Republic, was so alarmed by the programme of the "Reds." Socialism gained converts in the towns amid the industrial conditions that followed the introduction of machinery and the factory system. But in the early days of the Revolution those conditions had not arisen, and no considerable body of Socialist opinion existed to correct an individualistic bias.

The principles which the Constitution of 1791 exalted were imperfectly applied. Liberty raised its banner above a welter of carnage, and by the end of the Revolution nearly 150,000 *émigrés* were in exile. Nearly twice that number were without political rights, the objects of suspicion and supervision. Many of France's ablest writers, politicians, and soldiers had fled the country. The clergy for the most part were enemies of the Republic. France was in a chronic state of civil war. The administration was defied, its credit was at zero. Commerce and industry were paralysed, foreign trade was at the mercy of British cruisers. Meanwhile the young Bonaparte had won glory for France and himself in Italy, and the Treaty of Campo Formio (1797) humbled Austria, the bitter foe of the Republic, to the dust. In 1798, when France was in the grip of the Directory, Bonaparte in Egypt was drawing the gaze of his countrymen, yearning for a man to control the factions which were draining the Republic of its strength. In October, 1799, Bonaparte returned from Egypt, and France found her master.

"It was part of France's good fortune that the man who came to save her was himself a homeless adventurer, sprung not of French but of Italian stock, and attached to no creed.

party, or faction of the State. He was a man who assessed the temperament of the French with the critical eye of a foreigner, and found it guilty of many irrelevant and disastrous emotions. For his part, he was not amused by useless sentiments, and imported a cold and wholesome dose of inhumanity into the conduct of affairs, which had been so long perturbed by short sleep, disordered nerves, and the passion of a vainglorious and undisciplined race to play the *beau rôle* on the theatre of humanity. . . . Napoleon brought to the task of government exactly that assemblage of qualities which the situation required, an unsurpassed capacity for acquiring technical information in every branch of government, a wealth of administrative inventiveness which has never been equalled, a rare power of driving and draining the energies of men, a beautiful clearness of intellect which enabled him to seize the salient features of any subject, however tough, technical, and remote, a soldierly impatience of verbiage in others combined with a serviceable gift of melodramatic eloquence in himself ; above all, immense capacity for relevant labour. He could work eighteen hours at a stretch, could turn his mind at once from one subject to another entirely remote from it, and a few minutes were enough to put him in possession of the material facts. . . . This capacity for minute technical knowledge was combined with an imaginative grasp of all the human forces which law and administration affected. . . . He was not a religious man, in any orthodox sense, but he saw what power an autocracy such as that of the Turk or the Tsar gained by the control of religious forces, and knowing the religious sentiment to be profound and indestructible he was determined to exploit it. . . . It was Napoleon's function in history to fuse the old France with the new. In the miraculous Italian campaigns, which first brought him reputation, he learned to vanquish armies, to carve and fashion States, to draw up Constitutions, to treat with foreign Powers, to study the psychology of nations. The very clearness of his conception of the chasm which divided the old world from the new saved him from the phantasms of the doctrinaires. . . . A great opportunist, Napoleon was not the man to shape his course by the compass of revolutionary dogmatism. . . . In Italy [he] had learnt that a variance between Church and State is a malady which it is the duty of a strong man to cure, and coming to the head of affairs in France

he made the fusion of opposites the cardinal feature in his system. . . . Emigrants served in the household, the Senate, and the armies ; Girondins, Jacobins, and Royalists sat together in the law courts, in the Departmental Councils, and in the Council of the State ; the priests poured out into the sunlight from their dungeons, and in virtue of one of the early acts of the new government, were permitted to enjoy the free observance of Sunday. *On peut se détester et correspondre ; quand il s'agit de mon service on doit mettre bas toutes les passions.* Impartiality was the sovereign maxim of government. Everything was pardoned to the efficient and the docile " (Fisher, *Bonapartism*, pp. 20–29).

Out of the chaos of Republican France Bonaparte built up a faintly disguised tyranny. His powers as Consul and Emperor were derived from the people by *plébiscite*, a device which his nephew borrowed. His absolute power as First Consul was thinly concealed by association with Second and Third Consuls. His Legislative Body could vote, but not debate. His Tribunate could debate, but not amend. Actual power was in the First Consul and the Council of State, with whom lay the initiation of legislation, the nomination of the Senate (the guardian of the Constitution), and, through the Senate, the appointment of the Legislative Body and Tribunate. As he felt his way Bonaparte discarded the devices which he had employed to square the Consular Constitution of the Year VIII (1799) with Revolutionary principles. The Tribunate was discarded after the transformation of the Consulate into the Empire. The function of the Legislative Body was challenged by Imperial *Senatusconsulta*. Universal Suffrage formed the base of Napoleon's electoral system, but it was regulated. Public opinion was policed. The Press was bridled. Political debate was throttled. On the other hand, unlike its predecessors, Napoleon's government was splendidly efficient, and a supreme master of men controlled it. The separation of Church and State, brought about in 1795, was terminated by the Concordat (1801) with the Pope, and the Church came under the eye of the civil power. National education was attended to, though the problem of the elementary schools was left to another generation. Public secondary schools (*lycées*) were established throughout the country, and the University of

France (founded in 1808) received the monopoly of their direction and of higher education. Conscription met the Emperor's enormous calls upon the manhood of France and her dependents.

On May 18, 1804, Napoleon was proclaimed Emperor of the French. On April 11, 1814, at Fontainebleau, while Paris was held by the armies of Prussia and Russia, he abdicated unconditionally. A year later, after brief exile in Elba, he signed a final deed of abdication (June 22, 1815), the prelude to six years of irksome inactivity on St. Helena. He died there on May 5, 1821.

Whether the wars of Napoleon are regarded as campaigns in behalf of the principles of the Revolution, or for the enlargement of frontiers, or to place the Bonapartes alongside the Habsburg and Hohenzollern in Europe, or (and most correctly) as a duel *à outrance* with Great Britain, the Napoleonic Empire, which was at its height in 1811, was first and foremost a military engine. Otherwise the Emperor's treatment of Europe lacked a consistent idea. He changed the boundaries of kingdoms with almost wanton petulance. Napoleon III represented the First Empire as the champion of national causes. But their promotion was not the purpose of his uncle's wars. Prussia, the hope of German nationalism, was the target of his persistent animosity. His Confederation of the Rhine, which replaced the Holy Roman Empire, was a device to organize Germany as a "satellite of Mars," not to forward her national unification. Italian though he was, Napoleon treated Italy as he treated Germany, with a cynical disregard for any interests but his own.

The ten years of Empire maintained almost continuous war. Great Britain renewed the hostility which the Treaty of Amiens (1802) had interrupted. Austria, Prussia, Russia, and Spain vainly measured their strength against the Emperor. At Milan (1805) he assumed the Iron Crown of Lombardy which Charles the Great had worn. Berlin he entered (1806) in triumph, and despoiled the tomb of Frederick the Great at Potsdam. In person he received the surrender of Madrid (1808). From the palace of the Habsburg at Schönbrunn (1809) he dictated peace to Austria. He carried his Eagles into Moscow (1812), the capital of Old Russia. He placed his brothers on the thrones of Europe, Joseph in Naples and

Spain, Louis in Holland, Jerome, the youngest, in Westphalia. Sweden and Naples accepted Marshals of his army, Jean-Baptiste-Jules Bernadotte, and Joachim Murat. The latter, his brother-in-law, also was offered the throne of Portugal. At his bidding four new kingdoms (Bavaria, Saxony, Westphalia, and Würtemberg) sprang into existence. Never since the Teutonic peoples surged over Rome's Empire had Europe been to such a degree the sport of armies and their leader.

Eight campaigns followed the formation of the Third Coalition in 1805 and formed the framework of the events recited in the preceding paragraph. Throughout, Great Britain was foremost among the enemies of France. On the sea she maintained a conflict which frustrated Napoleon's calculations and confounded his schemes. On land her operations were chiefly restricted to the Peninsular War (1808 to 1814) and the Waterloo campaign of 1815. The Continental Powers engaged Napoleon less successfully. In 1805 Austria and Russia suffered crushing defeats which imposed on the former the Treaty of Pressburg. In 1806 Prussia joined Russia and was punished by the humiliating Treaty of Tilsit (1807). Two years later, Austria again measured herself with France and experienced the disastrous Treaty of Vienna or Schönbrunn (1809). Thus, outside Spain, where the Peninsular War had begun its course, the campaigns of 1805–1809 made Napoleon the autocrat of Europe. In 1812 fortune reversed her wheel, and four campaigns loosed the Continent from the Emperor's thraldom. In 1812 he invaded Russia and made his fatal retreat from Moscow. In 1813 Prussia inaugurated the War of Liberation. The campaign of that year drove Napoleon behind the Rhine. In 1814, following him into France, the Allies compelled his abdication. The Waterloo campaign (1815) closed a career which had imposed its masterful will upon Europe since 1800.

In origin a crisis in the domestic history of France, the French Revolution reconstructed the map of Europe. Under its impulse France touched boundaries which Bourbon policy never had achieved. Germany and Italy were undone and refashioned. Old landmarks vanished. New States were called into existence. The Treaty of Basle (1795) carried France's frontier to the Rhine at the expense of Prussia, whom the Republic's gains restricted to North and Central

Germany. The Treaty of Campio Formio (1797), which followed Bonaparte's brilliant campaign in North Italy, revolutionized the political system of the peninsula. Austrian Lombardy was converted into the Cisalpine Republic, and Austria took Venetia east of the Adige in compensation. Sardinia's cession (1796) of Nice and Savoy carried France to the Alps. Dependent Republics, modelled on her own, were called into existence. The Batavian Republic (once the United Netherlands) guarded her left flank on the Rhine. On her Upper Rhenish frontier the Helvetic Republic (as the Swiss Confederation became in 1798), and in Italy the Ligurian (Genoa) Republic (formed by Bonaparte in 1797), fulfilled a similar use.

Before the Empire replaced the Consulate in 1804 the map of Europe underwent other changes. In occupation of Piedmont since 1798 (reducing the Kingdom of Sardinia to the island), France received Tuscany from Austria under the Treaty of Lunéville (1801). She converted it into the Kingdom of Etruria, which Napoleon attached (for a year only) to his Empire seven years later. The Cisalpine became the Italian Republic (1802) and Bonaparte its first President. More momentous changes transformed Central Europe. Ostensibly to compensate the Princes of the Holy Roman Empire dispossessed by the Treaty of Basle, chiefly to rivet France's hold on the Rhine, Bonaparte secured from the Diet of the Empire (Ratisbon, 1803) an agreement to secularize all the Clerical States which the Reformation had spared (except the Teutonic Order, the Knights Hospitaller, and the See of Ratisbon or Regensburg), and to mediatize the Free Imperial Cities. The decision (*Reichsdeputationshauptschluss*, or "Imperial Recess," 1803) involved the distribution among lay claimants of one-sixth of the soil of Germany, supporting a population of 4,000,000, and the suppression of 112 States, including all the Imperial Cities except Hamburg, Lübeck, Bremen (the three chief Hanseatic towns), Frankfort-on-the-Main, Augsburg, and Nürnberg. The Rhenish Electorates of Cologne and Trêves, whose territories had been absorbed by France, disappeared. Four new Electorates were created (Baden, Würtemberg, Hesse-Cassel, and Salzburg). The Recess simplified the geographical complexities of the Empire, strengthened Prussia, the principal gainer, and correspondingly

depressed the influence of Austria. The petty princes almost wholly disappeared; those of the Church were reduced to three, the Archbishop-Elector of Mainz (with Ratisbon), and the Grand Masters of the Teutonic Order and Knights Hospitaller. Hence the Protestants, who hitherto had been in a minority, controlled an additional twenty-two votes in the Diet and formed a majority of that body. In Italy alone, after 1803, the Church's Temporal Power survived. The Recess dealt a mortal blow to the Holy Roman Empire. Napoleon gave it its *coup de grâce* in 1806 when he called into being the Confederation of the Rhine.

When Napoleon was proclaimed Emperor of the French in 1804 Great Britain and France already were at war. The Treaty of Amiens (1802) had been recognized by both belligerents as a truce of probably brief duration. Napoleon's plans demanded the utter humiliation of the Revolution's chief foe, whose unyielding hostility caused his own downfall. The truce of 1802, therefore, was used by him to prepare a fleet to challenge supremacy on the ocean and in the Mediterranean. On the British side, anxiety regarding French influence in the Low Countries, which animated Great Britain in the First Coalition (1793), had not abated. Nor could her growing commercial productivity brook the set-back which French supremacy in Europe threatened. Malta's restoration to the Knights Hospitaller under the guarantee of the Powers had been promised at Amiens. Great Britain, however, retained it, on the plea of Bonaparte's disregard of that pact; in particular, his annexation of Piedmont (1802) and treatment of Holland and Switzerland. Before the close of 1802 it was no secret that the invasion of England was contemplated. In March, 1803, Bonaparte demanded the restoration of Malta under threat of war. Two months later war was declared.

The British fleet was at once distributed to contain the Republic's extended coast-line. Nelson received the command in the Mediterranean; Gibraltar and Malta providing bases, and Sicily, Sardinia, and Naples convenient harbours. The principal French ports, objects of British vigilance, were Toulon in the Mediterranean, Brest and Rochefort on the west coast. Bonaparte patiently organized a flotilla at Boulogne to carry his army to England. In December, 1804, a few days after his coronation as Emperor, reluctant Spain

was induced to declare war against Great Britain, and Napoleon's plans were ripe. The execution of the projected invasion required that the British fleets in home waters should be drawn elsewhere. In April, 1805, therefore, Admiral Villeneuve, eluding Nelson at Toulon, joined the Spanish fleet off Cadiz and proceeded to the West Indies. A month later Nelson picked up the trail and followed him. Villeneuve, however, after waiting vainly for the Brest fleet, which had been unable to break through the strict blockade, returned to Europe. Off Cape Finisterre he engaged (July, 1805) Sir Robert Calder and a small squadron on the look-out for his return, and withdrew to Corunna. Thence, after an attempt to support the projected invasion by appearing in the Channel, he entered Cadiz harbour and forthwith was blockaded by Collingwood, whom Napoleon ordered to risk an engagement and clear the Channel for the Boulogne transports. On October 19 he led out the allied fleets, and on the 21st Nelson, commissioned to fight the critical engagement, encountered Villeneuve off Cape Trafalgar. Nelson's tactics, the "Nelson touch" as he called them, were matured while Villeneuve's squadron was still in Cadiz harbour. Bearing down upon the Franco-Spanish fleet in two columns Nelson cut it in two, and while his own weather column (twelve sail of the line) drew the fire of Villeneuve's van, Collingwood's lee column (fifteen sail of the line) destroyed the rear in detail. Of thirty-three line-of-battle ships Villeneuve lost eighteen. He would have lost more had Nelson survived to direct the pursuit. As it was, the projected invasion met the fate of Philip II's enterprise. Unable to curtail British sea-power, Napoleon proposed to render her supremacy valueless by closing the Continental ports against her. The disaster of 1812 was the result.

The Grand Army destined for the invasion of England fought in another field. In 1805 Russia and Austria were in the mood for war, and Pitt's diplomacy was eager to revive the Coalition against France. Paul, author of the Armed Neutrality of 1800, had been succeeded by his son Alexander I in 1801. Apart from the apprehensions which France's policy aroused, the new Tsar had particular grievances against her. He had been invited to act with Bonaparte as joint mediator in the settlement of Germany under the Recess of 1803, and was so mortified by the little regard paid to him

that he recalled his Ambassador from Paris. French activity in South Italy also caused him anxiety; for it threatened to resume the Eastern policy which had drawn Bonaparte to Egypt in 1798. The arrest and execution of the Duc d'Enghien (March, 1804) were denounced by the Tsar as an outrage against international law, and diplomatic relations with France were broken off. Great Britain welcomed the rupture. But though the French occupation of Hanover, in violation of the Treaty of Basle, angered Prussia, she took no action. In April, 1805, Great Britain and Russia formed the Third Coalition (Treaty of Petrograd). The release of North Germany, Holland, Switzerland, and Italy from French influence was its object.

The Italian situation added Austria to the Coalition. In May, 1805, Napoleon transformed the Italian Republic into the Kingdom of Italy and assumed its crown at Milan. The Ligurian Republic with its valuable port Genoa was annexed to France a few weeks later. The Duchy of Guastalla was re-established for Marie Pauline, one of the Emperor's sisters. The Republic of Lucca was suppressed, and, united to Piombino, formed a principality for another sister, Marianne Élise. Later (1806), the Duchy of Parma-Piacenza was annexed to France (Department of Taro). Thus the whole of North Italy west of the Adige was under Napoleon's rule, and Austrian Italy (Venetia) was in obvious jeopardy. Alarmed also by Napoleon's dealings with Germany, and to meet the menace to his older title, the Emperor Francis recently had assumed (1804) the title "Hereditary Emperor of Austria." The example of Russia and the promise of British subsidies heartened him to action, and in the summer of 1805 he joined the Coalition. Sweden promised troops. Prussia, whose immediate policy was guided by the hope to acquire Hanover from Napoleon, remained neutral.

With disconcerting rapidity Napoleon shattered the Coalition. In seven weeks he transferred the Grand Army from Boulogne to the Danube, outwitting the Austrian General Mack, who had invaded France's ally Bavaria and was in occupation of Ulm, expecting the Emperor to approach him by the usual route through the Black Forest. Napoleon, however, marched by way of the Neckar and the Main and struck the Danube in Mack's rear at Donauwörth. Finding himself cut off from

Vienna, Mack capitulated (October, 1805) a few hours before Nelson's victory at Trafalgar. Ignorant meanwhile of that disaster, Napoleon pushed on to Vienna and thence northward to meet the combined armies of Francis and the Tsar, which had effected a junction in Moravia. On the first anniversary of his coronation (December 2, 1805), and as the henceforth proverbial sun of Austerlitz dispelled the morning mists, Napoleon, after luring the Allies to an effort to turn his right and cut him off from Vienna, hurled an attack upon their centre. His victory was decisive. With the loss of about 26,000 men, 40 standards, and nearly 200 guns, the remnant of the Allies retreated in disorder into Hungary. Negotiations were opened with the victor, and an armistice was granted on the condition that the Russians evacuated Austrian territory. Austria received terms in the Treaty of Pressburg (December, 1805).

The Treaty of Pressburg inflicted deep humiliation upon the first Emperor of Austria. It compelled his recognition of Napoleon's territorial changes in Italy, and wrested from him all that he had gained by the Treaty of Campo Formio (1797). That pacification had given him Venetia with her Istria and Dalmatia on the Adriatic. They were now attached to the Kingdom of Italy. Istria (with Trieste and Fiume, which were acquired in 1809) and Dalmatia were annexed to France in 1809. Napoleon promised that the Crowns of Italy and France should be separated at the general peace, but meanwhile southward to the Papal States the Emperor-King monopolized Italy. In Germany also Austria's losses were heavy. Vorarlberg and neighbouring Tyrol were abandoned to France's ally Bavaria, who had gained in the redistribution of German territory in 1803 and joined Napoleon against the Coalition in the hope of farther spoils. Austrian Swabia was divided between the recently created Electorates of Baden and Würtemberg, both of which, and Bavaria also, were released from allegiance to the moribund Holy Roman Empire. As a farther mark of their patron's gratitude, a step also in a calculated policy which had for its object the depression of the principal German States, Bavaria and Würtemberg were raised to the rank of Kingdoms, and Hesse-Darmstadt and Baden became Grand-Duchies. All of them had joined France against the Third Coalition, partly from

fear, partly in hope of gain. For Austria the Treaty was wholly disastrous. Her loss of territory in Germany and Italy deprived her of 3,000,000 of her population, of one-sixth of her revenue, and isolated her from Italy and Switzerland. Seven months later the establishment of the Confederation of the Rhine completed her degradation and brought to an end the Holy Roman Empire, of which she was the head.

In the short period between the latter event and the Treaty of Pressburg Napoleon's diplomacy was active in Italy and Germany. The death of Pitt (January, 1806) removed a statesman whose indomitable spirit constantly had stimulated France's enemies. Fox, Secretary for Foreign Affairs in the new Cabinet formed by Grenville, was anxious for peace. Prussia's time-serving policy was rewarded by Napoleon's cession of Hanover, Prussia undertaking to exclude British commerce from her territories. In the first six months of 1806 Napoleon created four Sovereigns. In two cases the dignity rewarded the loyalty of allies (Bavaria and Würtemberg). In two he gratified the ambition of relatives. The Batavian Republic, transformed into the Kingdom of Holland, received Louis Bonaparte as its Sovereign. The hostility of its Bourbon dynasty, which had admitted Russian and British troops during the recent campaign, gave a pretext for Napoleon's intervention in Naples. King Ferdinand fled, and Joseph Bonaparte, Napoleon's eldest brother, was declared King of the Two Sicilies. For two years he served there an apprenticeship to the throne of Spain, to which he was transferred in 1808. The creation of principalities in Italy for two of the Emperor's sisters has been mentioned already. A third, Caroline, the wife of Murat, was made Grand-Duchess of Berg, which had been granted to her husband as a duchy.

Napoleon held the time opportune to realize Mazarin's scheme of a Western Germany leagued against the Habsburg. But his execution of it was blemished by the fault that disfigured all his dealings with Europe. The personal note was too prominent. After the humiliation of Austria at Pressburg his policy became dynastic rather than French. On the heads of his *parvenu* family he placed more crowns than the ancient Houses of Bourbon and Habsburg ever had worn. In dealing with Germany, the scheme of creating a buffer-State between the three military Powers, France, Austria, and Prussia, yielded

to the temptation to humiliate the Habsburg and serve the interests of his own policy. These considerations produced the Confederation of the Rhine (*Rheinbund*). It was concluded on July 12, 1806, and on the following August 1, its constituents proclaimed at Ratisbon their secession from the Holy Roman Empire.

The Treaty of July 12, 1806, prompted by Napoleon, constituted a Confederation of fifteen German States. The institution of the Grand-Duchy of Frankfort, in favour of the Prince Primate of the new body, raised the Confederation to sixteen States. The most influential of them were the newly-created Kingdoms of Bavaria and Würtemberg, and the Grand-Duchies of Baden, Berg, and Hesse-Darmstadt. They formed a "College of Kings" under the presidency of the Prince Primate. Ten States of minor standing constituted a "College of Princes" under the presidency of Frederick, Duke of Nassau-Usingen. The two Colleges of the Diet sat at Frankfort to control the federal interests of the confederated States, which retained their domestic autonomy. The recognition of Napoleon as its "Protector" deprived the Confederation of liberty in external relations. Control of its foreign policy, determination of peace and war, and the command of its army were vested in him. On the basis of population the contingent to be furnished by each State was fixed, and a total force of over 60,000 men was pledged to the Protector's service. Before the end of 1807 the Confederation was strengthened by the accession of the new Kingdoms of Saxony and Westphalia. At its fullest extent in 1808 it comprised thirty-nine States, for the most part between the Rhine and the Elbe, and contained a population of about 20,000,000 persons. Throughout the Confederation the process of mediatization which already had simplified the geographical complexities of the Empire was carried farther. All dukes, counts, and *Ritterschaft* (knights) who were not admitted to sovereign membership of the Confederation lost their political individuality and were mediatized; in other words, their territories were absorbed into those of the sovereign State within which they lay. Such was the fate of the Free Imperial Cities Augsburg and Nürnberg, which had survived the settlement of 1803. Three others, Lübeck, Hamburg, and Bremen eventually (1810–11) were incorporated

into the French Empire. They recovered their status, as did Frankfort also, after the fall of Napoleon, and took their places as members of the Germanic Confederation of 1815. Meanwhile the formation of the Confederation of the Rhine in 1806 detached from the Holy Roman Empire the greater number of its vassals outside the Austrian dominions. On the day that the federated States declared their secession from it, Napoleon announced that he no longer recognized the Empire's existence. Five days later (August 6, 1806) Francis II (henceforth Francis I of Austria) resigned the Roman crown, and an institution one thousand years old came to an end.

Since the Treaty of Basle (1795) withdrew Prussia from the First Coalition, her shifty policy had forfeited the confidence of her neighbours. The Queen, Louisa of Mecklenburg-Strelitz, supported a war party which Napoleon's treatment of Germany stirred to fury. The King, Frederick William III, preferred to profit by Prussia's neutrality. On the eve of the Franco-Austrian war (1805) he was ready to make an alliance with Napoleon for the cession of Hanover. But the Emperor's violation of Prussian territory in that campaign—he marched his troops through Ansbach—outraged Prussian sentiment, and in the Convention of Potsdam (November, 1805) Frederick William undertook to abandon a neutral attitude if terms of peace agreeable to Russia and Austria were not granted. Napoleon's victory at Austerlitz again altered the situation. Frederick William threw over the Potsdam agreement, signed an offensive and defensive alliance with France (Treaty of Vienna, December, 1805), and in terms of it took possession of Hanover (March, 1806). Napoleon, however, offered Hanover as a bait for Great Britain's neutrality during Fox's brief tenure of the Foreign Office in February, 1806, and an agreement for its surrender (with compensation to Prussia) actually was prepared. Napoleon's double-dealing stirred Prussia profoundly, and other aggravations increased her indignation. The Confederation of the Rhine was constituted without regard to her interests. In communicating its formation to her, a suggestion was thrown out that she should form a Northern Confederation and assume Imperial rank as the head of it. Frederick William sounded some of his neighbours on the proposal, and received discouraging

replies, which, he discovered, had been inspired from Paris. Finally, Napoleon's summary execution of Palm, a Nürnberg bookseller (August, 1806) who had circulated an anonymous appeal to Prussia and Saxony to strike for German liberty, thrilled Prussia and made it impossible for Frederick William to maintain neutrality. In October, 1806, he plunged into war.

With no premonition of disaster, and confident that the military system which Frederick the Great had given her was still the best in Europe, Prussia met Napoleon single-handed. Austria was in no position to help. Sweden was too weak to be of service. Russian aid was distant. Hence Napoleon concluded that Frederick William would remain behind the Elbe until the Russians joined him. But so reliant were the Prussians on the tradition of Rossbach (1757), that they advanced to the Saale in Saxony, and awaited Napoleon behind the Thuringian Forest. The Emperor repeated the tactics of the Ulm campaign, and thrust himself between the Prussians and Berlin. Penetrating the Forest, he showed himself on the Prussian right flank at Jena. Thereupon, his capital being in danger, Frederick William fell back in two columns along the Saale. In a single day (October 14, 1806), however, Napoleon utterly defeated one column at Jena and Marshal Davout routed the other at Auerstädt. Prussian resistance came to a sudden and inglorious end. A fortnight later (October 27) Napoleon entered Berlin in triumph, and sent to France the column which commemorated her defeat at Rossbach.

The collapse of Prussia left North Germany at Napoleon's mercy. Frederick William joined his Russian ally in East Prussia, and Napoleon, after wintering in Poland, followed him. Königsberg, the Prussian capital, was his objective. At Eylau (February, 1807) he barely escaped defeat by the Russians, whose withdrawal enabled him to claim a victory. Prussia and Russia concluded an offensive and defensive alliance, and Canning, whose advent to the Foreign Office (March, 1807) signalled a firmer British attitude, acceded to it (Convention of Bartenstein, April–June, 1807). But Napoleon's progress was not stayed. On the anniversary of Marengo he routed the Russians at Friedland (June 14, 1807) and drove them behind the Niemen. Ten days later, at

Tilsit, he met the Tsar upon a raft in the middle of the river, while Frederick William, in cheerless weather, awaited the result of the interview on the bank. Russia's policy inclined to an accommodation with France. She had nothing to gain from the war, and the condition of her neighbours hardly encouraged her to continue it. Austria had fallen out of the ranks. Prussia was unreliable. Great Britain not only had failed to display her flag in the Baltic, but Grenville's Ministry refused to guarantee a loan. To Napoleon, the Continental System for Great Britain's humiliation being already in train, Russian co-operation was essential, and Alexander was dazzled by the suggestion of a revived Byzantine Empire with himself at its head. The Tilsit interview therefore produced a resolution to abandon hostilities, and at Alexander's request Napoleon admitted Prussia to an immediate armistice. On July 7, 1807, France and Russia concluded the Treaty of Tilsit. Between Prussia and France peace was signed at the same place two days later.

The Treaty of Tilsit made Russia a partner in Napoleon's policy. Alexander accepted the transformation effected in Italy, Germany, and elsewhere. He agreed to mediate between Great Britain and France, and failing the conclusion of terms satisfactory to his ally, to close his ports against British ships and commerce. He undertook to co-operate with France in coercing Denmark, Sweden, and Portugal, the only countries outside the Continental System by which Napoleon intended the destruction of his single maritime rival. He also advanced Napoleon's policy in the Adriatic. The Ionian Isles, part of the spoil of Venetia, had passed to France under the Treaty of Campo Formio. In the War of the Second Coalition, however, they were captured by Russia (1799) and had been retained by her. So recently as 1806, also, a joint Russian and Montenegrin force had forestalled Austria's cession of the Dalmatian harbour Cattaro to France. Both Cattaro and the Ionian Isles were now surrendered by the Tsar. Russia was to find her compensation at Sweden's expense. A French division marched into Pomerania, while Alexander turned his attention to Finland. The duchy was ceded to him by Sweden in 1809 and has remained in Russia's hands ever since. Napoleon on his side undertook not to promote the independence of Poland. He also agreed to negotiate with Turkey,

and in default of a successful issue, to aid the Tsar's designs upon the Ottoman Empire in Europe.

Napoleon did not delay to reap the fruits of Jena and Auerstädt. Saxony, elevated to the rank of a kingdom, purged her recent association with Prussia by entering the Confederation of the Rhine (December, 1806) and furnishing her quota to the federal army of its Protector. From Prussia's capital Napoleon launched (November 21, 1806) the famous Berlin Decree, prohibiting commercial intercourse with Great Britain, declaring the British Isles in a state of blockade, ordering the confiscation of British ships and goods, and decreeing the imprisonment of British subjects wherever they might be found. Prussia suffered heavily for her rash challenge to Napoleon. She retained Silesia, but the Treaty of Tilsit deprived her of most of her acquisitions under Frederick the Great. It denuded her of all her territory west of the Elbe, including Hanover. East of the Oder she retained East Pomerania, East Prussia, and (with the exception of Danzig, Thorn, and the southern district about Netze) West Prussia. Her other Polish acquisitions were torn from her. The province of Bialystok was given to Russia. South Prussia and New East Prussia were erected into a duchy, which from 1808 was styled the Grand-Duchy of Warsaw and was attached to Saxony. Danzig, under the nominal protection of Prussia and Saxony, received a French garrison. Policed on the east by the new Polish duchy, Napoleon created a new kingdom to contain Prussia on the west. The southern part (and in 1810 all) of Hanover, Hesse-Cassel, and Brunswick were formed into the Kingdom of Westphalia, a member of the Confederation of the Rhine, which now included all Germany except Prussia and Austria. Jerome Bonaparte received this, the last, of the Napoleonic kingdoms.

Napoleon was now committed irrevocably to counter the maritime monopoly of Great Britain by excluding her commerce from Continental ports. At Warsaw (1807) and Milan (1807) he repeated and extended the Decree which had gone forth from Berlin. "I am resolved," he declared, "to master the sea through my supremacy on land." The British Government retaliated by Orders in Council which declared ships of all countries conforming to the Decrees lawful prize. There still were gaps through which British goods could penetrate

Napoleon's barriers; for Portugal, Sweden, and Denmark were outside the orbit of French influence. Their inclusion within the Continental System was essential, and at Tilsit Napoleon concerted with Alexander to seize the Danish, Swedish, and Portuguese fleets, a project which promised to repair France's losses at Trafalgar. But it reached the ears of Canning. At Copenhagen a British squadron demanded surrender of the Danish fleet until the conclusion of the war. The demand was refused, and after a bombardment of Copenhagen (September, 1807) the Danes (eighteen sail of the line and more than fifty smaller vessels) surrendered. Sweden also eluded Napoleon. The campaign in Pomerania after the Treaty of Tilsit went ill for Sweden, and the capture of Stralsund and Rügen filled up another gap in Napoleon's Continental Blockade. Discontent with Gustavus IV's failure in Pomerania was intensified by his feeble resistance to the Russians in Finland in the following spring (1808). In May, 1809, he was compelled to abdicate in favour of his uncle, Charles XIII, the last Sovereign of the House of Vasa. On Charles's death in 1818 his adopted heir, Marshal Bernadotte, succeeded him as Charles XIV. Bernadotte's dynasty still rules Sweden, the only one of the new royal Houses of the Napoleonic period which survives.

The scheme of the Continental Blockade also inspired Napoleon's treatment of Spain and Portugal, and caused the Peninsular War whose history is detailed in Chapter II. Junot and a French army entered Portugal, whose royal family fled (November, 1807) incontinent to Brazil, while Napoleon announced that the House of Braganza had ceased to reign. Discreditable intrigues enabled him to destroy the Bourbon dynasty in Spain also. King Charles IV was induced to abdicate (May, 1808), and Napoleon called his brother Joseph Bonaparte from Naples to fill the empty throne. His action stimulated a patriotic reaction in Spain which spread across the Pyrenees and, in the issue, carried Napoleon to his fall. A Tyrolese rising against the Bavarian yoke, a movement in Westphalia against the rule of Jerome Bonaparte, the service of Duke Frederick William of Brunswick's "Black Troop" in Saxony, Brunswick, and with Wellington against the common enemy in the Peninsula, and the efforts of the patriot Friedrich von Schill in Westphalia and Hesse, all manifested the spirit of revolt which Spain initiated. Even Russia, in spite of

an interview between Napoleon and Alexander at Erfurt (September–October, 1808), cooled towards the French alliance.

To Prussia, awaiting an opening to measure herself once more against her conqueror, the philosopher Johann Gottlieb Fichte made stirring patriotic appeals. The appointment of Wilhelm von Humboldt as Minister of Education, and the establishment of new Universities at Berlin and Breslau, stimulated the *moral* which won Prussia's emancipation and enabled her to lead the new Germany whose advent was imminent. In Goethe and Christopher Martin Wieland literature gave the same message of hope and confidence. To Friedrich Karl Stein she owed the material strength which carried her War of Liberation to the gates of Paris. He reformed Prussia's administrative system, abolished serfdom (Edict of Emancipation, October 9, 1807), effaced the paralysing effects of class privilege, and conferred self-government on the towns, which, since the reign of Frederick William I, had lost all free civic life. Stein's colleague Gerhard David von Scharnhorst reformed the Prussian military system. In every direction after the Treaty of Tilsit there developed a sentiment and strength in Prussia and Germany which heralded the final episode in the drama of Napoleon.

Austria also set her house in order before again (1809) pitting her strength against France. Her Minister, Count von Stadion, saw in German unity the hope for Germany's release from foreign yoke. In the Emperor's brother, Archduke Charles, she possessed a soldier whom even Napoleon praised. By him her military establishment was reorganized. In spite of Napoleon's angry protest, he formed a *Landwehr* in which were enrolled all males between eighteen and twenty-five years of age capable of bearing arms. In 1809 Austria could place in the field over 250,000 men. The tactics, equipment, and organization of her army were also overhauled.

Austria took the field in 1809 in more encouraging circumstances than those which attended Prussia's challenge to France three years earlier. Prussia refused to join her unless Russia did so; and Russia resolved to fulfil her Treaty obligations to France. But Spain closely engaged Napoleon's attention, and Dupont's surrender and loss of an army 18,000 strong at Baylen (July, 1808) inflicted upon France such a reverse as she had not experienced yet under the Empire. It

gave encouragement to France's enemies throughout Europe. Great Britain promised a subsidy and a diversion on behalf of Austria in the Netherlands (the ill-fated Walcheren expedition). Early in April, 1809, the Archduke Charles appealed to his army to strike for the freedom of Europe "which has taken refuge under your colours," and to release their German brothers in the ranks of the French usurper. But the result was disappointing. The Archduke's brothers led armies into the Grand-Duchy of Warsaw and Italy. Charles himself invaded Bavaria, where the French, weak in numbers and artillery, as yet were not concentrated. The arrival of Napoleon changed the situation. After brief manœuvres,—the "Ratisbon Campaign"—the Archduke, beaten at Abensberg and Eckmühl, withdrew his whole force. On May 13, 1809, Napoleon was once more in Vienna, and five days later began to transfer his army to the left bank of the Danube, designing to engage the Archduke on the historic Marchfeld. In default of the bridge which he had used in the Austerlitz campaign, Napoleon constructed pontoons below Vienna, where Lobau Island divides the stream. At the villages of Aspern and Essling on the left bank he established a small force to cover the passage of the main body. But before the latter could cross, the Austrians attacked in strength. A bloody combat raged for two days (May 21, 22) and failed to dislodge the French. In the course of it the Austrians burned the largest of the pontoons, and threatened the Emperor's only line of retreat. With difficulty the damage was repaired. Abandoning the left bank, Napoleon for six weeks lay inactive on Lobau Island, while Europe awaited expectantly the news of his collapse. Early in July, however, having been reinforced, Napoleon again crossed the Danube, and at Wagram (July 6, 1809) routed the Archduke after a stubborn battle. A week later an armistice brought the campaign to an end.

Austria was once more at Napoleon's mercy. But her sentence was delayed pending the issue of two British enterprises. Wellington in Spain won the Battle of Talavera three weeks after Wagram (July 28), but failed to recover Madrid or to shake Joseph Bonaparte's hold on the kingdom. On the same day a British expedition sailed to the Scheldt in accordance with the agreement with Austria. Its objective was Antwerp; a landing was effected on the Island Walcheren,

and Flushing and other places capitulated. But sickness—the "Walcheren fever"—broke out among the troops, nearly half of whom succumbed, and after two attempts to take the fleet up the river, the project was abandoned.

Her ally's failure removed the last hope that Austria's punishment would be light. The Treaty of Vienna or Schönbrunn (October 15, 1809) compelled her to disgorge her Polish territory. Western Galicia was attached to the Grand-Duchy of Warsaw. South-eastern Old Galicia was transferred to Russia. Bavaria received Salzburg, Berchtesgaden, and the Innviertel, in exchange for South Tyrol, which she abandoned to the French Kingdom of Italy. The Treaty also removed Austria from the Adriatic. Upper, or Western, Carinthia, Carniola, Croatia (part), Trieste, Gorizia and Gradisca, and Fiume were ceded to France and, with Istria and Dalmatia, were formed into her Illyrian Provinces. Austria in all lost more than four millions of her population and was laid under an indemnity of over £3,000,000. She undertook to reduce her army to 150,000 men, and to adhere to the Continental System. She fell to the rank of a second-rate Power. But though the hope of Europe's imminent liberation fell with her, the campaign of 1809 was the last that Napoleon led to a victorious conclusion.

CHAPTER II

THE PENINSULAR AND COLONIAL WARS

The Treaty of Basle (1795), which recalled France's armies from Spanish soil, re-established friendly relations between the two countries. Spain's incapable Charles IV had become king in 1788, but the conduct of affairs was in the hands of Manuel de Godoy, "Prince of the Peace" of 1795, an unprincipled, self-seeking man, whose character invested the king's son Ferdinand with undeserved popularity. Spanish policy more than once threatened Napoleon's plans. In 1801 he announced "the last hour" of the Spanish monarchy, resenting its half-hearted fulfilment of his orders to coerce Portugal into closing her ports against British shipping. Five years later, on the eve of the Jena campaign, Godoy, prompted by Russia, issued a threatening proclamation against France, and though Napoleon was placated by abject protestations, his resolution to remove the Bourbons from the Spanish throne was confirmed. After the Treaty of Tilsit, the Emperor's schemes demanded Portugal's inclusion within his Continental System against Great Britain, and the Spanish Court light-heartedly assented to an agreement whose sinister import to itself it failed to detect. In October, 1807, a secret Convention between France and Spain was signed at Fontainebleau for the partition of the Portuguese Kingdom. It stipulated that the Italian Kingdom of Etruria should be surrendered by its youthful Sovereign, Charles IV's grandson, in return for northern Portugal above the Douro, which, with the title "King of Northern Lusitania," he was to receive under the "Protectorship" of the King of Spain. Greater Portugal was conveyed to the latter, with the title "Emperor of the two Americas." Godoy's plunder was to be a considerable Principality south of the Tagus. The disposal of

the unappropriated region between the Tagus and Douro was reserved till the general pacification. Blind to the malevolence of Napoleon's policy, the Spanish Court entered into a military agreement which placed the kingdom at the Emperor's mercy. It pledged Spain to dispatch nearly 30,000 troops into Portugal, and sanctioned the march of a French army of equal strength through Spain against Lisbon. A second and larger French army assembled at Bayonne across the frontier.

To forestall Great Britain's probable action, Napoleon gave imperative orders to Junot, commanding at Bayonne, to make forced marches on Lisbon and seize the Portuguese fleet. The latter, and with it the Portuguese royal family, eluded Junot, however, when, in November, 1807, he entered the capital. Meanwhile the domestic dissensions of the Spanish Bourbons grew to a crisis which permitted Napoleon's intervention. In October, 1807, Charles arrested his son Ferdinand on the charge of complicity in a plot to murder the queen and her worthless favourite, Godoy. The quarrel was composed, but Napoleon no longer deemed it necessary to conceal his designs. In February, 1808, the chief fortresses of Northern Spain were seized and committed to French garrisons. Public opinion fixed upon Godoy as the betrayer of his country to France. At Aranjuez, whither the Court fled from the capital, an infuriated mob clamoured round the palace for the Minister's head, and his life was saved only by the king's abdication in his son's favour (March, 1808).

The fall of Godoy obstructed Napoleon's pose as the executor of public vengeance against him. The accession of the popular, though unworthy, Ferdinand also was disconcerting, and Napoleon set himself to adjust the situation. Charles and his queen were brought under guard to Bayonne, and Ferdinand, seeking protection, proceeded there also. As the result of unscrupulous parleyings with both parties, Napoleon first of all induced Ferdinand to execute a deed of abdication in favour of his father, and then produced a deed of resignation by the latter in favour of "my friend Napoleon the Great." Murat, whom Napoleon sent into Spain with a commission as "Lieutenant for the Emperor in Spain," deported from Madrid the remaining members of the Spanish royal House. A rising in the capital, the *Dos Mayo* (May 2), was easily quelled. A *Junta* of Regency was appointed, and at Bayonne

in June, 1808, subservient courtiers accepted Joseph Bonaparte as King of Spain, and a Parliamentary Constitution.

Spain was stirred beyond Napoleon's anticipation. Throughout the kingdom local representative *Juntas* were formed; French residents and sympathizers were massacred; priests urged their flocks to fight the French as their forefathers fought the Moors. Underestimating Spain's depth of feeling, Napoleon planned to repress it by flying-columns from Madrid. One of them, commanded by Dupont, marched to relieve Cadiz and Seville. Dupont's troops were raw and young, and at Baylen were forced to capitulate (July, 1808), a blow to French *prestige* and an encouragement to Napoleon's enemies on both sides of the Pyrenees. Saragossa, defended by a young adventurer, Joseph Palafox, withstood a siege for two months. So serious was the situation, that King Joseph evacuated Madrid, and sought refuge behind the Ebro. Early in August, Sir Arthur Wellesley landed in Portugal and inaugurated a campaign which defeated Napoleon's plans in the Peninsula, and contributed directly to his collapse.

The Peninsular War

Wellesley was under forty years of age when he landed in Portugal in August, 1808. He had seen much service in India, and was well known for his victories at Argaum and Assaye, though Napoleon affected to despise the ability of a "Sepoy General." Wellesley's instructions were, to give "the Portuguese and Spanish nations every possible aid in throwing off the yoke of France." But on his arrival he found himself subordinate to two officers of inferior ability, Sir Hew Dalrymple, Governor of Gibraltar, and his second-in-command, Sir Harry Burrard. Before they arrived, however, Wellesley had opportunity to display his abilities. Lisbon being in the occupation of Junot and the French, and the Tagus not convenient, Wellesley disembarked at the mouth of the Mondego river, and, reinforced by a British division from the south of Spain, set out along the coast road towards Lisbon. Routing a smaller force sent by Junot to check his advance, Wellesley marched unopposed as far as Vimiero, hard by the famous Lines which he built a few months later at Torres Vedras.

Here Junot gave battle (August 21) and suffered a defeat which would have been more disastrous if Burrard, inopportunely arrived from England, had not stopped the preparations for pursuit. Burrard in his turn was superseded next morning by Dalrymple, who conducted the negotiations which Junot invited. Nine days after the battle he agreed to the Convention of Cintra (it was drafted at Torres Vedras and concluded at Lisbon). Wellesley held that Junot ought to have been forced to capitulate. But he shared his colleagues' desire to remove the French army from Portugal even if concessions were needed to secure that result. Hence, in return for the surrender of Lisbon and other Portuguese fortresses in French occupation, Junot and his army, with much plunder of public and private property, were transported to France in British vessels. By the end of September Portugal was clear of the French. In England the Convention was received with disfavour. Public opinion held that Junot should not have been allowed to escape after Vimiero, and that he should have been forced to surrender instead of receiving favourable terms. Wellesley and both his superior officers were called home before a Court of enquiry. All were exonerated. But neither Dalrymple nor Burrard was sent again on active service, and Wellesley remained unemployed until he returned to Portugal in the spring of 1809.

Upon the recall of Dalrymple the command in Portugal was conferred on Sir John Moore. His orders were to join the Spanish armies along the line of the Ebro, behind which Joseph Bonaparte had retired after Baylen to await succour from his brother. As Napoleon's interview with the Tsar at Erfurt (October, 1808) seemed to assure peace in Central Europe, the Emperor could give his personal attention to Spain. Within a month of the Erfurt meeting he concentrated an overwhelming force on the Ebro, shattered the Spanish armies along their whole front, and on December 4 entered Madrid in triumph. In a manifesto he announced: "The Bourbons can no longer reign in Europe," and, "No power under the influence of England can exist on the Continent," axioms which the Peninsular War proved fallacious. Meanwhile Moore set out from Lisbon at about the time of Napoleon's departure from Erfurt, but had got no farther than Salamanca when Napoleon entered Madrid. With forces vastly

inferior to those which Napoleon controlled, the utmost that Moore could accomplish was to divert immediate danger from Lisbon and Portugal. He therefore struck northward from Salamanca towards Sahagun, where Soult lay isolated. As Moore threatened his communications, Napoleon set out from Madrid in pursuit. Learning that the Emperor with a superior force was following him, Moore made forced marches towards the Spanish port of Corunna, while Napoleon drove his army with impatient haste to the very confines of Galicia. But influenced either by the menacing attitude of Austria, or by the news of plots in Paris, or disinclined to continue an adventure which promised little glory to himself, the Emperor committed the pursuit to Soult, who came up with Moore at Corunna as he was on the point of embarking his army. Compelled to give battle (January, 1809) Moore gained a victory at the cost of his life, and next day the troops embarked for England. Though Napoleon's arrival had defeated the execution of Moore's original plan, the campaign drew the whole French force against him into the north of the peninsula, and deprived Napoleon of his only opportunity to control in person the Pyrenean situation.

The death of Moore left Portugal without British defence, save a small body, about 9000 strong, under Sir John Cradock at Lisbon. Napoleon confidently anticipated the recovery of Portugal in the following campaign. After his defeat at Corunna, Soult was directed to enter northern Portugal, seize Oporto, and advance upon Lisbon. Soult, however, moved leisurely, wasting time, it is supposed, in intrigues for the throne of Portugal. In March, 1809, he secured Oporto, after beating from the outworks an undisciplined Portuguese force headed by the bishop. But he was too weak to hold the place, maintain his communications, and at the same time encounter the Portuguese and British before Lisbon. Hence the situation was satisfactory when Wellesley landed at Lisbon (April, 1809) and took over the command of the British and Portuguese troops, over 40,000 in number, of whom 25,000 were British.

Before he left England Wellesley drew up for Castlereagh a "Memorandum on the Defence of Portugal," which is characteristic of his ability to gauge a situation. Contrary to the opinion of Moore, who regarded Portugal as indefensible with

the sparse forces which the government provided, Wellesley held that, having regard to the natural features of the country and Great Britain's maritime access to it, Portugal could not be successfully invaded and held by the French with less than 100,000 men. He concluded that Napoleon, being on the verge of the Wagram campaign, could not spare so large a number until 1810, at the earliest. Meanwhile, he was confident that the small British force on the Tagus was adequate to keep the French out of Portugal and to hearten Spanish resistance. With similar prescience he laid his plans for the campaign of 1810; for the Lines of Torres Vedras were begun in the autumn of 1809 and fulfilled the part he designed for them a year later.

After a fortnight's rest Wellesley moved against Soult, and sent a column eastward along the Douro to cut off retreat into Spain by that route. He himself engaged Soult in front of Oporto (May, 1809) and compelled him, with the loss of baggage and artillery, to make a difficult retreat into Galicia, where for the moment he was out of action. Portugal once more was cleared of French troops, and Wellesley prepared to carry help to the Spanish nationalists. After communicating with the Supreme Central *Junta* at Seville, he agreed to make a joint attempt on Madrid with the Spanish General Cuesta, but without the supreme command which he exercised over the Portuguese forces. The two armies effected a junction and moved up the Tagus towards Talavera, where King Joseph and a French army outnumbering the Allies by nearly two to one screened the capital. Talavera is the single exception to Wellesley's habit of placing infantry in a position concealed from the preliminary artillery fire of the enemy. Hence in the battle (July, 1809) his infantry suffered before they got to close quarters. The French ignored the Spaniards, who held the right of the line, and concentrated upon the British regiments. With the loss of a quarter of his strength, however, Wellesley won the day, and probably would have entered Madrid if Soult, reinforced since his retreat into Galicia, had not appeared on the Tagus and threatened Wellesley's communications with Portugal. Wellesley therefore drew off southwards towards Badajoz and the valley of the Guadiana, where he remained inactive for some time. The general situation was critical. Three weeks before Talavera,

Napoleon was victorious at Wagram. Central Europe lay at his feet, and before the end of 1809 the whole of Spain except Cadiz and Gibraltar was lost to the nationalists. But, inconclusive as the engagement proved, Talavera roused enthusiasm in England, and relieved the despondency which the ill-managed Walcheren expedition was causing. Wellesley was raised to the peerage as Viscount Wellington.

The situation in Spain and Central Europe at the close of 1809 convinced Wellington that the campaign of 1810 would determine Portugal's fate. He foresaw that he might be compelled to fall back on Lisbon before a superior force, and that his safety and the issue of the struggle might rest upon his ability to hold out for an indefinite period in a situation of strength. Such a site he observed in the narrow promontory between the sea and the Tagus at Torres Vedras, about twenty-five miles north of Lisbon. In October, 1809, after the Talavera campaign, he began to construct the elaborate system of works which surprised Masséna a year later. The Lines of Torres Vedras, on which thousands of Portuguese were employed, were of elaborate construction. The outer series of fortifications covered a front of about thirty miles. Hills and valleys were strengthened by forts, earthworks, and redoubts, and heavy guns were brought from Lisbon to equip the batteries. A second line, covering a narrower front, was formed in the rear of the first. At the mouth of the Tagus a third line of works offered protection in case the troops were driven to embark in face of the enemy. Over 100 redoubts and nearly 500 guns were employed in the Lines. With such secrecy were the works constructed, and so unreliable was the French Intelligence service, that the existence of the Lines was unknown to the enemy until the autumn of 1810.

As Wellington divined, Napoleon planned the campaign of 1810 to achieve the reduction of Portugal. He sent across the Pyrenees nearly 100,000 of his best troops, seasoned by service in Germany, and placed them under the command of Masséna, who had distinguished himself in the Wagram campaign. Soult was directed to reduce Cadiz. Masséna took up the command in May. Having made himself master of Ciudad Rodrigo, one of Spain's border fortresses, he began to move in August. He captured Almeida, a Portuguese frontier

fortress, but encountered in Portugal an unexpected scheme of defence. Wellington had instructed the inhabitants of the countryside, and even of the towns, to destroy their foodstuffs, to take refuge in Oporto or the mountains, or to fall back with him upon Lisbon. The French looked to replenish their commissariat by local levies, and Wellington, at comparatively small sacrifice, seriously embarrassed Masséna. The latter, advancing with difficulty, hoped to cross the Mondego before Wellington, who was retiring along that river, could prevent him. At Busaco, however, on commanding ground, Wellington threw himself across Masséna's path and compelled an engagement. He was anxious to test the *moral* of his Portuguese troops, and, if successful, to retire behind Torres Vedras with the *prestige* of victory. As at Vimiero, and later at Waterloo, Wellington masked his infantry at Busaco to deceive Masséna regarding their strength and disposition. After a short hour's engagement (September, 1810), in which the French suffered heavily, Wellington fell back, in accordance with his plan, upon Torres Vedras, escorting the population of the wasted countryside. He entered the Lines on October 11. On the following morning Masséna came up and realized the strength of works of whose existence he had learnt since the Battle of Busaco. He satisfied himself that the Lines were impregnable, and withdrew to Santarem on the Tagus, where he remained from November, 1810, to March, 1811, in dire straits for want of provisions. Soult was ordered to his assistance, but having no love for Masséna, moved leisurely. Masséna, in fact, had retreated from Santarem before Soult, as a preliminary to entering Portugal, forced the capitulation of the frontier fortress Badajoz (March, 1811). Masséna arrived at Ciudad Rodrigo a few weeks later, having lost 25,000 men in a campaign that cheated Napoleon of the conquest he looked for and fanned his wrath against an antagonist who thwarted his plans on sea and land.

Masséna's evacuation of Portugal in the spring of 1811 may be regarded as the beginning of a retreat which three years later emptied the Peninsula of the French. For the moment Wellington set himself to complete Portugal's deliverance by recovering Almeida and Badajoz. The latter duty he entrusted to Lord Beresford, who had been sent to the Portuguese in 1809, at their request, to reorganize and command their army.

He defeated Soult at Albuera (May, 1811), the bloodiest battle in the war, but failed to take Badajoz, whose recovery was delayed until the following year. Wellington captured Almeida, after again proving his superiority over Masséna at Fuentes d'Oñoro (May, 1811). Once more the French were extruded from Portugal, and Napoleon recalled Masséna in disgrace. In his place he sent Marmont, who three years later at Versailles played the move that compelled Napoleon's abdication. Marmont dispersed his men into cantonments, and after fruitless efforts by Wellington to recover Badajoz and Ciudad Rodrigo, the memorable campaign of 1811 came to an end. Napoleon was as far off as ever from the conquest of Portugal. In Spain the greater part of his huge army was employed against irrepressible *guerrilla* bands, and was not available against his British antagonist.

The year 1812, fateful in Napoleon's career, opened badly for him in Spain. After three years of defensive tactics Wellington at length took the offensive. In January, 1812, he invested Ciudad Rodrigo. Marmont drew in his troops, but before they could concentrate at Salamanca, Ciudad Rodrigo surrendered to a fierce assault. Napoleon's recall of troops from Spain to take part in the imminent Russian campaign eased Wellington's task. In the following March he invested Badajoz, and after three weeks' siege carried it by assault. The armies of Marmont on the north and of Soult on the south of the Tagus remained. Excepting by way of Madrid, the only communication between them was the bridge of boats at Almaraz. Wellington destroyed it, threatened Marmont's headquarters at Salamanca, and was attacked by him on high ground to the south of that place (July, 1812). As usual Wellington screened his troops from observation, and Marmont, endeavouring with his left wing to envelop Wellington's right, involved himself in sudden and complete disaster. While the British right descended from the heights and engaged Marmont's left, isolated from its main body, another division, concealed in a wood beyond the radius of Marmont's turning movement, fell upon its flank and rear and broke it up. The remainder of the French line was driven from the field, and 40,000 men were beaten in forty minutes. The battle revealed Wellington in a new light, and proved him a master of offensive, as already he was recognized to be of defensive, tactics.

Great results followed from the victory. King Joseph again abandoned his capital and withdrew into Valencia, fearing to retreat towards France lest his access to Madrid should be cut off. Soult fell back on the same locality, and for the moment southern and central Spain were released from French occupation. Three weeks after his victory Wellington entered Madrid (August, 1812). Anxious to drive Marmont's broken forces entirely from the north, but with inadequate equipment, Wellington invested Burgos, and after a month's siege abandoned the effort (October, 1812). The pause allowed the French to recover. Soult and King Joseph returned to Madrid, and Wellington fell back upon Salamanca. Soult pressed the pursuit, and after a painful retreat, in which the British force suffered greatly, Wellington went into quarters at Ciudad Rodrigo. But in spite of his retreat from Burgos, the campaign encouraged the Allies. The southern provinces of Spain were delivered from the French, who were thrown upon the defensive in circumstances of discouragement. The British army and its chief had enhanced their reputations, and Wellington, who was created an Earl at the beginning of the campaign, was advanced to a Marquessate after his occupation of Madrid.

The year 1813 opened promisingly for the Allies. The disastrous result of Napoleon's Russian campaign was known, and Soult was recalled to Germany. The delivery of southern Spain from French occupation allowed Wellington to get into touch with Cadiz and to accept from the *Cortes*, which had superseded the Central *Junta* in 1810, the post of *Generalissimo* of the Spanish forces, to whose organization he set himself. Liverpool, who, in June, 1812, had formed a Cabinet in which Wellington afterwards served, supported the Peninsular campaign vigorously, and Wellington faced Jourdan, who succeeded Soult, on fairly equal terms. Napoleon's instructions to King Joseph were, to concentrate round Valladolid and keep open communications between Spain and France. Assuming that Wellington, as in other campaigns, would use Ciudad Rodrigo and Almeida as bases, Jourdan massed his forces between Salamanca and Toledo on the Tagus. But with close secrecy Wellington elaborated a plan which upset Jourdan's calculations. He sent the larger part of his army northward from Ciudad Rodrigo to Braganza, whence it marched eastward

threatening Jourdan's extreme right. The rest of the army moved on Salamanca. Jourdan, not venturing to risk a battle, being in danger between the two divisions of Wellington's force, therefore ordered a general retreat. Burgos was abandoned, its citadel was blown up, and Joseph for the last time evacuated Madrid. So great was Wellington's confidence in his plans, that on beginning his advance he is said to have waved his hand towards the rear with the words "Farewell, Portugal." His anticipation was realized. Not until the Ebro was passed did Jourdan and Joseph stand their ground. At Vittoria (June, 1813) Wellington fought and beat them. Their retreat by the high-road into France being barred by the detached column operating on Wellington's left, Joseph and his army escaped by the mountain track to Pamplona, abandoning guns, military chest, and the spoils of five years' accumulation which he was carrying out of Spain. Wellington estimated the spoils at £1,000,000 sterling. They undermined discipline, weakened the *moral* of his army, and made vigorous pursuit impossible. Leaving garrisons in San Sebastian and Pamplona, Joseph and Jourdan crossed the Pyrenees to Bayonne. The French force in Valencia drew behind the Ebro, and the whole of Spain south of that river was finally released from the French.

Napoleon received the news of Vittoria at Dresden, and recalled Joseph and Jourdan in disgrace. Soult, the only general who had met Wellington in the Peninsula without damage to his reputation, was dispatched to Bayonne, and arrived there about the middle of July, 1813. In an attempt to relieve San Sebastian he was defeated by Wellington on the heights in front of Pamplona (Battle of Sauroren, July, 1813). San Sebastian was carried by storm, and leaving Pamplona to be starved out, Wellington forced Soult's lines, crossed the Bidassoa, and entered France (October, 1813). A month later he penetrated the defences which Soult had constructed behind the Nivelle. Reduced to little more than half Wellington's strength by the Emperor's call for troops, Soult abandoned Bayonne and retired into the interior. Wellington followed in pursuit; for the Allies, advancing on Paris from the Rhine, contemplated his junction with them in that movement. At Orthez (February, 1814) and Toulouse (April) Wellington won the last victories of his five years' campaign. On April 11,

1814, Napoleon abdicated, and Paris was in the occupation of the Allies.

Outside their colonial interests the settlement effected by the Congress of Vienna (1815) did not affect Spain or Portugal. But an unfulfilled agreement provided for the restoration of the province of Olivenza to Portugal, who had ceded it to Spain in 1801 under the coercion which Bonaparte ordered. Spain, however, defied the Powers, and the province remains in her possession. The worthless Ferdinand VII, whom Napoleon released in 1814, was restored to the Spanish throne. In Portugal the Prince Regent, who fled to Brazil with his insane mother, Queen Maria I, in 1807, became king as John VI upon her death in 1816. In his absence the kingdom was governed by a Council of Regency in which British influence was supreme, and the army remained under the command of Lord Beresford. Resentment at the Sovereign's neglect of Portugal and at the foreign influence which guided the Regency was general. An insurrection in 1820 drove the British officers from the army, abolished the Inquisition and surviving traces of feudalism, gave liberty to the Press, and formulated a representative Constitution. In 1821 John VI was induced to return to Portugal. His elder son, Dom Pedro, remained in Brazil, and in 1822 was proclaimed Emperor of Brazil.

The Anglo-American War, 1812–14

Though British effort in the Peninsula contributed to the fall of Napoleon, Wellington's victories did not bring to Great Britain material gain in Europe. It was otherwise with the wider contest waged by her navy on every sea and ocean. She emerged from it the greatest Colonial Power of the age. It will be convenient to follow her fortunes in the several arenas in which her successes were gained.

When France declared war upon her in 1793, ten years had passed since a Treaty drafted on French soil (Treaty of Versailles, 1783) deprived Great Britain of her American colonies, launched the United States upon their independent career, and restored to Spain the peninsula of Florida, or East Florida, which she had ceded to Great Britain in 1763. Her losses removed Great Britain from the continent below the St.

Lawrence, with which her history had been bound up for close on three hundred years. In the next generation the territory of the United States was greatly extended. Louisiana, the region beyond the Mississippi which France abandoned to Spain in 1763, was retroceded by Spain to France in 1800, a change of ownership which was not agreeable to the Americans, since France desired to restrict the United States to what Talleyrand called " the limits which Nature seems to have traced out " for them, namely, the Mississippi river. In 1803, however, being anxious to avoid complications with the United States at a moment when renewal of war with Great Britain was imminent, Bonaparte sold Louisiana to the Americans for fifteen million dollars. Its western boundary was understood to be the Rocky Mountains. The delimitation of the eastern frontier involved difficulties with Spain, who in 1783 resumed possession of the Peninsula of Florida, or East Florida. The United States maintained that Louisiana included West Florida (the coastal region between the Mississippi and Perdido rivers), while Spain contended that she had not included the region in her cession of Louisiana to France in 1800. Eventually, in 1812, the United States occupied part of Florida, and in 1819 acquired both East and West Florida from Ferdinand VII of Spain by purchase. Before the middle of the century the Republic extended over the whole continent to the Pacific in the west and to the British boundary in the north.

The Republic was four years old when France declared war upon Great Britain in 1793, and George Washington, its first President, was organizing its administrative machinery. During their earlier history its component States had been jealous of their local liberties, and the Republic was divided now between the " Republicans " opposed to, and the " Federalists " in favour of, Washington's constructive work. In the north, as was natural in view of its traditions, the Republicans were strongest. The southern States were Federalist. The outbreak of the French Revolution found the Americans also divided on a matter outside domestic politics. Sympathy with the Revolution was general, and in the war between France and Great Britain the former had the good will of both parties. But the agricultural Republican North supported a policy of neutral sympathy ; the Federalist

South, whose commercial interests seemed to require it, favoured, and indeed compelled, the war into which the Republic was eventually driven.

The European conflict made it difficult for the United States to remain passive. In the course of it she became the principal neutral carrier, with an export trade of over £22,000,000 annually. British Orders in Council and Napoleon's Decrees threatened her with ruin, and as the war proceeded became increasingly stringent. In 1807 Napoleon, who had declared the British Isles under blockade, decreed the confiscation of all neutral vessels that submitted to British search; while Great Britain forbade neutrals to trade between ports from which the British merchant flag was excluded, unless they had taken out a licence for the purpose at some port in the United Kingdom, at Gibraltar, or Malta. Damaged by the policy of both belligerents, American sympathy remained with the French; for the struggle with Great Britain was still a vivid memory. Hostility towards her was intensified by other causes. Great Britain enforced in American waters her right to search neutral vessels. After the Treaty of Amiens (1802) the carrying trade of continental Europe was conducted almost completely under the American flag, and there was more frequent opportunity to exercise a right which was resented by every nation. The seizure of vessels infringing British blockades was another grievance. Much feeling was aroused by Great Britain's disregard to American citizenship when impressing man-of-war crews. The United States granted citizenship to aliens after five years' residence (fourteen years after 1798). But Great Britain contended that only the act of the mother country could absolve a British-born subject from his allegiance. Hence British press-gangs in naval ports frequently impressed men who claimed American citizenship. On the other hand, Great Britain had ground of complaint against the United States. The rapid growth of the American carrying trade increased the demand for sailors. Wages rose to three times the amount customary in the British navy, and the arrival of a British war-vessel in American ports was followed usually by desertions in hope of better pay on American ships. In 1807 a British man-of-war held up the United States frigate *Chesapeake* which was believed to have British deserters on board, and on her refusal to muster her

crew, made her a prize. The event caused the liveliest anger in America. Among other grievances, the legacy of the War of Independence, were the unsettled boundary on the North-East (Maine); Great Britain's retention of the forts on the Canadian frontier from Lake Michigan to Lake Champlain, and the consequent loss of the fur trade of that region; and an unsatisfied claim regarding thousands of negroes carried from New York by the British in 1783.

In 1806 the United States began to retaliate; for public opinion was roused strongly. To satisfy British Orders forbidding neutrals to discharge at ports closed by paper blockades or Admiralty decisions, the Americans hit upon the "broken voyage," that is, a voyage broken by an intermediate visit to an American port. A decision of the British Admiralty in 1805 disallowed the practice, and an American ship, the *Essex*, which had re-shipped her cargo at Salem on a voyage between Spain and Havanna was seized and condemned. Retaliation was resolved upon, and in 1806 the importation from Great Britain and her dependencies of a large number of commodities was forbidden. In the following year an Embargo Act was passed, and for two years, 1807–9, the Republic ruinously closed its ports against foreign commerce, rather than submit to the infraction of its neutral rights. In 1809 a Non-Intercourse Act restricted the embargo to Great Britain, France, and their dependencies, the President having power to suspend the Act in relation to either Great Britain or France on their revoking their Orders and Decrees. Napoleon gave a conditional undertaking. But as Great Britain took no steps in the matter, the Non-Intercourse Act was revived against her in 1811, and the importation of British goods was entirely forbidden. Still Great Britain took no action, and in the summer of 1812, on the plea, among others, that the Orders in Council had ruined American commerce, and that the blockade of American ports and impressment of American citizens infringed the sovereignty of the United States, the President, James Madison, declared war.

The Anglo-American war lasted for three years and was inconclusive in result. The troops of the United States, few in number, were unable to realize one of the objects for which the war was undertaken, the attachment of Canada to the Republic. Canada also was sparsely provided with

troops and made little impression upon her neighbour. In 1814, however, upon the conclusion of the Peninsular War, about 14,000 of Wellington's troops were drafted to America, but with little effect. The naval war was more interesting and demonstrated the efficiency of the American marine. From the outset the Americans made many prizes, and their frigates were so superior in armament that the British Admiralty forbade commanders to engage American vessels of superior force ; indeed, British sailors averred, an American frigate was for effective purposes a man-of-war. Ill as she could spare them from service in Europe, Great Britain steadily multiplied her vessels in American waters, and the victory of the frigate *Shannon* over the American *Chesapeake* of the same class in 1813 called out enthusiasm in Great Britain that betokened her respect for the naval ability of her opponent. Both belligerents suffered greatly from the conflict. America's exports fell from 22 to $1\frac{1}{2}$ millions sterling. She lost 1400 ships and over 20,000 sailors. So poor was her government's credit in 1814 that a loan of £1,200,000 failed to secure subscribers, and the New England states, exasperated by the financial and commercial outlook, were almost ready for secession from the Union. Great Britain also was a heavy loser. Her trade with the United States was ruined. She had lost sixteen ships of war and over 1600 merchantmen.

On Napoleon's fall negotiations between the two countries were concluded by the Treaty of Ghent in December, 1814. The Treaty waived consideration of the principles at issue. Its clauses related chiefly to boundary questions, and contained a declaration that the Slave trade "is irreconcilable with the principles of humanity and justice," with an agreement to promote its abolition. Great Britain carried out her pledge in the Congress of Vienna. Disregard of it involved the American Republic half a century later in a civil war, North against South, which placed the Union in grave peril.

Canada

It must be regarded as a test and vindication of Great Britain's treatment of Canada, abandoned to her by France in 1763, that twice within the fifty years following its cession

the province had the opportunity to side with the rebellious or belligerent States below the St. Lawrence, and twice preferred the flag to which its mother-country had transferred it. Canada's population in 1763 numbered about 65,000, and was almost exclusively French and Roman Catholic. It was distributed along the St. Lawrence east of the Ottawa river, a locality which the Act of 1791 distinguished as Lower Canada. Within it Quebec and Montreal, the two chief towns, were situated. Upon its cession in 1763 Quebec was constituted one of three governments for the administration of the North American territories acquired by Great Britain in the Seven Years' War. The country between the Ottawa and the Great Lakes remained in the occupation of the Indians, and until after the War of Independence had no considerable European population. This region, Upper Canada, unlike Lower Canada to the west of it, passed under the British Crown without any European traditions or ties, while Lower Canada formed from the outset a French-speaking, Roman Catholic colony. South of the St. Lawrence estuary the old French province of Acadia, acquired by Great Britain in 1713, formed a distinct colony, with its capital at Halifax. Out of it, after the War of Independence, two provinces were formed : New Brunswick, and Cape Breton. Prince Edward Island, called by the French (who surrendered it in 1763) Île de St. Jean, was placed under its own Lieutenant-Governor.

For the first eleven years of her history as a British colony Canada remained under semi-military rule, though a representative Assembly was promised in 1763, and English courts of law were set up. The treatment of the colony, in fact, was somewhat of a problem. British traditions suggested representative institutions. But the Canadians being without experience in the use of them, Canada remained under a military Governor acting with an Advisory Council. In the years that followed its transference to the British Crown the colony underwent little change, excepting the immigration into Lower Canada of about two hundred colonists from New England, traders and disbanded soldiers for the most part, who settled chiefly in Quebec and Montreal. Being a Protestant and British minority they introduced a difficulty ; they were aloof from the French colonists, and grumbled at the failure to set up the promised Assembly. The home government,

however, guided by Sir Guy Carleton, the Governor, kept in view the circumstances of the colony, and in 1774, on the verge of the American war, passed the Quebec Act. Rejecting a popular Assembly, partly because the institution was foreign to Canadian experience, partly because its composition was bound to be almost exclusively Roman Catholic, the Act placed the colony under a Governor and a nominated Council, consisting of not more than twenty-three and not less than seventeen members, with power to pass Ordinances but not to lay taxes or duties. The Roman Catholic religion was recognized as that of the colony. In litigation relating to property and civil rights French Canadian law was to hold, but on the ground of its " certainty and lenity " English criminal law was to prevail.

The Quebec Act furnished another example of the consideration shown by Great Britain to the Canadians since they became her subjects, and she had her reward in their refusal to be drawn into the rebellion which cost her the American colonies. At the same time the war compelled a revision of the policy so far followed by the home government. After its outbreak a stream of loyalists flowed from the American side into Canada. Again, upon the conclusion of the war and the surrender of British rights in the thirteen colonies, a large number of loyalist families migrated to Nova Scotia and Ontario (Upper Canada). They received grants of land and were known as " United Empire Loyalists." Before the Anglo-American war broke out in 1812, Upper Canada had a population of some 70,000, while the population of Lower Canada had nearly quadrupled. It numbered 250,000 souls, about 25,000 or 30,000 of whom were British and American settlers.

The intrusion of a large British population into a colony hitherto exclusively French compelled a revision of the Quebec Act of 1774. To withhold from British settlers their accustomed representative institutions was impossible, and the French population obviously would have to share them. After anxious thought the government, acting upon the advice of Sir Guy Carleton, passed the Constitutional (or Canada) Act of 1791. It divided the province into two parts, British Upper Canada taking its place beside French Lower Canada. Both received an elected Assembly and a nominated Legislative

Council. But while Lower Canada retained the French language, its Roman Catholic Church, and French law, Upper Canada established a Protestant Church, English law, and a system of freehold land-tenure alien to the traditions of France. The settlement created a hardship in the case of British residents in Montreal and Quebec, but otherwise the Act dealt wisely and impartially with Canada. During the next twenty years the colony's material progress was not checked. The French Revolution roused no echo even in Lower Canada, and Napoleon, conscious of his inability to strike at Great Britain in North America, sold Louisiana to the United States in 1803.

The war of 1812–14 therefore found Canada without any inclination to escape from the British flag. The brunt of the war fell upon Upper Canada, whose Loyalists fought mindful of old scores against the Americans. The Treaty of Ghent (1814) provided for the delimitation of the contested north-west frontier of Nova Scotia, and for a more accurate definition of the boundary between Canada and the United States, from Lake Ontario westward to the Lake of the Woods. The boundaries were not satisfactorily settled until 1842, but after the war great progress was made in opening up the vast territories in the west.

The West Indies

The war with France, 1793–1815, did not disturb Great Britain in North America. In the West Indies she improved her position, and in South America gained a permanent footing for the first time. For European Powers with trans-Atlantic interests the West Indies possess great strategic importance, and, prior to the growth of the beet in Europe, were of economic value as the headquarters of the sugar industry. In the eighteenth century Great Britain steadily improved her position in them. Over the Bahamas she had proclaimed her sovereignty in the seventeenth century (1670). Jamaica was ceded by Spain in the same year (1670). By the Treaty of Utrecht (1713) France evacuated St. Kitts, and by the Treaty of Paris (1763) surrendered Dominica, leaving Great Britain in possession of the Leeward Isles (Virgin Isles, St. Kitts, Nevis, Antigua, Montserrat, and

Dominica). The Treaty (1763) also placed Great Britain on an equality with France in the contiguous Windward Isles; she acquired Grenada and the Grenadines, St. Vincent, and Tobago. But the American War of Independence temporarily damaged Great Britain's position in the West Indies; for in its course she lost all the Antilles except three. She recovered them at the conclusion of the war, excepting only Tobago, which she ceded to France (1783). On the opening of the war against Revolutionary France Tobago was recaptured, and St. Lucia in the following year (1794). Martinique was also taken (1794) and for the moment France was expelled from the Windward Isles. By the first Treaty of Paris (1814), however, Great Britain retained of her conquests in that group Tobago and St. Lucia only. Martinique was restored and remains in France's possession. Spain's alliance with the French Republic cost her the island Trinidad, which was captured in 1797 and was ceded to Great Britain by the Treaty of Amiens (1802). In Yucatan, on the Central American mainland, a Spanish attempt (1798) to drive out settlers at Belize in the Bay of Honduras led to the enforcement of British sovereignty in the present Crown Colony of British Honduras. Holland paid the penalty of her association with France upon the establishment of the Batavian Republic in 1795. In Guiana, where her occupation had been undisputed since 1664, a British force from Barbadoes captured her settlements on the Essequibo, Demerara, and Berbice rivers. Confirmed to Great Britain by the London Convention of 1814, the region was formed into the Crown Colony of British Guiana.

India

While the activities of France and Napoleon carried no menace to America save in so far as American waters furnished an arena for the world-wide contest, the situation in the East was influenced by Napoleon's personal intervention. The vision of a French colonial Empire rescued from the ashes of the Seven Years' War, and of Great Britain, invulnerable to direct attack, crippled through her eastern dependency, inspired Bonaparte even before the establishment of the Consulate. The Italian campaign which made him famous

gave France the Ionian Isles (Treaty of Campo Formio, 1797). In the next year, on his way to Egypt, he seized Malta. But the Battle of the Nile (1798) put a period to his designs on India. Great Britain received Malta in the first Treaty of Paris (1814), though the Treaty of Amiens (1802) had bound her to restore it to the Knights of St. John.

Under the stimulus of French aggression Great Britain took steps to guard her eastern dependency. France's relations with the Batavian Republic gave opportunity to secure Cape Colony, a settlement of the Dutch East India Company and a port of call on the route to India. The colony surrendered in 1795. Ceylon was captured by an expedition from Madras in the same year. Between these points the island of Mauritius, so named by the Dutch after Maurice of Nassau, and its dependencies, Seychelles and Rodrigues, formed a dangerous naval station for French privateers in Indian waters. It fell to the British in 1810. Cape Colony was restored to Holland by the Treaty of Amiens (1802), but it was recaptured in 1806, and by the London Convention (1814) was ceded permanently to Great Britain. The development of British Africa from that small beginning was one of the chief events of the nineteenth century. Ceylon in 1798 was placed directly under the British Crown and was ceded by the Treaty of Amiens. Cochin and its dependencies on the Malabar coast passed also into Great Britain's control in the London Convention (1814). France recognized her occupation of Malta and abandoned Mauritius and its dependencies, Rodrigues and Seychelles, in the first Treaty of Paris (1814). The British protectorate of the seven Ionian Isles was established by the settlement of 1815. The war, in fact, stimulated Great Britain's realization of her interests in India and enormously strengthened its external defences.

Impelled by French intrigues with native princes, and by the hostile demeanour of Mysore and the Maratha States, Lord Cornwallis, who came out as the first Governor-General under Pitt's India Act (1784), and his successors, notably the Marquess Wellesley, deserted the traditions of Clive and Warren Hastings, and embarked upon a forward policy which brought the native States within the influence and protection of the Company. In Bengal Cornwallis' administration is memorable

chiefly for his regulation of the land revenue by the Permanent Settlement (1793). Under the Moghuls the land-tax was the principal source of income, and when the Company took over Bengal (1765) it made no change in the methods and agencies by which ground-rents were collected from the cultivators by native *zamindars* who had acquired a hereditary right to do so. Warren Hastings took some steps to control the collection of the land revenue by the appointment of British officials. Cornwallis, after a careful survey, converted the existing *zamindars* into permanent owners of the soil whose ground-rent they collected, charging them a fixed rental payable to the State, and protecting the cultivators against infringement of their tenant-right. At the same time he took steps to assure the administration of civil and criminal law in accordance with English ideas of justice. British magistrates were appointed in every district throughout the province, and Courts of Appeal from their decisions were instituted at Murshidabad, Patna, and Dacca, in addition to Calcutta. The Mohammadan criminal code was revised, the rules of evidence and legal procedure were laid down in the Regulations of 1793, and a considerable step was taken towards the ordered legal system which the conscience of Great Britain has created for India.

In moulding the external policy of the Company Cornwallis lacked the opportunity that awaited his successor Wellesley. The single war which he directed was with Mysore, a Hindu State ruled by Tipu Sultan, whose father, Haidar Ali, had dethroned its reigning family. Tipu possessed a powerful army, and his ambition menaced both the English in Madras and the Nizam in Haidarabad. In 1789 he attacked the Rajah of Travancore, a dependent ally of the Company, and invited the intervention of the French, who were closely observing Indian affairs. Cornwallis took instant action. But it was not until 1792 that the Governor-General received the surrender of Tipu's capital, Seringapatam, and confiscated one-third of his dominions. Malabar on the west coast and the districts of Barahamal and Dindigul in the Carnatic were transferred to the Company. A heavy indemnity was imposed, and Tipu was warned that bad behaviour might lead to the restoration of the Hindu dynasty from which his father had taken the throne. Cornwallis was less successful in his dealings

with the Nawab of the Carnatic, with whom he concluded a subsidiary alliance. He undermined the efficiency of the native administration, and in 1801 Wellesley was obliged entirely to take over the control of the province.

The five years that followed Cornwallis's departure in 1793 developed an acute crisis in India. Madhoji Rao Sindhia, by whom the Maratha power was consolidated, compelled the Great Moghul to appoint the Maratha Peshwa at Poona his vice-regent, the Peshwa being the tool of Sindhia himself. Tipu Sultan of Mysore also, anxious to avenge his defeat by Cornwallis, was again in communication with the French in Mauritius and, affecting the Republican style, it is said, called himself "Citizen Tipu." His army, like that of Sindhia, was commanded and trained by French officers. So potent was French influence in the Nizam's territories that Haidarabad was described as a "French State," and the British position in India generally was in grave jeopardy.

Wellesley (at that time Lord Mornington) arrived in India in 1798, the year of Bonaparte's expedition to Egypt. Grasping the situation, he dealt first with the Nizam. A Treaty of 1798 forced him to receive a body of Sepoys under British officers and to dismiss his French advisers and the troops they had trained. In 1800 Wellesley took the Nizam's dominions under the protection of the Company. Meanwhile, upon the news that Bonaparte had sailed for Egypt, Wellesley proceeded against Tipu, who refused to abandon the French alliance, and was confident in its ability to aid him. A campaign of one month proved his error. Seringapatam was invested, and Tipu was slain in the final assault (1799). The Hindu dynasty which his father had dispossessed was restored under British protection, and Mysore was reduced to its dimensions before Tipu's and his father's aggressions upon their neighbours. The Canara coast was annexed by the Company, and formed an extension of the Malabar region acquired by Lord Cornwallis in 1792.

The Treaties with the Nizam and Mysore made British influence predominant throughout the peninsula, excepting the disjoined territories of the Marathas. Treaties extending the Company's military protection to the native States of Tanjore (1800), the Carnatic (1801), Oudh (1801), and Surat, left Wellesley free to deal with the Marathas. Their confederacy

included five principal chiefs: the Peshwa, the nominal head of the system, with his capital at Poona; the younger Sindhia who had succeeded his uncle, in Agra; Holkar in Indore; the Gaekwar of Baroda; and Bhonsla, Rajah of Nagpore. In 1802 Holkar, disputing with Sindhia control of their nominal chief, the Peshwa, drove the latter from his territories. The Peshwa forthwith entered into an abject treaty with the Company (Treaty of Bassein, 1802) in return for assistance which restored him to his throne. A greater menace remained—the power of Sindhia. Resting on French military support, it embraced a wide region between the Indus and the Ganges and contained Delhi, the imperial capital, where the Great Moghul was Sindhia's prisoner. In 1803 the Governor-General entered upon the inevitable struggle with the Mohammedan prince, and Sir Arthur Wellesley's victories at Assaye and Argaum gave indications of the military genius which relieved his country in a greater crisis a few years later. General Lake took Delhi, rescuing the aged Emperor Shah Alam from Maratha restraint, and after his rout in the Battle of Laswari Sindhia came to terms (1803). He abandoned Delhi, dismissed his French advisers, and submitted to the loss of his territories north of the Jumna. Bhonsla, the Rajah of Berar or Nagpore, yielded to the Company the Orissa coast, which linked Bengal to the Circars acquired by Clive. The Gaekwar made over part of Gujarat on the Gulf of Cambay (1803). An attempt (1804–6) of Holkar to restore Maratha *prestige* failed, and Delhi successfully resisted his siege. Wellesley left India in 1805 while the struggle was still in progress. The dangers which threatened India on his arrival had been removed. The power of the Marathas was broken, and French intrigue was finally expelled. British territory under the Company's direct administration had expanded widely beyond the limits to which Warren Hastings restricted it twenty years before. South of the Godavery river, the protected States of Mysore, Travancore, the Deccan, and Poona, and, between that river and the Jumna, the independent States of the Maratha princes alone broke the continuity of British India. On the Bengal frontier lay the protected state of Oudh. From the Ganges to Cape Comorin and thence to the Gulf of Cambay, except for the Portuguese in Goa, the Indian

coast was entirely under British control. In Bengal British influence extended from the mouth of the Ganges to its sources in the Himalayas, while the territories taken from Oudh (Rohilkhand, Allahabad, and Corah) and from Sindhia between the Jumna and the Ganges (the Doab) were formed into the North-West Provinces under a Lieutenant-Governor. Until the arrival of the Marquess of Hastings in 1813 the boundaries of British India remained as Wellesley left them. The eight years that fell between the two administrations were marked in India by British attacks upon the Dutch and French positions in the East. But the only permanent British gains were the cession by the Dutch of Ceylon and of Cochin and its dependencies on the Malabar coast.

Australasia

In another region of the world, far removed from European conflict and rivalry, the struggle between Great Britain and France contributed to the former's expansion. Early in the seventeenth century the Australasian continent attracted the attention of navigators, especially the Dutch. Before the middle of the century Abel Tasman explored Van Diemen's land and named after that Governor-General of the Indies the island that now bears Tasman's name. New Zealand was named by Tasman after the province of the Dutch Republic, and Australia received the name New Holland. But the Dutch did not develop the regions they discovered. Their interests were centred in the East Indies, and before the end of the century William Dampier, an Englishman, followed in the wake of Tasman. Eighty years later Captain Cook made three voyages (1768–70) of careful exploration and proclaimed the eastern coast of Australia British territory under the name New South Wales. The conclusion of the American war shortly after Cook's last voyage brought New South Wales into notice. It was no longer possible to use America for the transportation of convicts, as had been the practice since the time of George I. In 1780 an Order in Council appointed New South Wales to be used for that purpose. The first convict fleet arrived there in 1788, and the site of the settlement, Sydney Cove, took its name from Lord

Sydney, the Home (and Colonial) Secretary of State. For thirty years the colony remained for the most part a convict station under a military Governor. Land grants to expired convicts and free settlers introduced other interests, and the discovery of the pastoral plains of the interior encouraged sheep-farming, the country's future source of wealth. But when the great war ended in 1815 Australia was still without political form.

CHAPTER III

THE TREATY OF VIENNA

With two considerable exceptions (Holland and the Papal States) the Treaty of Vienna (1809) completed the territorial expansion of France under the Empire. Holland found Napoleon's Continental System particularly oppressive, and Louis Bonaparte, unable to reconcile the interests of his brother with those of his kingdom, preferred to abdicate. In July, 1810, Napoleon annexed Holland to the French Empire. With the Papal States his quarrel was an old one. Appreciating the support which an established Church could afford, Bonaparte, while he was First Consul, terminated (1802) the breach with the Papacy caused by the promulgation of the Civil Constitution of the Clergy (1790). Overtures to Pius VII resulted in the Concordat (1801), by which the Roman Catholic religion was recognized as that of France, and its ecclesiastics became the salaried servants of the State. In 1803 a similar Concordat was negotiated between the Pope and the Italian Republic. In 1804 Pius played the undignified part allotted to him at Napoleon's coronation. But he had reached the limits of compliance. In 1805 the *Code Napoléon* was extended to Italy. It permitted divorce, and Pius protested against it as an infringement of the Italian Concordat. He also refused to grant a divorce to Jerome Bonaparte, who had married Miss Paterson, an American, to his brother's annoyance. After Austerlitz Napoleon let the Pope understand that he must either enforce the Continental System against Great Britain or pay the penalty. In 1805, Benevento and Ponte Corvo were detached from the Papacy to form principalities for Talleyrand and Bernadotte. In 1808 the Marches of Ancona were annexed to the Kingdom of Italy, the French occupied Rome, held the Pope a prisoner, abolished his

Temporal Power, and annexed the Papal States to the French Empire (1809). The decree was issued by Napoleon during his residence at Schönbrunn, and revoked the "donation of our august predecessor, Charlemagne." The Italian settlement was completed by Napoleon's grant of the Kingdom of Etruria (1809) to his sister Marianne Élise to administer as the Grand Duchy of Tuscany, and by the incorporation of the Valais in 1810.

The annexation of Holland (1810) was soon followed by that of the territory at the mouths of the Elbe, the Ems, and the Weser, including the Grand-Duchy of Oldenburg, and the three remaining free Imperial cities, Hamburg, Lübeck, and Bremen. With these acquisitions in Italy and North Germany France reached her greatest limits. Her Empire embraced 130 Departments, of which more than a quarter (46) were alien to her in race and language. Her population was estimated at over 42,000,000 souls, about two-thirds of whom inhabited France proper. Napoleon was master of Europe from Hamburg to the frontiers of Spain. He was supreme in Italy, whose territory either was annexed to France, under his personal rule as King of Italy, or was held by vassals, as in Naples. In Central Europe he was Protector of the Confederation of the Rhine. He was Mediator of the Swiss Confederation. The Kings of Spain and Westphalia were his brothers. The King of Naples (Murat) was his brother-in-law. His marriage with the Archduchess Marie-Louise, in March, 1810, allied him with the Habsburg, the first royal House in Europe.

The Constitution of the Year XII (1804), which established the Empire, superseded the Consular Constitution of the Year VIII (1799). It vested the monarchy in the Emperor and his direct male issue. Next after the Emperor in authority came the Senate. Its membership included the Emperor's brothers (to whom the Constitution accorded princely rank), the Grand Dignitaries of the Empire (who were his nominees), and a body of life members who owed their appointment to him. Hence the Senate was subservient. The lower chamber, the Legislative Body, composed of State officials and ex-officials, was summoned at the Emperor's pleasure and was comparatively impotent. Napoleon preferred to draft his own enactments, or *Senatusconsulta*, for the

Senate, or to ratify decrees emanating from the Council of State. The Tribunate, the fourth Assembly of the Consulate, disappeared. To enhance the dignity of the Imperial Court the Constitution of the Year XII created a hierarchy having precedence after the Imperial Princes. First in honour were six Grand Imperial Dignitaries with titles reminiscent of the old French monarchy and of the Holy Roman Empire, appropriate therefore to the Court of one who claimed Charlemagne as his predecessor. They were: the Grand Elector, the Arch-Chancellor of the Empire, the Arch-Chancellor of State, the Arch-Treasurer, the Constable, and the Grand Admiral. Below them ranked the military Grand Imperial Officers (sixteen Marshals of the Empire) and eight Inspectors and Colonel-Generals. Below them, completing the Imperial hierarchy, were the civil functionaries of the Court: the Grand Almoner, the Grand Marshal of the Palace, the Grand Chamberlain, the Grand Master of the Horse, the Grand Huntsman, and the Grand Master of Ceremonies. After his victories over Austria, Prussia, and Russia, Napoleon, like Peter the Great, instituted (1808) an official nobility based on public service. The civil and military Grand Dignitaries received the title Prince and their eldest sons that of Duke, the Marshals' titles commemorating their conspicuous military services. Next in dignity were the Counts, a title conferred upon nearly 400 Ministers, Senators, Councillors of State, Archbishops, and Presidents of the Legislative Body. Below them were over 1000 Barons, who included in their ranks the Bishops, high legal functionaries, and the Mayors of important towns. Lowest in the scale of honour were the members of the Legion of Honour (created in 1802), 1500 in number, who received the title *Chevalier* (Knight). Napoleon's official nobility stimulated zeal for the public service, and created a large body of dependents who made the Emperor's cause their own.

But in spite of a glittering exterior the popularity of the Empire among its subjects steadily declined. The Emperor's rule was more despotic than that of his Bourbon predecessors, and the constitutional victories of the Revolution were disregarded. The Continental Blockade, designed for the destruction of Great Britain, dislocated the trade of the country and caused great hardship in France, as elsewhere. The

administration of the swollen Empire was costly, and taxation pressed with increasing heaviness. Indirect taxes which the Revolution had abolished were restored, and the revival of the *gabelle* on salt and other imposts recalled the evil system from which the Revolution had rescued France. Transcending these inconveniences was the steady drain which the Emperor made upon the manhood of the Empire. It has been estimated that during the ten years of Napoleon's reign nearly 2½ millions of men were called up to his standards. Only those possessed of means escaped the annual drawing for conscripts. As the Emperor's calls became more urgent, conscripts were summoned before their service was due and were kept with the colours after the statutory five years had expired. Malingering was general—many practised self-mutilation and bribery in order to avoid service. Punitive measures were taken to bring in the shirkers, and the strain was felt as much in France herself as in the annexed provinces. Even his victories did not avail to maintain Napoleon's popularity among his countrymen, and angry men called him " The Ogre."

Evanescent as was the system created by Napoleon, the dominion which he exercised over Europe for ten years contributed permanent benefits. Surviving traces of medievalism in Europe were expunged. Serfdom, abolished in France, disappeared in the subject kingdoms and in States created or influenced by Napoleon—Italy, the Netherlands, Switzerland, Westphalia, Poland, and Prussia. Relics of feudalism in the relations of class and class, of the individual to the State, and in the tenure of property, were suppressed. Religious toleration became an established principle in Europe. To the codification of French law in the *Code Napoléon* and its extension to the Empire these and other boons were largely due.

The simplification of French law was promised in the Constitution of 1791. But it was not until after the foundation of the Consulate by the Revolution of *Brumaire* (1799) that the work, mainly owing to the driving force of Napoleon's insistent personality, was brought to a conclusion. In March, 1804, two months before the proclamation of the Empire, the *Civil Code* became the law of France. It dealt with persons and property, and established the principles of equality which the Revolution championed. Land was released from feudal obligations clogging peasant proprietorship. A law of persons

was evolved in which all men were put upon a platform of equal rights. Under the Bourbons the protection which the individual could claim from the law varied according to his Order. In the eye of the law the three Orders now became one. For instance, the law which forbade the clergy to marry ceased to have application. Marriage under the Civil Code became a civil contract whose conditions were regulated by the State. The disabilities which rested upon non-Roman Churches were removed.

Following the codification of the Civil Law Napoleon issued four supplementary Codes. The first was the *Code of Civil Procedure*. Under the Bourbons legal procedure in the ecclesiastical, feudal, and public courts of law varied to a less degree than the Codes which they practised. The Grand Ordinance of 1667 established some uniformity of procedure, but did little to remove the annoyances which most affected litigants—delay, expense, and complexity of procedure. Hence, while the Civil Code was being drafted, a Commission was appointed to simplify procedure in the Civil courts. It reported in 1804 and its recommendations were approved by the Legislative Body two years later (1806).

The *Code of Criminal Procedure* was not completed until 1808, though a Commission to draft it was appointed in 1801. Under the Monarchy criminal procedure was secret and therefore prejudicial to the prisoner. A strong movement for reform set in with the Revolution. The Constituent Assembly introduced the English jury system, placed the prisoner in possession of the charge against him, ordered his trial to be conducted in public, and allowed the accused the aid of counsel. The Code of 1808 abandoned some innovations which the Constituent Assembly had adopted. It retained the petty jury (*jury de jugement*) and empowered it to return a verdict by an absolute majority (and not, as in England, by a unanimous vote). It assured the accused a trial in public, gave him the assistance of counsel, and allowed him to call witnesses. But in an important particular it varied English practice. Instead of the English Grand Jury (*jury d'accusation*), which the Constituent Assembly adopted, the Code reverted to the preliminary *instruction* or inquiry of the old system. The *juge d'instruction*, a public functionary, was appointed, as a preliminary to the public trial, to examine witnesses and

assemble the evidence connecting the accused with the crime. Thus the accused at his trial might be confronted with a mass of cumulative evidence likely to create an adverse atmosphere, whereas the English system regards the Court as a guarantee of fair treatment to the accused. The Code of Criminal Procedure came into operation in 1810, when the revision of the *Criminal Code* itself was completed. The latter sanctioned capital punishment, penal servitude, and deportation for life. Along with the Code of Criminal Procedure it placed in the hands of the government weapons capable of unscrupulous use. The fifth and last Code was the *Commercial Code*, issued in 1807.

"The Five Codes—a Sixth, the *Code rural*, was drafted but never passed—represent the unity and comprehensiveness of French law. When it is remembered that a task demanding the most massive learning, the calmest and most scrupulous inquiry, was accomplished in the midst of unparalleled excitement and strain; that it was begun in the reverberation of a great war, when all the organs of government were being simultaneously re-created; and that it was continued and brought to a close while the country was involved in a series of gigantic and perilous foreign enterprises—we need not wonder that the expert has detected signs of perfunctory work and political passion. The print of despotism is stamped harsh and deep on the Penal Code, the subjection of woman on the Civil Law. It was left for future generations to make adequate provision for the needs of an industrial society, to regulate labour contracts, to protect the interests of the working classes against the tyranny of capital, and to expand the sphere of company law, so jealously contracted by the middle-class individualism of the Civil Code. Nevertheless, the Codes preserve the essential conquests of the revolutionary spirit—civil equality, religious toleration, the emancipation of land, public trial, the jury of judgment. Original they were not, but rather a hasty amalgamation of royal and revolutionary legislation, governed by the genius of Napoleon, divining, traversing, and penetrating all complications in order to make law subservient to his rule. But, if in France herself the Codes were a symbol of a strict but enlightened despotism, in Germany and Italy they stood for liberty. Here they were the earliest message, as well as the most mature embodiment,

of the new spirit. In a clear and compact shape, they presented to Europe the main rules which should govern a civilized society" (*Cambridge Modern History*, ix. 179).

From the Treaty of Vienna (1809) to the Moscow campaign of 1812 France, excepting in Spain, enjoyed respite from war. But Napoleon's position gave little promise of permanence. His hold on France was weakening. He had taken his wife from Austria, like Louis XVI, and in other respects his rule suggested the *ancien régime*. Physically and mentally he was no longer the brilliant officer who won his way to fame in Italy. He had overtaxed his vitality, and the success of his daring policies encouraged him to attempt the impossible. Outside France the Revolution and his own career had given birth to forces under which sooner or later his Empire was bound to succumb. Liberalism regarded him as its foe. The ruthless marching of his armies and his cynical carving of Principalities roused the sentiment of nationalism to which his political system was bound in the long run to succumb.

In Russia the French *entente* established at Tilsit and Erfurt (1808) encountered increasing unpopularity, and the Continental Blockade caused her exports in corn, timber, and hemp to fall off greatly. Nor did France's friendship bring compensation. Napoleon did not aid her in Turkey. In Poland he caused her lively alarm. Alexander was greatly perturbed by Napoleon's coquettings with Polish nationalism, and feared that a revival of the Polish kingdom would compel him to disgorge Russia's spoil of the Partitions. The absorption (1811) of the Grand-Duchy of Oldenburg in the French Empire touched Alexander also; for the Grand-Duke was his kinsman. Napoleon on his side complained of Russia's half-hearted participation in the recent war against Austria. His proposal to marry the Tsar's sister, the Grand-Duchess Anna, was received with so little favour at the Russian court that Napoleon countered refusal by marrying a Habsburg. Before the end of 1810 Alexander was pursuing a policy patently hostile to France. The Continental Blockade was relaxed and the import of French silks, wines, and other luxuries was impeded. Early in 1812 Napoleon ordered the occupation of Swedish Pomerania and thereby drove Bernadotte into alliance with Russia in return for the confirmation of Finland to her. The Treaty of Bucharest

(May, 1812) opportunely released Russia from the Turkish war, and two months later Alexander concluded agreements with Great Britain and Spain. The Coalition (the Sixth) against France was complete. Napoleon could count only on the unwilling alliance of Austria and Prussia.

Napoleon had been making preparations for a year, and put into the field a larger army than he had mobilized so far. Over 400,000 was its strength, France contributing less than half of it. The remainder was drawn from dependents and allies in Northern and Central Europe and Italy; the "Army of Twenty Nations" the Russians called it. Threatening to dictate peace at Moscow, Napoleon entered Russia in three divisions (1812). His left, resting on the Baltic, included his Prussian auxiliaries. Napoleon intended this force to co-operate with Bernadotte and the Swedes, but the latter's agreement with Russia frustrated the scheme. On the extreme right were the Austrians. On the centre Napoleon himself crossed the Russian frontier at Kovno on the river Niemen. Alexander adopted the tactics by which, a little more than one hundred years earlier, Peter the Great defeated Charles XII. His generals retired with the inhabitants along the line of retreat, leaving the season and climate to avenge deserted hearths. The Russians burnt their villages and left behind them wasted land to entertain the invader. Napoleon's army was reduced by 100,000 before a general engagement was fought. Horses died of starvation, and Napoleon was not more than seven days' march from the frontier before the abandonment of the greater part of the artillery was seriously considered.

In spite of his losses, Napoleon, after capturing Smolensk, pushed on to Moscow in the wake of the retreating Russians, feeling the need to impress Europe by a decisive victory. In the Russian army, which Alexander had placed under Prince Michel Barclay de Tolly, a foreigner, a Fabian policy became increasingly irksome. Prince Kutusoff, a Russian, superseded Barclay, and at Borodino, a week's march from Moscow, awaited Napoleon's attack. The two armies were not unequal in numbers, the French being slightly superior. Each brought into action about 600 guns; the opening artillery duel was terrific, and both armies suffered terribly. Kutusoff continued his interrupted retreat, and a

week later (September 14) Napoleon entered Moscow. He found a deserted city; for Kutusoff had passed through the city a few hours earlier and carried with him almost all the inhabitants. Napoleon took up his quarters in the Kremlin, the famous palace which an Italian architect built for Ivan the Terrible in the sixteenth century. On the evening of his entry a fire broke out in the city. It was probably the result of accident, the act of marauding bands in search for plunder. The fire burnt for four days and destroyed the greater part of the city.

For five weeks Napoleon remained at Moscow, vainly hoping that Alexander would approach him for terms. But the Tsar had declared his resolution not to make peace so long as the enemy remained on Russian soil. Napoleon entertained and dismissed the idea of a demonstration against Petrograd, and three weeks after reaching Moscow sent a flag to the Russian headquarters to invite negotiations. His envoy was not allowed even to pass the Russian outposts, and as winter was approaching Napoleon ordered a retreat on Smolensk. With all that remained of the army, 108,000 and the guns, the retreat began on October 18. To avoid the devastated country between Smolensk and Moscow, Napoleon proposed to follow a more southerly route by way of Kaluga. But the vigilant Kutusoff prevented the execution of the Emperor's plan. Cossacks hung on his flanks. In a winter season almost as severe as that which destroyed Charles XII, men were unable even to shoulder their weapons. Their hands and feet were swathed thickly, horse-cloths were strapped round their bodies, and their beards bristled with icicles. For seven weeks Napoleon led a vanishing army westward. At the Berezina the Russians in force opposed his passage. But with the loss of half his attenuated army he crossed at Studianka. A week later (December 5), while still within Russian territory, Napoleon left the army to complete its retreat, and, attended by five persons, set out for Paris. He entered the capital a fortnight later. News had reached him of a plot, on a rumour of his death, to restore the Republic or Louis XVIII. General Malet, its author, was arrested and shot, and the plot brought home to the Emperor the slight hold which he and his young son, the King of Rome (b. 1811), had upon the loyalty of France.

A few days before Napoleon returned to Paris the remnant of the Grand Army, under Murat, crossed the Niemen and left Russia behind it. About a quarter of a million dead lay there and many more had been lost through capture or desertion. The disaster raised the highest hopes throughout Europe. The Prussian auxiliaries, abandoning Napoleon, concluded the Convention of Tauroggen with Russia and declared their neutrality (December, 1812). Austria recalled her forces (January, 1813) and prepared to mediate between Napoleon and his enemies. The Russians crossed the Niemen in pursuit of the Grand Army, and in February, 1813, encouraged by their vigorous campaign, which drove the French from the Vistula to the Oder, Frederick William of Prussia concluded the Treaty of Kalisch with Alexander, pledging the service of 80,000 troops, while the Tsar undertook to restore Prussia to her position before the Treaty of Tilsit. A few weeks later (March, 1813) Prussia declared war upon France.

The War of Liberation, as the campaigns of 1813 and 1814 are called, engaged the manhood of the entire German people resolute to free Germany from the Latin bondage. The war opened hopefully for the Allies. Napoleon remained in France, and his stepson, Eugene de Beauharnais, Viceroy of the Italian kingdom, was forced to withdraw from the Oder to the line of the Elbe. Hamburg was abandoned, Saxony was denuded of most of its French troops, and Berlin and Dresden were evacuated. The French garrison in Danzig was besieged. The situation was critical, and in April, 1813, Napoleon left Paris to take it in hand. His immediate object was to recover Saxony. At Gross-Görschen, near Lützen, the scene of the death of Gustavus Adolphus, he routed the Russians and Prussians and drove them back on the Elbe. Dresden was recovered and the Allies again suffered defeat at Bautzen. The short spring campaign demonstrated clearly that the active help of Austria was essential to the Allies. But her army was not ready to take the field, and Napoleon entertained the suggestion of an armistice to give him time to organize his forces, which, though victorious, had lost more heavily than his opponents in the recent battles. Early in June, through the mediation of Austria, the Armistice of Pläswitz was agreed to. Hampered by the want of cavalry (engaged in Spain, where also were his finest infantry) and by the anxiety of his

Marshals to bring the war to an end, Napoleon none the less was ill advised to accept the armistice; for it gave Austria time to complete her preparations. In fact, a few days later Austria joined the Allies in the Treaty of Reichenbach, and agreed to declare war on France if the terms of peace to be proposed to Napoleon in a Congress (July–August, 1813) at Prague were not accepted.

The Prague terms required the Grand Duchy of Warsaw and the Confederation of the Rhine to be abolished; that Hamburg, Bremen, Lübeck and other portions of North Germany annexed to France in 1810–11 should be restored; that Austria should recover the Illyrian provinces; and that Prussia should be replaced in the position she held before Tilsit. Unmoved by the French defeat at Vittoria (June, 1813) in the Peninsula, Napoleon rejected these proposals. Austria at once (August, 1813) declared war, and the accession of Bernadotte and the Swedes completed the Coalition (the Seventh and last) against France.

The Allies, in accordance with the so-called "Reichenbach plan" approved by them all, placed three armies in the field, and disposed them to contain, and, if the opportunity presented itself, crush their antagonist. The main or Austrian army under Prince Karl von Schwarzenberg lay in Bohemia. A second army, of Russian and Prussian regiments under the Prussian Field-Marshal Blücher, was stationed in Silesia. A third, holding the Mark of Brandenburg for the protection of Berlin, was formed of Swedes, Prussians, and Russians, under Bernadotte's command. It was imperative for Napoleon to crush these armies in detail. In a stubborn battle under the walls of Dresden he repulsed Schwarzenberg, who had advanced from Bohemia to surprise the Saxon capital. Blücher at Katzbach defeated an army sent into Silesia against him. A large force detached by Napoleon against Bernadotte and the Prussian capital also met with defeat at Gross-Beeren, south of Berlin. The situation was critical, and was rendered more so by the defeat of a French army sent in pursuit of Schwarzenberg into Bohemia (Battle of Kulm) and the failure of another attempt on Berlin (Battle of Dennewitz). The allied armies were able now to concentrate upon Napoleon, who had no alternative to withdrawal from Dresden. In October, 1813, he drew his forces round Leipzig. On October 16 and the

three following days the determining battle was fought under the walls of that city. Outnumbered in men and guns the French withstood the three armies of the Coalition; the Tsar and the King of Prussia being present at the "Battle of the Nations." Driven in upon Leipzig, Napoleon on the fourth day gave the order to retreat. A fortnight later he led his shattered army across the Rhine. Germany was free.

His defeat at Leipzig ruined Napoleon's power in Germany. The Confederation of the Rhine collapsed; its members hastened to disown their Protector. King Jerome of Westphalia fled. Holland recovered her liberty. Excepting scattered garrisons, the French occupation of Germany was at an end, and the Allies advanced to the Rhine. For nearly twenty years France had waged war upon the territory of others. That the position might be reversed had not entered into Napoleon's plans. But Alexander of Russia was eager to dictate peace at Paris. Frederick William of Prussia displayed his characteristic caution. The Austrian Metternich did not share Alexander's impetuous hostility. Already victorious in North Italy, Austria was indifferent to Belgium and her allies' interests. Metternich's influence induced the allied Sovereigns, in conference at Frankfort, to make proposals which, having regard to the Emperor's disasters in 1812 and 1813, were generous. They required France to abandon her positions beyond the Rhine, the Alps, and the Pyrenees, leaving in her possession the Austrian Netherlands, the left bank of the Rhine, Savoy, and Nice. Napoleon hesitated, and tardily accepted terms which gave France practically her limits of 1797. Declaring that his acceptance came too late, the Allies announced that they were constrained to continue the war, and withdrew proposals which none of them had regarded seriously. Before the end of the year (December, 1813) their armies crossed the Rhine.

For the campaign of 1814 the Allies put upwards of 500,000 men in the field, forming three armies of invasion. Napoleon could rely on about 70,000 men. He was without auxiliaries; for Saxony and Bavaria no longer contributed to his strength. The task of the Allies seemed easy and their plan of campaign was simple. On the north, or right of their advance, Bernadotte was directed to reduce the French fortresses in the Netherlands. In the centre, Blücher, crossing the Rhine in the neighbourhood

of Mainz, was to hold the enemy while the main army under Schwarzenberg, crossing the Rhine at Basle, manœuvred for a junction with Wellington and the Austro-Italian army from Italy. A combined advance upon Paris through Champagne was to follow these movements. The Allies anticipated an easy entry into Paris. In fact, the genius of Napoleon, manifest in all its vigour at this supreme crisis, delayed the inevitable conclusion for three months.

While Blücher and Schwarzenberg were advancing from the Rhine Napoleon remained in Paris. Towards the end of January, 1814, he joined his army at Châlons, attacked Blücher at Brienne, and was defeated by him at La Rothière on the Aube (February 1). A week later he received a renewed offer of terms from the Allies in conference at Châtillon. France's retention of the frontiers assigned to her by the Treaties of Basle and Campo Formio was no longer contemplated. She was required to abandon the Netherlands, Savoy, Nice, and the Left Bank; in other words, to restrict herself to the frontiers of the Monarchy. After twenty-four hours' consideration Napoleon rejected the proposals, and Blücher and Schwarzenberg continued their march upon Paris, the former by the valley of the Marne, the latter by the Aube and Seine. In rapid evolutions Napoleon routed Blücher, and, hurrying southward against Schwarzenberg at Montereau, compelled his retreat. The conferences at Châtillon were resumed, and again the frontiers of the Bourbon monarchy were offered to Napoleon as the price of peace and recognition of his throne. Elated by his successes, Napoleon refused. His obstinacy stimulated Austria, whose half-heartedness had embarrassed her allies. With Prussia, Russia, and Great Britain she now (March, 1814) made the Treaty of Chaumont, a definitive alliance to conclude the war. The four Powers pledged themselves not to negotiate separately with the common enemy.

On the day of the Treaty's signature Blücher, who had received reinforcements, defeated Napoleon at Laon. The way to Paris was open; for the Emperor, repeating the strategy of Dumouriez in 1792, set himself to harass the communications of the Allies. Once in touch with the French garrisons in Lorraine he contemplated a vigorous offensive. But his calculations failed. Intercepted letters from Paris revealed his plans and promised a convincing Bourbon demonstration

should the Allies enter the city. They decided to do so, and moved down the Marne. On March 30, 1814, the remnants of the French army (other than the troops with Napoleon), volunteers and others, made a brave effort to hold the natural defences of Paris, the heights of Montmartre on the north and Vincennes on the east. Louis Bonaparte and his brother Jerome watched the fighting from Montmartre. Their sister-in-law the Empress had fled from Paris on the preceding day. By the afternoon the defenders were overpowered, an armistice was arranged, and on the 31st, the allied troops, with the Tsar and the King of Prussia at their head, entered the city in triumph. Moscow was avenged.

Napoleon, with such of the army as clung to him, was at the Château of Fontainebleau, forty miles distant, when the fall of Paris portended his own. But who should replace him was not immediately patent. A Bourbon demonstration had greeted the Tsar's entry into Paris, but it was not of convincing fervour, and Alexander hesitated to restore France to her old dynasty. Bernadotte and Eugene de Beauharnais were considered and dismissed. Eventually, acting on the advice of Talleyrand, whose opposition to Napoleon's policy had gained him long since the Emperor's ill-favour, Alexander resolved upon a Bourbon restoration. By proclamation the Allies announced that they would treat with neither Napoleon nor any member of his family. A Provisional Government, which included Talleyrand, was nominated, and the Senate pronounced (April 2, 1814) the deposition of Napoleon on the ground that he had violated his oath and infringed popular rights by levies of men and taxation contrary to the Constitution. The news reached the Emperor at Fontainebleau and quickened his resolve to advance on Paris. But his Marshals, long since anxious for peace and averse from following their chief into civil war, entered the Emperor's room in a body and refused to accompany him. Their action compelled his abdication. On April 11 he signed a deed of resignation in favour of his infant son, the King of Rome, and sent Marshal Ney and others to treat with the Tsar. For a moment Alexander wavered. But Talleyrand and the Provisional Government insisted that a Regency in the name of the King of Rome would lead to the restoration of Napoleon himself, and the desertion of the Emperor's advanced guard

under Marshal Marmont secured the rejection of Napoleon's conditional abdication. His envoys returned to Fontainebleau with an *ultimatum*—his abdication must embrace his whole family. Two days later (April 13) he accepted the Treaty of Fontainebleau. It permitted him to retain the imperial title, allotted him and the members of his family a generous annual revenue, and decreed his banishment from the soil of France. At his own wish the island of Elba, neighbouring his native Corsica, was selected for his exile. It had been conveyed to France by the Treaty of Amiens (1802), and was now conferred upon Napoleon in full sovereignty. His wife, the Empress Marie-Louise, received the duchies of Parma-Piacenza and Guastalla, with remainder to her infant son. Before the end of the month an English frigate conveyed Napoleon to his new sovereignty, and the Comte de Provence, after an exile of twenty-three years in England, returned to Paris as Louis XVIII.

The first Bourbon Restoration had a short life of ten months. Two imperative tasks faced it—the drafting of a Constitution, and the conclusion of a durable peace with the Sovereigns whose armies were on French soil. As to the first, the " Charter," Louis' signature to which attested it as given " in the nineteenth year of our reign " (as though the Republic and Empire had no existence), constituted a House of Hereditary Peers and a Chamber of Deputies. Freedom of conscience, trial by jury, liberty of the Press, and the Revolutionary land-settlement were left undisturbed. But the army was estranged by the revival of the aristocratic Household Corps of the *ancien régime*, by a lavish distribution of the Legion of Honour among civilians, by substituting the Bourbon *drapeau blanc* for the Tricolour, by a niggardly economy which placed the Emperor's veterans on half-pay or in penury, and by a wholesale reduction of the army to a peace footing. The restored Bourbon Government satisfied neither enemies nor friends, and its unpopularity was not lessened by the humiliating terms which it accepted from the four Powers (Treaty of Paris, May 30, 1814) in order to release France from foreign occupation. Matters affecting the general situation in Europe were reserved for an international Congress at Vienna. The Treaty bound the restored Monarchy to accept the national frontiers as they existed on November 1, 1792. With a stroke

of the pen France abandoned the conquests of the Revolution and Empire in Italy, Switzerland, Holland, Belgium, and Germany. In compensation she retained Avignon, Venaissin, Montbéliard, Mühlhausen, and Altweiler (Papal or German *enclaves* acquired within her frontiers at different times). She also received the sub-Prefectures of Chambéry and Annecy in Savoy, and retained three considerable areas beyond her frontier towards Belgium and the Rhine, all of which were withdrawn a year later by the Second Treaty of Paris. Great Britain received valuable colonial concessions. France obtained the withdrawal of her conquerors, but the humiliation of the compact aggravated the unpopularity of the restored Bourbon government.

In September, 1814, the promised Congress assembled at Vienna. Every European State except Turkey was represented in it, and the Sovereigns of Austria, Russia, Prussia, Denmark, Bavaria, and Würtemberg attended in person. Among the diplomatists the most influential were Metternich (Austria), Talleyrand (France), Castlereagh and Wellington (Great Britain), the Prussian Chancellor, Prince von Hardenberg, and Baron Wilhelm von Humboldt, Prussian Minister at Vienna. With its hands tied by preliminary agreements, the Congress set itself to determine the future of Norway, Poland, Lombardy, Venetia, Genoa, the Illyrian provinces, the Austrian Netherlands, and the Rhenish Left Bank. The fate of Napoleon's ally, Saxony, and Murat's situation in Naples also called for settlement. The political constitution of Germany had to be determined; for both the Holy Roman Empire and the Confederation of the Rhine perished in the past decade of war. The chief Powers entered the Congress with clear views as to the region in which each desired to find satisfaction: Russia in Poland, Prussia in Saxony, Austria in Italy, from which a series of Treaties had excluded her. Great Britain's account with France already was closed (Treaty of Paris, 1814). By March, 1815, considerable progress had been made with the Polish and Saxon questions. Austrian Belgium was to be attached to Holland to form a new Kingdom of the Netherlands. Steps had been taken towards drafting a new Constitution for Germany and the settlement of Switzerland. The grant of Genoa to the Kingdom of Sardinia and the attachment of the north of Italy

to Austria also had been determined. But at that point the news reached Vienna of Napoleon's escape from Elba. On March 1, 1815, he landed near Cannes, close to the spot whence he had been deported ten months before. Within a fortnight he was in residence at the Tuileries and Louis XVIII was a fugitive at Ghent. Amid enthusiasm which brought back to him his old Ministers and Marshals, the Emperor entered upon his brief restoration, the "Hundred Days" of Bourbon reckoning.

The fall of Louis XVIII was due in large measure to the illiberal actions of the restored Bourbon government. Napoleon rallied the malcontents by a profession of Liberalism. He submitted to a *plébiscite* an *Acte additionel aux constitutions de l'Empire*, a supplement to the Imperial Constitution of the Year XII. It broadened the electorate, granted liberty to the Press, secured the responsibility of the Executive to the Legislature, and provided a bicameral Parliament consisting of a hereditary House of Peers and an elected Chamber of Representatives. In the preamble Napoleon attempted to adjust the record of the Empire to the mood of the moment in France. He represented it as passionately Liberal and its purpose the federation of a Liberal Europe. Ignorance and prejudice alone had forced it to militancy and defeated its mission. Henceforth, as Napoleon III declared a generation later, *L'Empire c'est la paix!* Thus the Napoleonic legend had its baptism. Only 1,500,000 persons voted. But on June 1, the new Constitution was proclaimed at a ceremony which it pleased Napoleon to call a *Champ de Mai*, an institution of the Frankish Sovereigns whose successor he affected to be. The European Powers were little likely to permit it to establish itself. To gain time, Napoleon addressed to Great Britain and Austria an assurance that he accepted the Treaty of Paris, and that henceforward "he hoped to encounter the rivalry of his old enemies only in the promotion of the peace and happiness of their peoples." His professions deceived no one. The Powers in conference at Vienna unanimously denounced him as "the enemy and disturber of the peace of the world." Great Britain, Russia, Prussia, and Austria bound themselves to put into the field over half a million men for his suppression.

War being inevitable, it was to Napoleon's advantage to

strike before European concentration against him could take place. His utmost endeavours—for he dared not resort to conscription—gave him about a quarter of a million regulars and as many auxiliaries of the National Guard. Only the former could be relied on. They included veterans of his earlier campaigns, a fine body, but too small even for the preliminary duty he imposed upon it. Its task was to encounter the only hostile force within striking distance of the frontier. It consisted of two units, one British under Wellington, the other Prussian under Blücher. The former had as its nucleus the British regiments which had served in Holland in the campaign of 1814. On the news of Napoleon's return they were augmented, and Wellington, freed from the Congress, was appointed to the command-in-chief. In June, 1815, he had under him over 100,000 men, of whom two-thirds were not very reliable Dutch and Belgian levies. With Brussels some twenty miles in his rear, Wellington lay between Ghent and Mons. The Prussian army numbered over 100,000 men. Its nucleus was a small force quartered in the Rhenish provinces conveyed to Prussia by the Congress. Augmented on the news of Napoleon's return, and placed under Blücher's command, it lay along the line of the Sambre between Liège and Charleroi. Though considerably more than half of Wellington's and Blücher's force was of inferior quality, each numerically was almost a match for the 125,000 Napoleon led into Belgium. To engage them separately was of paramount importance. But Wellington's extreme left at Mons was only ten miles distant from Blücher's extreme right at Charleroi, and rapidity and secrecy of movement were necessary to prevent the concentration of the two armies, an operation which, since their extreme wings were about seventy miles apart, would require three days. On June 15, 1815, Napoleon crossed the frontier.

On June 15 Napoleon engaged the Prussian right at Charleroi and drove it before him. News of the attack reached Wellington late that afternoon. Giving orders to concentrate his troops across the high-road from Charleroi to Brussels, the Duke that evening attended a ball given by the Duchess of Richmond. Blücher hurried up reinforcements, and on the 16th offered Napoleon battle at Ligny, in the rear of the previous day's engagement. For the Emperor it was

imperative that the issue should be decisive. But he was unable to prevent Blücher from retiring on Wavre, though with heavy loss. Sending Grouchy to pursue the Prussians, Napoleon turned against Wellington. While the fight at Ligny was in progress, Ney engaged the Duke's advanced guard at Quatre-Bras. Wellington brought reinforcements from Brussels in time to prevent Ney from carrying out, as Napoleon planned, a turning movement on Blücher's exposed flank at Ligny. Ignorant of the direction in which the Prussians had retreated, but regarding them as out of action, Napoleon wasted precious hours at Ligny on the 17th, and allowed Wellington to retire his advanced guard from Quatre-Bras to a position which he had chosen already about ten miles to the rear at Waterloo, covering the high-road to Brussels. Wellington had in position less than 70,000 men, of whom about one-third were British regiments. He communicated to Blücher his willingness to engage the French, provided he had the assistance of even a single Prussian division. Blücher sent the required assurance.

Wellington's position rested on the village of Mont St. Jean, where the high-roads to Brussels from Charleroi and Nivelles converge. Behind the village the ground dips towards Waterloo and the Forest of Soignes, a natural ridge behind which Wellington placed his reserves out of sight and range of Napoleon's artillery. With its rear on Mont St. Jean, the British army looked across a narrow valley. Through it, at right angles to the Brussels-Charleroi road, ran the route along which, from the east, the Prussian succours were expected. In advance of the road, towards the French, were three isolated farmhouses—Hougoumont on the British right, La Haye Sainte at the centre, Papelotte on the extreme left. All were held in force, Hougoumont by a brigade of the Guards, the others by non-British troops. On the evening of the 17th Napoleon drew up his available forces on the ridge of La Belle Alliance (a roadside inn), facing the British position. Contrary to advice he proposed to deliver a parallel attack, and massed his forces on a front of less than three miles. A heavy thunderstorm on the 17th made the ground heavy and it was towards mid-day on the 18th when Napoleon began the engagement. Of Wellington's generalship he professed a poor opinion, nor did he believe in the

staying qualities of British infantry. Notwithstanding the news of Blücher's approach, a division of infantry advanced against Hougoumont, while a furious assault was delivered upon the British centre at La Haye Sainte. After a stubborn encounter, the heavy cavalry from the rear drove back the French upon La Belle Alliance. The need to watch the advancing Prussians reduced his striking force, but Napoleon directed Ney to resume the assault on La Haye Sainte. For two hours the French cavalry broke upon the unyielding British squares, and the French guns pounded them. At half-past six in the evening La Haye Sainte was carried, and Wellington had exhausted his reserves. Napoleon also was at the end of his resources, and the Prussians were pressing his right flank. He massed the Imperial Guard for a final assault. Soon after seven it was delivered. Shattered by the British volleys the Guard fell back. A cavalry charge completed their rout, and at length the British line moved forward. At La Belle Alliance the Prussian cavalry met the victors and together carried the pursuit into the small hours of the morning. Napoleon's rout was complete.

On June 21 the Emperor returned to Paris. He talked of a *levée en masse*. But the Chambers let him understand that France would not face Europe in his behalf, and that his abdication would prevent a sentence of deposition. On the 22nd he abdicated a second time in favour of his son. Three days later he left Paris for ever. He thought of escaping to the United States and made his way to Rochefort. But the port was closely watched by a British squadron, and the Emperor appealed to Great Britain's generosity. On July 15 he surrendered on board the *Bellerophon* and was conveyed to English waters. A fortnight later he was transferred to the *Northumberland*, and with a suite of twenty-five persons sailed to St. Helena, an Atlantic island belonging to the East India Company. He died there in 1821. Meanwhile Paris was again in the hands of the Allies, and a Provisional Government was appointed to treat with them. As in 1814, there was no desire to place the King of Rome in his father's place. The imperative task was to placate the Allies, and the restoration of Louis XVIII alone could achieve it. On July 8, 1815, he re-entered Paris. The "Hundred Days" (roughly) which had elapsed since his flight in March were over.

On November 20, 1815, France accepted the Second Treaty of Paris. The conditions were harder than those of 1814, and had Prussia prevailed would have been harder still. The French frontiers were reduced to what they had been in 1790, before the Revolution's era of conquest. In Savoy France lost Annecy and Chambéry (conceded to her in 1814) and the Pays de Gex. Her protocoral rights over Monaco were given to Sardinia. On her northern and north-eastern frontier she lost three considerable areas of territory; part of the duchy of Bouillon (with Philippeville and Marienburg); Saarbrücken circle and Saarlouis; and the fortress and territory of Landau. The *enclaves* secured to her in 1814 she was permitted to retain. But she was burdened with a heavy war indemnity, and with the obligation to restore the artistic spoils of which Napoleon had rifled Europe. Certain frontier fortresses were to remain in the hands of the Allies for five years in pledge of good behaviour. The settlement humiliated France. For the ambition of one man she was punished by the imposition of a vulnerable frontier, on which, as sentinels to watch her, the new Kingdom of the Netherlands and an enlarged Prussia were established. The wrestle with Germany half a century later was already decreed.

Ten days before the Battle of Waterloo the Vienna Congress concluded its labours and adopted the Final Act (*Schlussakte*) (June 9, 1815). The agreement fulfilled the work of repartition and reconstruction which an international war of nearly a generation's duration demanded. The Treaties of Paris weakened France in the interests of peace. It remained for the Congress to strengthen Europe against her, and to allocate those parts of the Continent that had been directly or indirectly under Napoleon's control. The former task involved the settlement of Holland, the Rhenish territory, Switzerland, and Italy. In the second category, the future of the Grand-Duchy of Warsaw and of Saxony were the most pressing problems. And since the Confederation of the Rhine and the Holy Roman Empire were dissolved, the reconstruction of Germany had to be taken in hand. Not without shortcomings the Congress achieved the work of repartition and reconstruction committed to it. It restored the balance of European Power which France had disturbed. In Germany both Prussia and Austria were strengthened, and the new Germanic

Confederation (*Deutscher Bund*) formed at least a stronger institution than the defunct Empire. In Italy Sardinia was enlarged to balance Austria. But in achieving these results the Congress acted with cynical disregard of national interests. Poland's cry for deliverance was unheeded. In Italy Austria resumed her occupation, and Genoa and Sardinia were thrown together. More flagrant were the attachment of Finland to Russia, a source of disquiet thereafter ; the union of Catholic Belgium and Protestant Holland, a partnership so artificial that it was broken in 1830 ; and the union of Norway and Sweden, a partnership dissolved by mutual consent in 1905.

Outside France the Congress of Vienna made important changes in the map of Europe. Permitting three kingdoms created by Napoleon (Bavaria, Würtemberg, and Saxony) to continue, the Congress created two more, the Kingdom of the Netherlands, and the Kingdom of Hanover. The former was created by the union of the Belgian Netherlands (surrendered by Austria) and the Kingdom of Holland, and its sovereignty was vested in the House of Orange. Partly to strengthen this new kingdom between France and Rhenish Prussia, partly to compensate Holland for Great Britain's colonial acquisitions at her expense, the Kingdom of the Netherlands received the Duchy of Limburg and the Bishopric of Liège. Luxemburg, a Grand-Duchy and a member of the Germanic Confederation, was assigned to the King of the Netherlands, in compensation for his abandonment to Prussia of German territories belonging to the House of Nassau. The Netherlands also received the portion of the Duchy of Bouillon, with Philippeville and Marienburg, taken from France. The navigation of the Scheldt was thrown open.

The second of the new kingdoms, Hanover, owed its promotion from Electoral to royal rank partly to its dynastic connection with Great Britain, partly to sympathy with its misfortunes in the recent war. Certain adjustments of territory were made : Hanover abandoned the Duchy of Lauenburg to Prussia (who used it to buy Denmark's claim on Swedish Pomerania), and in exchange recovered her former province of East Friesland and a considerable area in the south (the Principality of Hildesheim, the old Free City of Goslar, the County of Lingen, the secularized Bishopric of Osnabrück, and part of that of Münster) surrendered by Prussia. The

union of the Crowns of Hanover and Great Britain continued for twenty-two years, and was broken upon the death of William IV, in 1837.

Switzerland, the strategic centre of Europe, held a position of particular importance. Bonaparte had dissolved (1803) the Helvetic Republic, and the Act of Mediation replaced it by a Confederation of nineteen Cantons, himself acting as "Mediator." No close federal tie was instituted between the members, all of whom were sovereign within their territory. Absolute neutrality was imposed upon the Confederation. The Act gave Switzerland peace, but failed to satisfy her patriots, who were equally disappointed by the settlement of 1815, which increased the number of Cantons from nineteen to twenty-two by the addition of Valais (one of Napoleon's most recent attachments to France), Neuchâtel (which incongruously owned the sovereignty of Prussia), and Geneva. The federal tie remained as loose as under the Act of 1803, and the post of "Director" rotated in biennial periods between Berne, Zürich, and Lucerne. The neutrality of Switzerland was placed under the guarantee of France and the four allied Powers.

The Grand Duchy of Warsaw disappeared and Poland again went into the melting-pot. The Tsar came to the Congress determined that Russian influence should predominate in that area, and he carried his point. The Eastern Galician province of Tarnopol, which Austria had surrendered to Russia in 1809, was restored to her. The town of Cracow (which Austria acquired in 1795) was declared a neutral Free City, with a Constitution of its own and the surviving traditions of Polish independence. Prussia recovered the Grand-Duchy of Posen, with Danzig, Thorn, and their districts. The rest of the Grand-Duchy of Warsaw was formed into the Kingdom of Poland, and was attached to Russia, with the promise of a Constitution. After the unsuccessful rebellions of 1830 and 1863, it was incorporated into Russia as her Vistula Provinces.

The changes effected by the Congress in Germany were territorial and political. Of the former the most important related to Prussia. Her losses in Poland have been stated. Hanover's gains also were at her expense. To Bavaria she ceded Ansbach and Bayreuth (which had come into her

possession so recently as 1791). In compensation, under the style "Duchy of Saxony," she secured a large slice of northern Saxony (including Upper and Lower Lusatia, which Austria ceded to Saxony in the Treaty of Westphalia, 1648), and recovered Kottbus (which had been taken from her to form part of the Grand Duchy of Warsaw). The Kingdom of Saxony survived, but with deep resentment against Prussia. Prussia also recovered the territories between the Elbe and Rhine of which the Treaty of Basle deprived her. She completed her acquisition of Swedish Pomerania, including Stralsund and the island of Rügen (in compensation Denmark received the Duchy of Lauenburg). On the Rhine, besides recovering Cleves, Upper Gelderland, and Mark, she acquired the greater part of the secularized Electorates of Treves and Cologne, the Duchies of Berg and Jülich, portions of Nassau and Westphalia, and France's losses on the Saar. As the result of these arrangements Prussia suffered a loss of area. But her population was more distinctively German than it had been, and her new position on the Rhine laid the defence of German interests on her rather than Austria, whose centre of gravity was on the Danube. Hence, notwithstanding her selfish policy, the War of Liberation advanced Prussia towards the headship of Germany.

The gains of Austria were considerable and for the most part were obtained in Italy. Elsewhere she recovered Tyrol and the Vorarlberg from Bavaria in exchange for her Swabian territory (Würzburg and Aschaffenburg). She withdrew from the Netherlands and from the Rhine, the Breisgau and Ortenau (Vorderösterreich) being divided between Baden and Würtemberg.

Bavaria, notwithstanding her alliance with France, emerged with profit from the Congress. Austria's cession of Aschaffenburg and Würzburg, Prussia's surrender of Bayreuth and Ansbach, and the acquisition of Nürnberg and Ratisbon under the Treaty of Pressburg (1805), balanced her losses to Austria on her southern frontier; for they gave her a compact territory north of the Danube which made her, after Prussia and Austria, the largest State within the Germanic *Bund*. From the spoil of France she received on the left bank of the Rhine Landau and territory henceforth known as the Bavarian Palatinate.

Minor changes of territory affected the lesser German States: Baden, Hesse-Darmstadt, Hesse-Cassel, Oldenburg, Saxe-Weimar, Saxe-Coburg, Hesse-Homburg, and Mecklenburg-Strelitz.

As important as the repartition of territory was the work of the Congress in organizing the German *Bund*. The need was patent, but the rivalry of Prussia and Austria and the particularism of the German States left it imperfect. When the Vienna Congress assembled there was no agreement as to the Constitution that should take the place of the defunct Empire (*Deutsches Reich*). Patriots, stimulated by Napoleon's aggressions, hoped to see Germany a nation. But the jealousies of individual States put that solution out of the question. Stein's proposal to revive the Empire was set aside. As the Congress proceeded it became clear that the vaguest federal Constitution, amply safeguarding the sovereign rights of individual members, alone had a chance of acceptance, and that an unsatisfactory settlement was better than none. By the Federal Act (*Deutsche Bundesakte*) of June 8, 1815, the Congress constituted the "*Deutscher Bund*" or Germanic Confederation, consisting of (ultimately) thirty-nine States. They possessed equal rights, were incapable of concluding foreign alliances, and their common interests were regulated by a Federative Diet (*Bundestag*) seated at Frankfort and presided over by Austria. But the Confederation had neither flag nor diplomatic recognition at foreign Courts. Its members were pledged to defend the interests and guarantee the territories of all, and the *Bundesakte* provided for the establishment of a representative Constitution in every German State. The Act (guaranteed in the *Schlussakte* of June 9, 1815) reserved to the Diet the drafting of organic laws.

The *Deutsche Bund* consisted of the following 39 members:—*Kingdoms* (6): Austria, Prussia, Bavaria, Hanover, Würtemberg, and Saxony; *Electorate* (1): Hesse-Cassel; *Grand-Duchies* (7): Baden, Mecklenburg-Schwerin, Mecklenburg-Strelitz, Hesse-Darmstadt, Luxemburg, Oldenburg, and Saxe-Weimar; *Duchies* (8): Nassau, Brunswick, Holstein with Lauenburg, Saxe-Gotha, Anhalt-Dessau, Anhalt-Bernburg, Anhalt-Köthen, and Saxe-Hildburghausen; *Principalities* (13): Hesse-Homburg (omitted in 1815, included in 1817), Lippe-Detmold, Waldeck, Saxe-Meiningen, Saxe-Coburg,

Schwarzburg-Rudolstadt, Schwarzburg-Sondershausen, Reuss (elder), Reuss (younger), Hohenzollern-Hechingen, Hohenzollern-Sigmaringen, Schaumburg-Lippe, and Liechtenstein; *Free Cities* (4): Hamburg, Bremen, Frankfort, and Lübeck. The vote of Luxemburg was exercised by the King of the Netherlands, and of Holstein with Lauenburg by the King of Denmark. Thus, the 300-odd States which had formed the *Deutsche Reich* were reduced to 39.

In Italy, a sore menace to its awakened national sense, Austria was restored by the Congress to her dominant position. She recovered all the territory taken from her by the Treaty of Campo Formio and its successors (1797–1809). Lombardy and Venetia (the Lombardo-Venetian Kingdom) were ceded to her. Gorizia and Gradisca, Dalmatia, Carinthia, Carniola, Trieste and Istria passed back into her possession as the Kingdom of Illyria (1816–49). She gained four or five million subjects in excess of her population of 1792. Elsewhere in Italy the Congress restored the *status quo ante*. Piedmont-Sardinia was strengthened by the cession of Genoa (which received the rank of a Duchy) and the dependencies of the former Ligurian Republic east of the Var. Tuscany, to which Elba was attached, was restored to the Grand-Duke Ferdinand, and Modena to Duke Francis IV of Este. Parma-Piacenza and Guastalla were assigned to the ex-Empress Marie-Louise for life (she died in 1847), and Lucca to the ex-Queen of Etruria. The States of the Church were restored to the Pope, and the Kingdom of the Two Sicilies (from which Murat was expelled by the Austrians in 1815) returned to the Bourbon Ferdinand I. Italy no more than Germany obtained a national and permanent settlement from the Congress. Not till half a century later did the House of Savoy release her from foreign domination and disunion, two curses which had blighted her progress since the reign of Justinian.

Elsewhere in Europe the most important territorial changes sanctioned by the Congress affected Scandinavia. Denmark sacrificed Norway to Sweden (but retained Iceland). Sweden abandoned Finland and the Aland Isles to Russia. All that remained of Swedish Pomerania passed to Prussia. Thus Sweden became a purely peninsular power and lost the continental position which Gustavus Adolphus and Charles XII had given her.

Apart from her direct agreements with France and Holland, Great Britain retained Malta, Heligoland (which she captured in 1807 and ceded to Germany in 1890), and assumed the Protectorate of the Ionian Isles (which she presented to Greece in 1864).

The Congress of Vienna was the first attempt of Europe to settle international questions by conciliar deliberation. Its territorial settlements were guided by no principles, such as legitimacy or nationality. The wrong done to Poland in the eighteenth century was repeated. North Italy was given to Austria. Norway was thrown from Denmark to Sweden. Belgium was tied to Holland, Genoa to Sardinia, Sicily to Naples, Finland to Russia. The Eastern Question was not touched, nor the South American situation. Nor did the Congress determine a method to assure the continuance of international peace. Projects of disarmament and arbitration were still nebulous, and a scheme of intermittent Congresses was the only proposal for the pacific regulation of Europe's interests. The Congress affected approval of Constitutionalism as the guarantee of stability. It took the German Constitution under its sanction and promised a similar boon to the States of the *Bund*. It admitted Belgium to the Constitutional privileges of the Dutch, gave a Constitution to Cracow, and secured Genoa's interests in that of Sardinia. If the Congress failed to accomplish more, it must be remembered that its commission was restricted, and that compromise was the shortest road to peace. It righted the wrongs of Europe at Napoleon's hands, restored to Europe a much-needed Balance of Power, and submitted her to the regulation of Metternich's "Moral Pentarchy," which proved to be a severe repressor of the Liberalism to which the French Revolution had given birth.

CHAPTER IV

THE HOLY ALLIANCE

The nineteenth century corrected and completed the work of the Vienna Congress in two directions: it advanced the cause of Liberalism, and vindicated the neglected claims of Nationalism. Both causes encountered the opposition of the victorious Monarchs who imposed the settlement of 1815 upon Europe. Russia, Austria, and Prussia were absolutist to the core. "Liberalism," said Frederick William IV of Prussia, "is a mental disease bred of impiety." "Govern and change nothing" was the advice of Francis I of Austria. Not without reason German Liberalism complained in 1817: "In the sixteenth century the Pope was Antichrist. In these days Antichrist wears the trappings of despotic Monarchy." For half a generation after 1815 Europe was in bondage to Metternich's Moral Pentarchy for the repression of Liberalism and the safeguarding of the interests of the "legitimate" Monarchies.

In 1804, Alexander I of Russia suggested a "European Confederation," partly to rescue France for her legitimate monarchy, partly to restore the European equilibrium, with asserted regard for "the rights of humanity." Eleven years later (1815) the Holy Alliance framed the principles of the suggested Concert of Europe. It reflected the mind of its founder, and at Aix-la-Chapelle (1818), Troppau (1820), Laibach (1821), and Verona (1822) directed a systematic policy of reaction which instigated the Liberal outbreak of 1830. The Holy Alliance, characterized by Metternich as "a combination for the preservation of everything lawfully existing," was signed by the Sovereigns of Russia, Austria, and Prussia at Paris on September 26, 1815, and was published by the Tsar on the same day. The document contained a preamble and three Articles. The preamble, instinct with the

mysticism that possessed the Tsar, declared that, impressed by the successes of the past three years and the blessings of Providence vouchsafed to them, the Sovereigns agreed to settle the reciprocal relations of the Powers "upon the sublime truths which the Holy Religion of our Saviour teaches." They proclaimed their "fixed resolution, both in the administration of their respective States, and in their political relations with every other Government, to take for their sole guide the precepts of that Holy Religion, namely, the precepts of Justice, Christian Charity, and Peace." The first Article, "conformably to the words of the Holy Scriptures, which command all men to consider each other as brethren," pledged them to stand "united by the bonds of a true and indissoluble fraternity;" to assist each other; and to protect "Religion, Peace, and Justice." The second Article declared the one effective bond between governments to be reciprocal service as members of a single Christian society. The signatories, therefore, "looking on themselves as merely delegated by Providence to govern three branches of the one family, namely, Austria, Prussia, and Russia," commended their peoples "to strengthen themselves every day more and more in the principles and exercise of the Duties which the Divine Saviour has taught to mankind." The third Article invited the Powers "solemnly to avow the sacred principles which have dictated this Holy Alliance," an invitation accepted by all except the Sultan, the Pope, and the British Prince Regent. The Sultan stood outside "Christian society," and was not invited. The Pope had no liking for a document jointly signed by a Catholic, a heretic, and schismatic, and whose insistence on the unity of Christendom was an offensive declaration of Indifferentism. The Prince Regent escaped endorsement of the document by replying that "the forms of the British Constitution" precluded him from "acceding formally" to it.

The arch-author of the Holy Alliance, Alexander I, had passed recently under the influence of the Baroness von Krüdener, the widow of a Russian statesman, drawn in middle age and tardily to the solace of religion. On her first presentation to the Tsar she recognized in him the "angel descending from the east, having the seal of the living God," foretold in the *Book of Revelation* (chap. vii)—hence the characterization of the Alliance as a "diplomatic Apocalypse."

Impressed by Napoleon's downfall, Alexander accepted Mme. von Krüdener's revelation of his mission and submitted the Holy Alliance to her approval. The Austrian and Prussian monarchs signed it without enthusiasm. Metternich dismissed it as "an empty form of words." Castlereagh ridiculed it as "nonsense." But it exercised large influence on European affairs, and its opportunity to do so was provided by the Quadruple Treaty between its signatories and Great Britain, concluded a few weeks later (November 20, 1815). The treaty confirmed the agreements of Chaumont (March, 1814) and Vienna (March, 1815) against France and undertook "to employ all means to prevent the general Tranquillity from being again disturbed." Its sixth Article agreed to hold periodical conciliar meetings "for the repose and prosperity of Nations, and for the maintenance of the Peace of Europe." The Holy Alliance indicated the spirit in which the discipline would be administered by the majority.

The Concert created by the Holy and Quadruple Alliances did not in terms commit the Powers to a policy of reaction. But the dominating personality of Metternich directed the Concert into that channel. He was out of touch with the age to which the French Revolution had given birth, and described himself as a "man of the past." He realized also that the Habsburg Empire, with its manifold racial elements, could not survive concession of the principle of nationality. His master, Francis I, was in thorough accord with him. "Hold on to what is old," he advised an academic audience; "for what is old is respectable. What was good enough for our forbears is good enough for us." Even the visionary Alexander I submitted to Metternich's domination. Hence the Holy Alliance became, in action, a monarchical league against Liberalism. Its outlook and the traditions of British liberty were so inconsistent that Great Britain's association with it was likely to be of brief duration. Castlereagh protested against its illiberal intervention in Spain (1823). Canning recognized the Spanish-American Republics (1825) in order to "redress the balance" of reactionary Europe, as already he had recognized (1823) the belligerent Greeks fighting against Turkey. In effect, Great Britain abandoned the Concert on the resolution of the three eastern Powers at Verona (1822) to coerce Liberalism in Spain. The July (1830)

Revolution and the victory of constitutionalism in France carried division still farther, and after the secret Convention of Berlin between the eastern Powers in 1833, the Concert ceased to be international. Canning rejoiced at its end. "Things are getting back to a wholesome state again," he wrote; "every nation for itself, and God for us all."

France

France was the chief care of the Quadruple Alliance. In 1814 interests which had suffered for the Bourbons clamoured for vengeance and reward. The *émigrés* returned, with the king's brother, the Comte d'Artois, at their head, and acting with them was the *Congrégation*, a private politico-religious association formed in Paris. Their party, the *Ultra-Royalists*, or shortly, the *Ultras*, aimed at the restoration of the *ancien régime*, regarded with extreme disfavour the Charter granted by Louis XVIII in 1814, and regretted his conciliatory proclamation from Cambrai before his second restoration in 1815. The *Ultras* formed the Extreme Right of Restoration politics. The Liberals and Independents were the Extreme Left. They included all, Imperialists and Republicans, who associated the glory of France with the Tricolour. Their party was military, patriotic, democratic, non-clerical, and ridiculed the Bourbons as exiles returned "in the baggage-wagons of the enemy." Standing between the extremists of the Tricolour and the White Cockade (the Bourbon device) were the Constitutionalists, or *Doctrinaires*, the "thinking faction," so named first in 1817. They represented a body of opinion to which Napoleon had appealed in his *Acte additionel*. Louis, wiser than his brother, hoped to propitiate them. Their programme, in the words of Decazes, was to "nationalize the Monarchy and royalize the nation." But at the outset they were overwhelmed in a storm of reaction that swept moderation before it.

The Constitution conferred by the Charter (1814) vested the executive in the sovereign, the legislative power in the Sovereign and Legislature—a Chamber of Peers and a Chamber of Deputies. The *pays légal* (electorate) was aristocratic. Until the Law of 1817 the Deputies were elected as under the Empire: the electors were grouped in electoral Colleges in each

arrondissement and *département*. The Departmental Colleges elected the Deputies from lists supplied by the Colleges of the *arrondissements*, the official Prefects being permitted to add ten names for each *arrondissement*. Deputies thus were *indirectly* elected, for a term of five years, one-fifth of their number seeking re-election annually. The king was pledged to convoke the Chambers every year, and, in the event of a dissolution, to summon a new Chamber of Deputies within three months.

Encouraged by the flight of Napoleon and sustained by the presence of the Allies, the *Ultras* took vengeance (1815) for the Hundred Days upon the Bonapartists. Superior officers were tried by court martial. Ney, the most notable victim of this " White Terror," was condemned by his fellow-Peers and shot in December, 1815; *Soldats, droit au cœur!* were his last words. Massacres were promoted in the south, and under the influence of the Terror the Chamber of Deputies (increased by decree to 402 members) was elected (August, 1815). So sweeping was the victory of the *Ultras* that Louis remarked, *Nous avons une Chambre vraiment introuvable*; whence its name, *la Chambre introuvable*. But the experience of a single session proved that the Chamber, if beyond anticipation, was also without discretion. It demanded the restitution of the religious Orders, their privileges, their property. It voted an amnesty from which it excluded all who had been prominent in the Napoleonic restoration, or had voted the death of Louis XVI twenty years before. It threatened to deport persons who raised the cry *Vive l'Empereur!* or wore the Tricolour. In every Department it set up (December, 1815) a Court Martial (*cour prévôtale*), controlled by a military officer, for the summary trial (without the intervention of a jury) of persons accused of seditious acts and cries. It punished authors of seditious writings with penal servitude, and empowered the government to detain at pleasure persons merely suspected of conspiracy. It chafed at the government's restraint and tried to undermine it in the constituencies. Louis was alarmed and indignant. Even the Tsar warned the Comte d'Artois that he followed a dangerous course. So soon as the Budget was passed, therefore, Louis closed the session (April, 1816) and in September dissolved Parliament. At the same time he reduced the new Chamber

to 258 Deputies, as in 1814. The elections (1816) gave a majority to the *Doctrinaires*, who at once passed an Electoral Law (1817) with the object of strengthening sober opinion in the country against the party whose excesses the polls had condemned. The Law established *direct* suffrage by *scrutin de liste* in the chief town of each Department. The electoral qualification was retained:—the payment of 300 *francs* annually in direct taxation and the attainment of the age of thirty years; for candidates the age of forty and the payment of 1000 *francs* in direct annual taxation were demanded. The annual renewal of one-fifth of the Chamber was continued. Until 1820, when the Law was modified, Liberal opinion increasingly gained strength in the Chamber.

While the Chamber was under the moderating influence of the *Doctrinaires*, the Duc de Richelieu, an *émigré*, but not an *Ultra*, distinguished in the Tsar's service as Governor of Odessa, whom Louis made President of the Council in 1815, released France from the galling occupation of the Allies. The question was considered by the Conference of Aix-la-Chapelle in 1818. The Sovereigns of Prussia, Russia, and Austria were present in person. Great Britain was represented by Castlereagh and Wellington. Richelieu was present in behalf of France. Subject to satisfactory arrangements regarding the indemnity the Allies agreed to withdraw from France by November 30, 1818. Richelieu then requested that France should be admitted to the Quadruple Alliance. Russia and Austria thought it incongruous to enrol her in an association which had been devised to keep her in order. Great Britain, on the other hand, regarded the attempt to isolate her as likely to provoke her resentment. Unwilling to jeopardize the Concert of Europe, Metternich procured a renewal of the Quadruple Alliance, which Great Britain subscribed on the condition that her committal to intervention in France was limited to the case of a Bonapartist restoration. France was then admitted to the Concert, and the European Pentarchy was complete.

The Electoral Law of 1817 surpassed the hopes of those who planned it as a check upon the *Ultras*. The Liberals steadily gained strength, and the elections of 1818 increased their representation in the Chamber of Deputies from 25 to 45. Among the new members was Lafayette, the commander

of the National Guard during the Revolution. The progress of Liberalism was alarming, and Richelieu, who was prepared to correct the law of 1817, but not enough to satisfy the *Ultras*, became the object of a conspiracy to procure his fall, directed by the Comte d'Artois and known as the *conspiration du bord de l'eau*, in reference to the *Pavillon Marsan*, his residence in the Tuileries. Richelieu resigned, and Louis turned to Decazes, who favoured a moderate policy, to stand between the Crown and the blind partisanship of the *Ultras*. But Decazes merely postponed the tyranny of the latter, while Louis was anxious to avert it. He signalled his brief term of office by passing a Press Law (1819), which had been promised in the Charter. Under the Empire, and to this point in the history of the Restoration, the Press was treated as a weapon too dangerous to place in the hands of those who were not friends of the Government. All printed matter was subjected to censorship. Periodicals and newspapers appeared only by permission (*autorisation préalable*). Their publishers deposited large sums of caution-money. The printing of objectionable matter was summarily punished—a mere reference to Napoleon incurred a maximum sentence of five years' imprisonment. The Press Law of 1819 affected to imitate the English system. It abolished the censorship, instituted jury trial for Press cases, scheduled offences for which the Press could be held liable, subjected newspapers to a stamp-tax on each copy, and to the deposit of a sum of money (200,000 *francs*) by way of security. In effect, though the law placed it in a better position than before, the Press was denied a large circulation by the heavy duties imposed upon it. The Law remained unamended only a few months; for events restored the *Ultras* to the position they had lost in 1816.

The elections of 1819 again increased the representation of the Tricolour party in the Chamber. Twenty-nine of them found seats as against five *Ultras*. Their party, which had almost quadrupled its strength in two years, now numbered ninety. One of the new Deputies was the Abbé Grégoire, a member of the National Assembly in 1793. He asserted his absence from the Assembly when the vote that condemned Louis XVI was taken. But the *Ultras* were indignant and Louis' fight for moderation was weakened by the Abbé's

reappearance in public life. The Right demanded a revision of the Electoral Law, and Decazes, who realized that Grégoire compromised France's relations with the Powers, had introduced an amending measure when the act of a madman gave the country to the *Ultras*.

On an evening of February, 1820, the Duc de Berry, younger son of the Comte d'Artois, was stabbed to death in Paris as he and his young wife left the Opera House. The criminal was a saddler named Louvel, who had sworn to exterminate the Bourbons. Artois' elder son, the Duc d'Angoulême, was childless, and so was Berry at the time of his death. But his widow gave birth to a posthumous son, *l'enfant du miracle*, who received the name Henry, after the first Bourbon king, and the title Duc de Bordeaux. A public subscription among the Legitimists presented him with the Château de Chambord, one of the finest examples of the Renaissance, and as Comte de Chambord he is best known. He died in 1883, childless, and Louvel's purpose was fulfilled. The murder of Berry seemed to justify the *Ultras'* arraignment of the Liberal tendencies of the Government. "The knife that killed the Duc de Berry," said one of them, "was Liberalism." The impeachment of Decazes was demanded, and Louis wearily bowed to the storm. Decazes was dismissed to the Embassy in London, and Richelieu was invited to take his place. Artois promised the support of the *Ultras* and Richelieu took office. For seven years (1820–27) the Right controlled the Chamber, and the contest with the Tricolour party began.

The triumphant Right set itself to amend the Press and Electoral Laws of the Moderates. The former was not touched until 1822; but an Ordinance provisionally restored the censorship (1820). The Electoral Law of 1820 was drastic. It increased the number of Deputies from 258 to 430. By a gerrymandering device, which gave its name to the whole measure, *loi du double vote*, the Chamber was handed to the reactionary party. The electoral Colleges, abolished in 1817, were restored. In the *arrondissements* the electors of the old qualification (300 *francs* direct taxation) elected 258 Deputies, the full membership of the Chamber since 1816. The additional 172 members of the enlarged Chamber were reserved for election by the Colleges of the *départements*. The latter

were restricted to persons paying 1000 *francs* in direct taxation, men, in other words, qualified to sit as Deputies. The law gave them a double vote in the *arrondissement* and *département* and placed the Chamber at the disposal of ten or twelve thousand rich people. Voting was open and under the eye of officials appointed by the government. Influence and intimidation, therefore, were easy. Consequently the Tricolour party was wiped out as a political force. After the elections of 1824 it mustered less than twenty members. Meanwhile, Richelieu followed Decazes as a sacrifice to the *Ultras*. Artois withdrew his support, and Louis, under the influence of his brother's agent, Mme. du Cayla, and physically failing, was too feeble to exert his authority. "He conspired against my brother [Louis XVI]," he replied to Richelieu's complaint of Artois. "He has conspired against me. He will end by conspiring against himself." Richelieu resigned, therefore (1821). His place was taken by the Comte de Villèle, the leader of the *Ultras*, whose policy involved France, nine years later, in another revolution and the ruin of the White Cockade.

Villèle, like Clarendon, attempted to unite the interests of the Monarchy and the Church. The Congregation and the Jesuits, whose Order, dissolved in 1773, had been restored by Pius VII in 1814, vigorously denounced the Revolution and its works. An effort was made to bring education in the University and the schools under the Church's influence. Guizot, a Protestant, was forced to resign his Chair at the Sorbonne. Voltaire's writings were burned. Members of the staff of the Medical School suspected of heretical views were dismissed. Schools under clerical supervision were encouraged and a programme of studies instilling religious and monarchical principles was imposed. For the regulation of public opinion the *Ultras* passed a new Press Law (1822). It took over from the measure of 1819 the *autorisation préalable* and the power to suspend newspapers. The protection of jury trial was withdrawn and Press offences were placed under the summary jurisdiction of police magistrates (*tribunaux correctionels*). Censorship was abandoned, though the government could reimpose it by Ordinance. But it was hardly needed. Articles reflecting upon the Church and the *ancien régime* incurred heavy fines. Press articles, innocuous in themselves, were liable to prosecution for subversive tendency

(*procès de tendence*). Incessant and heavy fines harassed the Liberal Press and made newspaper opposition to the government's measures almost impossible. It was proposed to veto the establishment of more newspapers, and to buy up the old ones. A royalist association was formed for the purpose.

Revolutionary movements were already in progress in Italy, Spain, and Germany, and French Liberalism, muzzled in the constituencies, in the Chamber, and in the Press, fell in with the prevalent mood by resorting to secret agencies. The chief was the *Charbonnerie française*, founded in 1821 by a few students who were familiar with the organization of the Italian *Carbonara*. Its membership was divided into sections or *ventes* (Ital. *venta*) of twenty persons. Each member was bound implicitly to obey the central *vente*, to contribute one *franc* a month to the funds, and to be ready for action at any moment with a gun and twenty rounds of ammunition. Lafayette was a member, and the society's adherents were found chiefly among students and soldiers. Throughout 1822 it displayed great activity, encouraged several attempts at insurrection, and adopted the cry *Vive la Charte !* to avoid frightening the middle class by too frank an exposition of its anti-monarchical programme. Military executions punished these attempts at rebellion.

The triumphant *Ultras* forced the country into war in Spain in support of Ferdinand's absolutism. The European Concert took the Spanish situation into consideration at Verona (1822), where Chateaubriand advocated intervention. France was authorized to intervene, though Great Britain protested, and in April, 1823, the Duc d'Angoulême crossed the Pyrenees to "reconcile" Spain with the Pentarchy. The Liberal Deputies made their protest, and one of them, who reminded the Chamber that foreign intervention in France, thirty years earlier, cost Louis XVI his head, was expelled. The Spanish expedition, actually inglorious, riveted the rule of the *Ultras*, who boasted that they had restored the *prestige* of France. But the appearance of Canning in the room of Castlereagh—who committed suicide in 1822—foreshadowed increasing disinclination on Great Britain's part to lend herself to the reactionary policy of Metternich. Canning replied to French action in Spain by intervening in Portugal. He

countered the proposal to extend the radius of anti-Liberal intervention to the New World by recognizing the Spanish-American Republics (1825). He contended that the settlement of 1815 was "territorial and not political"; that the signatory Powers were not pledged to maintain the political settlement; and that if intervention was attempted on that ground it was competent to thwart it.

Relying upon the patriotic sentiment which the Spanish expedition had stirred in the electorate, Villèle held the moment opportune to secure to his party a long lease of power. He dissolved the Chamber and applied the weight of the government and its officials to control the elections (February, 1824). Civil servants were informed that their appointments pledged them to use their influence to maintain the government. In the result the Tricolour party was reduced to less than twenty Deputies and to impotence. The new Chamber was such as Louis had declared *introuvable* in 1815 and was greeted appropriately as *la Chambre retrouvée*. Villèle resolved to make the happy condition permanent. He therefore obtained a law which prolonged the life of Parliament to seven years and abandoned the annual renovation of one-fifth of its membership. Seemingly secure for seven years, Villèle introduced a proposal for the compensation of the *émigrés*, which the Peers threw out. A measure preliminary to reinstating the religious Houses had no better fortune. Villèle, however, obtained the amendment of the Military Law of 1818. That measure was due to Louis XVIII's abolition of the hated conscription, and to the failure of voluntary enlistment to fill the ranks. It organized a standing army of seven years' service on a system of drafting by ballot, with permission to the recruit to provide a substitute. It also established promotion by seniority as to two-thirds of the officers up to the rank of colonel. To that extent the king was precluded from bestowing commissions on the *émigrés*. For that reason, and because the law was based on equality and created an army of citizen soldiers, the *Ultras* regarded it with aversion. The enrolment of the veterans of the Empire in a Reserve increased their hostility to it. Villèle's Law of 1824 abolished the Reserve of Veterans, increased the annual drafts of recruits by ballot from 40,000 to 60,000, and prolonged their term of service from seven to eight years. The principle of the Law of 1818

remained intact and lasted until 1868. Such was the situation when Louis died (September, 1824). He was the only Sovereign of France in the nineteenth century who died on the throne, a distinction due to the moderation of his courses, but largely to his fortune in escaping the reaction which his brother and the *Ultras* already were inviting.

Germany

Germany, more immediately under the eye of the arch-director of the Holy Alliance, also succumbed to the forces of reaction. During the period of Napoleonic menace the German princes did homage to the vision of German unity and constitutionalism. The War of Liberation was fought under the watchword *Vivat Teutonia.* Article XIII of the *Bundesakte* of June, 1815, decisively resolved : " There must be [*es soll*] a system of Estates [*Landständische Verfassung*] in all the States belonging to the Confederation [*Bund*]." But of the thirty-nine States that formed the *Deutsche Bund* only Saxe-Weimar, Baden, Bavaria, and Würtemberg showed an immediate disposition to confer a written Constitution, aristocratic in type. The *Bundesakte,* indeed, expressly used the term *Landständische Verfassung* (Assemblies of Estates) in order to avoid the obnoxious word *Constitution.* The *Schlussakte* of 1820 revealed the reaction which the intervening five years had witnessed. It redrafted Article XIII of the *Bundesakte* to read, " There will be [*es wird,* in a permissive or prophetic sense] Assemblies of Estates." It promoted Metternich's illiberal policy by postulating the duty of every member of the *Bund* to " co-operate for the preservation or restoration of tranquillity in case of the resistance of subjects against their Governments, in case of an open revolt, or of dangerous movements " within the Confederation.

The hopes of German Nationalism also withered. The *Bundesakte* of 1815 and its complement, the *Schlussakte* of 1820, constituted Germany a *Staatenbund,* not a *Bundesstaat,* a federation of independent and sovereign States, not a Federal State. It established " a perpetual Confederation, which shall be called the Germanic Confederation [*Deutscher Bund*],"

defining its object to be " the maintenance of the external and internal safety of Germany." The conduct of the restricted federal activities of the *Bund* was " confided " to a Federative Diet (*Bundesversammlung* or *Bundestag*), a permanent board or conference of " plenipotentiaries " of the German States sitting at Frankfort, the old Imperial capital, under the presidency of Austria. The State plenipotentiaries were tied to the instructions of their governments and could vote only in accordance with them. For ordinary business the Diet was constituted a " select " Assembly (*Engere Verfassung* or *Engerer Rath*) with a membership of seventeen plenipotentiaries; the eleven principal States having one plenipotentiary (and vote) each; the others uniting in groups to send one plenipotentiary (with one vote) for each group—there were six grouped votes, seventeen votes in all. Matters affecting the *Bundesakte* itself, fundamental laws, the organic institutions of the *Bund*, religion, and the admission of new members were beyond the competence of the *Engere Verfassung* and were reserved for the full Diet. In that form the Diet was known as the *Plenum*, and consisted of 70 plenipotentiaries (upon the admission of Hesse-Homburg in 1817) representing the 39 States of the *Bund*. The voting value of each State varied according to its importance. The six kingdoms (Austria, Prussia, Bavaria, Hanover, Saxony, and Würtemberg) represented four votes each; five States had three votes each; three had two votes each; the remainder had one vote apiece. To the *Plenum* the *Bundesakte* committed the formulation of organic institutions for the *Bund*, the Confederation being without representatives at foreign Courts, lacking a federally organized army, and having no machinery to regulate the inter-State relations of its members. Each Prince was sovereign within his own boundaries, regulated his own army, his diplomatic relations, and his policy. The *Bundesakte* merely bound each State of the *Bund* to defend it and its members if attacked (an obligation which Metternich enlarged in the *Schlussakte* of 1820); not to conclude separate agreements with an enemy; and to submit inter-State quarrels to the mediation of the Diet.

The *Bundesakte* appointed the Federative Diet to hold its first session on September 1, 1815, three months after the signature of the Act, and charged it, as " the first object " to

be considered, to organise the " exterior, military, and interior relations " of the *Bund*. Until that was accomplished the Confederation was merely a league for defensive purposes; the single federative institution it possessed, the *Bundestag*, having no constitutional means whatever to enforce its decrees. Napoleon's return from Elba and the renewed international disturbance that followed the Hundred Days were the chief reasons why the Diet did not open until November, 1816. But its constitution did not fit it to accomplish the business that awaited it. A unanimous vote was required to legalize its decisions on almost every question. But unanimity could be avoided, even without obstruction. The plenipotentiaries were instructed by their governments at every stage, and a matter could be indefinitely hung-up by a refractory government merely delaying to instruct its representative. Individual States were jealous of their sovereignty, the smaller ones especially, and determined rulers, like the Elector of Hesse, opposed any attempt to advance central authority at the expense of the princes. Consequently, though the Federative Diet at Frankfort met frequently and took under its observation a large amount of business, its incompetence became a byword. The most urgent matter, the organization of the *Bund's* military resources, was treated in a dangerously leisurely manner. Plans for the organization of the federative army were delayed until 1840. The contingents of the several States, though mobilised on more than one occasion, were never united.

While the *Bund* as an organism remained in a nebulous condition, its thirty-nine members stood in three non-harmonious systems. Austria and Prussia, the most powerful States, were absolute monarchies. Several of the North German States, notably the Electorate of Hesse, maintained similar governments. In a second category were a number of princes, chiefly in North Germany, who instituted Assemblies of their Estates (*Landstände*) for tax-voting purposes. The Kingdoms of Hanover and Saxony were in this system. In a third category stood a few princes, chiefly in the south, who granted written Constitutions on the model of the French Charter of 1814 and summoned elected and representative bodies empowered to lay taxes and to legislate. The Grand Duke of Saxe-Weimar was the pioneer of this effort to carry

out Article XIII of the *Bundesakte* and to make it something more than an "unlimited right of expectation." Political parties in Germany conformed to these categories. The Absolutists trusted to Austria to prevent any effort to Liberalize the Constitutions of the German States. A small body of doctrinaires were equally opposed to absolutism and constitutionalism. The Liberals or Constitutionalists, unlike the Absolutists, were unable to associate their cause with a powerful champion. Austro-Prussian rivalry drew them towards Prussia. But Prussia was among the autocrats and her Sovereign broke his promise to give his people a Constitution. The Liberals therefore looked to the princes of South Germany and were drawn towards France, a fact which tended to alienate sympathy in some German quarters. Hence the National movement did not coincide with the Liberal movement; for patriots relied on the illiberal States in the interests of unity, and in the cause of Liberalism looked to the smaller States, whom union would sacrifice. Until 1848 the German Liberal and National movements were easily suppressed.

The non-fulfilment of the promise of Constitutions diverted the energies of Liberalism in Germany into less orderly channels. No politician or statesman emerged to guide the movement, and the Universities and *gymnasia* became the effective centres of agitation. "A whole class of future State officials," Metternich complained, "Professors, and incipient literary men," were being "ripened for revolution." Societies, such as the *Tugendbund*, or "League of Service," formed in Prussia in 1808 to resist the French, were superseded by Liberal associations. The most remarkable of them were the *Burschenschaften*, or "Associations of Students," which were formed in 1815 to afford German students a higher ideal of comradeship than that which distinguished the University clubs (*Landsmannschaften*), which, as now, were duelling and drinking societies. The *Burschenschaften*, on the other hand, were not restricted to a particular University. The members set before themselves the ideal of patriotic service, and adopted the Tricolour of the volunteers of 1813 as their colours (red, black, and gold). Their centre was the University of Jena, where Liberalism had the countenance of the Grand Duke, and liberty to express itself. In October,

1817, the professors of the University and Liberal journalists of the Grand Duchy organized a demonstration at the Wartburg, near Eisenach, a spot associated with Luther. Its purpose was jointly to celebrate the third centenary of the publication of Luther's Thirty-nine Theses at Wittenberg and the fourth anniversary of Napoleon's defeat at Leipzig. Patriotic speeches were made, and the demonstrators committed to the flames books of an illiberal tendency, a Hessian soldier's queue (a reference to the Elector's pious Conservatism), a corporal's cane (a thrust at Prussian militarism), and other emblems of symbolic protest. At Göttingen and elsewhere disturbances occurred. Two years later the Jena students were concerned in a more serious affair. In March, 1819, Karl Sand, a prominent member of the Jena *Burschenschaft*, presented himself at Mannheim, where Kotzebue, a former Jena student, conducted a reactionary journal which attacked Liberal principles and denounced the German Universities as fomenters of them. Sand entered Kotzebue's office, handed him a paper which bore the words " Sentence of death pronounced on Kotzebue and executed March 23, 1819," and stabbed him to the heart as he read it. The attempted assassination of a Minister of the Duke of Nassau by another student intensified Conservative alarm at Sand's offence, and authority took immediate steps to deal with the situation.

In 1819 Metternich convened the principal German States to Carlsbad. He convinced them of the existence of a wide-spread conspiracy, and invited their co-operation in repressive measures. Their resolutions, known as the " Carlsbad Decrees," were communicated to the Federative Diet and promptly received the approval of that usually dilatory body. The Decrees aimed especially at the Universities, the Press, and the Liberals. They bound the governments to dissolve the *Burschenschaften*, whose members were declared ineligible for public office. Commissioners or " Curators " were to be appointed to regulate the Universities. Every newspaper or pamphlet was to be censored before being published. At Mainz a central Commission was to watch Liberal manifestations and the activities of secret societies. The Decrees put back the progress of German Liberalism for a generation. At Vienna Metternich held a second conference of the German governments, ostensibly to complete the *Bundesakte*, which

the Federative Diet had been discussing leisurely for three years, chiefly to amend Article XIII of it. He would have compelled the southern States to withdraw the Constitutions they had granted. But he was obliged to be content with sixty-five illiberal Articles, which by a subsequent resolution of the *Bundestag* became an "unchangeable engagement among the members of the Confederation." Article LVII of this Final Act (*Schlussakte*) of Vienna (1820) declared "the fundamental idea" of the Confederation to be, that "the whole power of the State [throughout all the members of the *Bund*] must remain united in the Supreme Chief of the State," and that "the Sovereign cannot be bound by a Constitution of National Estates." Article XIII of the *Bundesakte*, therefore, went by the board. The Federation was authorized to intervene in any State confronted by a movement threatening the principle laid down in Article LVII. At the same time, it was made clear that the *Bundestag* at Frankfort was without originating authority, and merely the mouthpiece of the *Bund*.

In the following years the South German Liberal States made an ineffectual effort to challenge the political preponderance of Austria and Prussia. In 1820 the "Manifesto of South Germany," issued by order of the King of Würtemberg, boldly contended that Austria and Prussia lay outside the Germany of the Middle Ages, which consisted of the old duchies west of the Elbe. A league between Würtemberg, Bavaria, and Baden was proposed, but fruitlessly. The Carlsbad Decrees were made permanent (1824). The Diet retired to its normal condition of somnolence. As to national unity, Germany remained, like Italy, a geographical expression, and the single promise of an effective Federal State or *Bundesstaat* was the *Zollverein*, or Customs Union, which established a uniform low tariff system among its members. The Union began in 1819, upon an agreement between Prussia and the Principality of Schwarzburg-Sondershausen. In the following thirty years it was so widely acceded to by other members of the *Bund*, that in 1850 the *Zollverein* included the whole of the Confederation except Austria, Hanover, Oldenburg, Mecklenburg, and the three Hanse cities, Bremen, Hamburg, and Lübeck.

Italy

The Treaty of Vienna (1815) created an Octarchy whose compression into a Kingdom is the history of Italy in the first three-quarters of the nineteenth century. Three of the Italian States were kingdoms (Lombardy-Venetia, Sardinia, and Naples); one was a Grand Duchy (Tuscany); three were duchies (Parma, Lucca, and Modena). The Papal States under Pius VII formed the eighth. For the most part, Italy was restored to its position before France laid hands on Savoy and Nice in 1792. There were, however, exceptions. Genoa and the dependencies of that Republic were given to the Kingdom of Sardinia, which also recovered Nice and the greater part of Savoy, thereby obtaining access to the sea. Naples deprived Sicily of her autonomy and flag (Dec. 1816). The Venetian Republic was extinguished, and its territories (Venetia) were united with Lombardy under the Austrian crown. Austria, consequently, stood supreme along the valley of the Po, and her resources enabled her to direct the smaller States of the peninsula in the path of reaction.

In Italy, as in Germany, Metternich aimed at stifling Liberalism and Nationalism, stirred to life by the French Revolution. He did so in the interests of Austria, who was vulnerable to any movement which had the recognition of nationalities as its object. Her Italian kingdom received neither flag nor army. Its Viceroy, settled at Milan, took his instructions from Vienna. An elaborate police system kept the government closely informed of all movements of public feeling. A rigorous censorship was exercised over literature, from which even Dante was not exempt. Official *Gazettes* were issued at Milan and Venice; but the political Press was stifled. The educational system, otherwise excellent, supported Austria's rule. The children were taught that northern Italy was the geographical complement of Austria. University Chairs were filled from Vienna, on tests which prevented good candidates from coming forward. Lombardy-Venetia also was heavily taxed; and though it formed one-eighth of the population of the Austrian Empire, it provided one-fourth of its tax revenue.

Three characteristics marked the condition of Italy after 1815: small States, autocratic governments, and dependence

on Austria. Besides the Viceroy of Lombardy-Venetia, the rulers of Tuscany, Parma, and Modena were Austrian by birth. By dynastic ties the whole of the Italian peninsula above the Papal States was bound to Vienna. The ex-Empress Marie-Louise, who received Parma-Piacenza, entrusted its government to Austrians. In Modena, the duke surrendered himself to Vienna's protection, revoked the French Code, and restored the nobility and religious Orders to their old privileges. Tuscany experienced a similar reaction. In the Papal States the Holy See abolished the civil administration which Napoleon had set up, and the Civil Code. Such beneficent innovations as the street lighting of Rome and inoculation for smallpox were abandoned because they were of French institution. The provinces again were placed under Cardinal Legates, the Inquisition was re-established, and upwards of 2000 religious Houses were restored. Ferdinand of Naples, whom Lord William Bentinck induced to give his subjects a Constitution in 1812, retained the social and administrative organization which the French had introduced. But he showed his hatred of their *régime* by stopping the excavation of Pompeii, which the French had pushed on, and entered into an agreement with Austria not to tolerate "any change that is not in accordance with the ancient institutions of the Monarchy," or with the principles adopted by Austria in her Italian provinces. Victor Emmanuel I of Sardinia, who had lived in retirement for fifteen years on the island, returned to Turin in May, 1814, clothed in the forgotten fashions of an earlier generation, restored the Constitutions of 1770, gave back to the Church its privileges, excluded from public life all who had served the French, and even proposed to destroy two monuments of French enterprise—a bridge over the Po, and the military road over Mont Cenis.

Thus Italy reverted to the old tyranny of absolutism, police *espionage*, and Clerical rule. Unable to express itself through constitutional channels, or to vent its grievances in a free Press, Liberalism was driven to intrigue. The most famous of its secret societies was the *Carbonara*, an offshoot of Freemasonry. It began to be active in the Kingdom of Naples in the first decade of the nineteenth century and was supported by the charcoal burners of Calabria, whence its members took the name of *Carbonari*. The unit of its organisation

was the band of twenty members (*venta*), each of whom was bound to obey the orders of the central *venta*. Its earliest task was to support the movement which produced the Neapolitan Constitution of 1812. The *vendetta* which Ferdinand conducted after his restoration fanned the society to new activity. It spread into central and northern Italy and was powerful in Romagna and Lombardy. By the year 1820 it numbered probably over 500,000 persons animated by the ambition to oust the Austrians from Italy, to procure from the Italian governments the boon of constitutional rule, and to make Italy a nation. Its ranks were filled by civilians and soldiers ; men whose activities were tethered in the petty States that replaced Napoleon's Kingdom of Italy ; discharged officials for whose services the restored autocrats had no use ; patriots and Liberal visionaries. As a whole, it drew its recruits from the middle class. In achievement it was consistently futile. It accepted from Spain, rather than invented for itself, its mode of action in 1820. Eventually it was superseded by Mazzini's *Young Italy*,

Early in 1820 a military *pronunciamento* in Spain compelled the king to restore the Constitution of 1812. His neighbour, John VI of Portugal, accepted a Constitution at the same time. Naples secured the same boon by the same means. Early in July, 1820, the garrison of Nola, a town a few miles from Naples, declared for the Spanish Constitution. The Neapolitan army contained many of Murat's officers, and the *Carbonari* had a strong hold upon it. One of the " Muratists," General Guglielmo Pepe, a prominent *Carbonaro*, put himself at the head of the Nola demonstration, and a party of five officers, riding on ahead to Naples, frightened the king into granting their demands. Three days later Pepe, at the head of a large body of *Carbonari* flying their Tricolour (green, red, and white), entered the city. The king assured him of his complete sympathy, and when a few days later he took an oath to the Constitution, spontaneously invited Heaven to curse him should he ever annul it.

The Holy Alliance found the events of 1820 vastly disturbing. The murder of the Duc de Berry in France had been followed by the appearance of Constitutions in Spain, Portugal, and Naples. The situation called for another meeting of the Quadruple Alliance, and Metternich drew the Powers

together at Troppau (1820). The Tsar and the Emperor of Austria were present and the Crown Prince represented Prussia. Metternich hoped to procure a mandate from the Concert to suppress the Neapolitan movement. But Castlereagh made it clear that Great Britain would be no party to interference in the domestic policy of other kingdoms. The three eastern Powers, however, asserted a public duty to employ measures of constraint against governments whose character did not offer "guarantees for legitimate order," claiming to act in the interests of European peace and "to deliver Europe from the curse of revolution." In an answering circular Castlereagh warned the three Powers that the right they claimed was likely to result in "a much more frequent and extensive interference in the internal transactions of States than can be reconcileable either with the general interest, or with the efficient authority and dignity, of independent Sovereigns." Thus the Alliance divided on the principle of *intervention* and its admission into the public law of Europe; the Western Powers, Great Britain and France, standing by the contention that the wishes of the people rather than the autocrats of other countries should decide a nation's internal polity. The Conference adjourned from Troppau to Laibach (1821), where Ferdinand of Naples presented himself. He came under a solemn promise to his people not to act against the Constitution. But at Laibach he posed as the victim of force and begged for aid. The Western Powers persisted in their refusal to give Austria a mandate. The three Eastern Powers had no scruples, and commissioned her to discipline Naples. It was resolved to hold another Conference in 1822 to deal with the situation in Spain.

The Neapolitan movement was stifled with ease. An Austrian force routed Pepe at Rieti, entered Naples, overthrew the Constitution, and restored Ferdinand, who followed cautiously in the rear. Absolutism regained the upper hand in South Italy, and to prevent another rising of the *Carbonari*, the wearing of whose colours he forbade, Ferdinand enrolled four Swiss regiments. Hardly had the Austrians begun their work in Naples before Sardinia called for their intervention. Secret societies were numerous in Piedmont, especially in the army. But, unlike the Neapolitan, the Piedmont revolt

was national as well as Liberal. As at Nola, the insurgents declared for the Spanish Constitution of 1812. They also raised the Tricolour (green, white, and red) of the French Kingdom of Italy, whose re-establishment under the House of Savoy they demanded. They clamoured for war against Austria and menaced the king with the shout, "Down with the Germans!" For the insurgents were convinced that Victor Emmanuel was the unwilling agent of Austrian policy, while his heir presumptive, Charles Albert of Carignano, was believed to be in sympathy with the *Carbonari* and their aims. The insurrection had brief duration. Early in March, 1821, before Pepe's defeat at Rieti was known, Alessandria's garrison demonstrated in favour of the Spanish Constitution and set up the Tricolour. The Turin garrison joined the movement, and the king, unwilling to put down the revolt by force, unable to associate himself with a movement patently anti-Austrian, escaped from the difficulty by resigning the Crown to his brother Charles Felix, who at the moment was in Modena. Pending his return, Victor Emmanuel confided the regency to their cousin, the Prince of Carignano. Charles Albert's sympathies were with the insurgents; his duty was to the new Sovereign. He allowed the Constitution to be proclaimed, but made its establishment conditional on the sanction of Charles Felix. The latter, however, was Austrian in his sympathies. He refused to confirm the Regent's action and ordered him to leave Turin, though he rejected Austria's advice to disinherit him. Charles Albert, anxious not to endanger his succession to the throne, and to the bitter disappointment of his friends, who denounced him as a traitor, left the kingdom and awaited his call to the throne ten years later. Meanwhile, with Austrian help, Charles Felix easily met the crisis, and after an engagement at Novara in April, 1821, the revolution collapsed. In Milan and in Modena Liberal attempts proved equally abortive. The whole peninsula accepted Austrian domination, as ten years earlier it had submitted to that of France. But patriotism continued to work, though in subterranean channels, and awaited the opportunity to strike more effectually for Italy's regeneration. The French Revolution of 1830 provided it. In 1831 Mazzini founded "Young Italy," and the *risorgimento* began.

Spain

France and Italy had come under the discipline of the Holy Alliance. It was now the turn of Spain, and with the effort to enforce its authority there the Holy Alliance sundered. While Ferdinand VII was the prisoner of Napoleon in France, the Spanish *Cortes*, claiming to act in his name, produced the Constitution of 1812. It proclaimed the sovereignty vested in the nation, and with the sovereignty the power to make the laws. It organized the government on the model of the French Constitution of 1791, vested the executive power in the Crown and its Ministers, and the legislative function in a single-Chamber *Cortes* elected by indirect universal suffrage. The principles of liberty and legal equality were proclaimed, but the authors of the Constitution dared not challenge the position of the Roman Catholic Church and expressly forbade the exercise of any other religion. Wishing to bind the colonies to the motherland, they declared them to be an integral part of the monarchy, with representation in the *Cortes*. The Spanish democracy, having saved the monarchy, looked for Ferdinand's acceptance of the Constitution. Without giving an undertaking the king returned to Spain in March, 1814, a few weeks before Napoleon's abdication. Encouraged by the *Serviles* (as the partisans of the old *régime* were called in contradistinction to the *Liberales*), who petitioned him to abolish the Constitution, Ferdinand did so, arrested several of the Liberal members of the *Cortes*, re-established the Inquisition, and recalled the Jesuits. Persons who had accepted the rule of Joseph Bonaparte, the *Josefinos*, were banished. Newspapers were suppressed. The system of ministerial responsibility established by the Constitution ceased. Secretaryships and Councils obedient to the royal will were restored, and behind them, spying suspiciously on both, was the King's *camarilla* of priests and courtiers. The restored administration was both corrupt and inefficient. The army and navy were unpaid. The finances were in confusion, and commerce was crippled by the revolt of the South American colonies. Florida was sold (1819) to the United States to fill the empty Exchequer, and worthless ships were bought from Russia to transport troops to quell the American revolt.

In these circumstances the Constitution, which had been the device of a minority in 1812, captured interests which had viewed it then with suspicion. The middle and commercial classes whom the paralysis of trade affected, intellectuals of Liberal tendencies, Freemasons, who had been established in the country since the middle of the eighteenth century, while retaining their attachment to the king, all were ready to work for the restoration of the Constitution. Irregular pay and the unpopularity of the American war caused much discontent in the army, whose officers were the most powerful arm of the Liberal opposition. The war of independence against Napoleon founded and established their claim to be regarded as the nation's leaders, and their profession enabled them to act in close association. The return from France of officers imprisoned there since the Napoleonic struggle strengthened their organization and encouraged its employment for political ends. In the first six years of Ferdinand's restored rule military *pronunciamentos* were frequent, but unsuccessful. In 1820 they had better fortune.

On January 1, 1820, Rafael del Riego, Colonel of the Regiment of Asturias, on the point of embarking for South America, proclaimed the Constitution of 1812 at Cabezas de San Juan, near Cadiz, where the troops for the long projected American expedition were awaiting transports. Corunna joined the Constitutionalists, and the movement became general. Ferdinand yielded, accepted the Constitution, and, pending the meeting of the *Cortes*, summoned a Provisional *Junta*, which suppressed the Inquisition and the royal Councils, and recalled the *Josefinos*. In July, 1820, the *Cortes* assembled. The Moderate Constitutionalists (*Moderados*), who were anxious to avoid a conflict with the Sovereign, were in the majority. The Extremists, or *Exaltados*, though in the minority, awaited their opportunity to make a clean sweep of Absolutism. The *Moderados* set themselves to correct the crying abuses of the king's rule. They showed strong anti-clerical bias; the Jesuits and other religious Orders were abolished; tithes were confiscated, and the obligation of military service was imposed on the regular and secular clergy. Even before the close of the first session of the *Cortes*, Ferdinand was appealing for foreign intervention, and at Troppau the Tsar mooted the idea of France undertaking

in Spain the mission of Austria in Italy. The Clerical party brought all its influence to bear, and an *Apostolical Junta* was established in 1821 to work against Liberalism. In 1822 the *Exaltados* carried the elections—the *Cortes* of 1820 had been elected for two years. Riego was elected to the Presidency of the *Cortes* and a Ministry composed of *Exaltados* was imposed on the king. The royalist *guerrilleros* consequently established themselves on the frontier in touch with a French army of observation. Monarchist organizations were set up in the name of the " captive king," and Metternich was appealed to.

The Spanish situation engaged the attention of the Congress of Verona, which opened in October, 1822. The French Chamber and the Clericals strongly urged intervention, though Villèle and his master deprecated action. Chateaubriand desired " to restore the Bourbons in the eyes of France, and of France in the eyes of Europe." Montmorency suggested French intervention in Spain at the opening of the Congress. He was recalled, but Chateaubriand persisted, and with success ; for Villèle, seeing that French opinion inclined to that course, yielded. Wellington, who took the place at the Congress that Castlereagh's tragic death prevented him from filling, let it be known that Great Britain would not countenance France's intervention in Spain. But the other members of the Alliance united in its favour, and France could disregard objections to intervention in a country in which Great Britain recently had played a similar *rôle*. Hence, early in 1823, the Ambassadors of France and the three Eastern Powers presented Notes at Madrid ordering Spain to reform her Constitution, the liberation of the king from restraint, and the institution of measures for repressing public disorder. The *Exaltados* refused to abandon the Constitution, and denounced intervention as contrary to the law of nations. The Ambassadors then left Madrid, and in the following April (1823) a French army under the Duc d'Angoulême crossed the Pyrenees. The northern *guerrilleros*, who had fought ten years before against the French, now joined them and marched with the invaders as the " Army of the Faith." Without army or money the Spanish government was unable to make even a show of resistance. The *Cortes* withdrew, first to Seville and then to Cadiz, taking Ferdinand forcibly with it. Madrid capitulated to the French and Angoulême pushed on to Cadiz,

leaving in the capital a Council of Regency which restored the situation existing before Riego's *pronunciamento* in 1820. After three months' resistance the *Cortes* capitulated at Cadiz, and Ferdinand was set at liberty, after promising a full and complete amnesty.

Heedless of his promise, Ferdinand annulled the actions of the *Cortes* since its assembling in 1820, and banished from Madrid the Deputies, Ministers, generals, and others who had served the Constitutional government. Supported by the presence of Angoulême's army, Ferdinand wreaked his vengeance on his political enemies. He dared not restore the Inquisition, but its place was taken by *Juntas de al fe* (*Juntas* of the Faith). Under the king's Minister, Calomarde, after whom the last ten years of Ferdinand's reign are called " The Days of Calomarde," Spain experienced her White Terror. Secret Societies, such as the " Society of the Destroying Angel," pursued the Liberals without quarter. Riego was hanged. Military tribunals purged the army. Prying Commissions looked closely into the conduct of the Universities in the recent crisis. The possession of any book printed in Spain between 1820 and 1823 was made an offence, and a young widow was hanged at Granada for embroidering " Law, Liberty, Equality " on a flag. Portugal also reverted (1823) temporarily to Absolutism.

The reaction that followed Ferdinand's second restoration was the last triumph of the Holy Alliance. As a counter-demonstration to France's intervention, Canning, in 1825, recognized the independence of the Spanish American colonies, Buenos Aires, Colombia, and Mexico. The Tsar Alexander's death in the same year dealt a heavier blow to an autocratic league which, had it continued, threatened Europe with a tyranny as galling as Napoleon's. His successor deserted the traditions of the Alliance and helped to give Greece her independence. The French Revolution of 1830 drove the cleft still deeper into the pact of 1815; for it ousted the elder Bourbons and restored the Tricolour to France. The closely following Belgian revolution destroyed another part of the work of the Congress of Vienna. In November, 1830, also, Grey's Ministry succeeded the Tories, and Great Britain definitely ranged herself against the forces of reaction. The Moral Directorate of Europe was at an end.

CHAPTER V

LATIN AMERICA

The upheaval of Europe in the last generation of the eighteenth and the early years of the nineteenth centuries had its counterpart in the New World. Fifty years of effort (1775–1825) released the American continent almost completely from dependence on the European countries which staked out claims upon it in the fifteenth and sixteenth centuries. In 1783 British North America broke from the British Crown. South America threw off the yoke of Spain and Portugal early in the nineteenth century, and in 1823 President Monroe gave his famous Message to Congress and warning to Europe, "America for the Americans."

Spanish America

At the opening of the nineteenth century Spain's possessions in America were of enormous extent; they stretched from San Francisco in the north to the extremity of Chile in the south. The Gulf of Mexico and the Caribbean Sea were ringed by Spanish territory. The whole of the Pacific seaboard to the frontiers of Patagonia and the huge basin of the La Plata on the Atlantic coast were hers. In the reign of Charles V the conquests of Cortes and Pizarro had been placed under two viceroyalties—New Spain (Mexico) and New Castile (Peru). A third was created for New Granada in 1739, and a fourth for Buenos Aires in 1776. The four viceroyalties were subdivided into smaller governments, each controlled by a Captain-General. Rejecting the idea of these vast territories as colonies, Spain, as the heir of Montezuma and the Incas, regarded them as her "kingdoms," and ruled them through the Council of the Indies. Their population

falls into six categories. The ruling class consisted of the Spanish residents of European birth, "pure Christians" they were called, and the chief official posts were held by them exclusively. They had come to America to acquire wealth, not to make a home, and were forbidden to intermarry with the *Criollos*, Creoles, colonial-born Spaniards, who were treated as an inferior class to which only the lower ranks of the public service were open. The Creoles, in their turn, despised the *Mestizos*, half-breeds of European-Indian birth, and the *Mulatos*, half-breeds of European-African birth, the most turbulent elements of colonial society. Indigenous Indians and African negros completed the population.

Spaniards, Creoles, and Indians alike had their grievances against the Spanish Government. Partly to prevent the depopulation of Spain, partly because the idea of colonization in the British sense was foreign to Spanish policy, emigration to America was closely regulated, and the Inquisition, established at Lima and Mexico in 1570, was employed to keep out aliens and heretics. The Creoles resented the slur upon their birth and their exclusion from administrative employment; though their want of education in most cases disqualified them. All classes suffered alike from the commercial restrictions imposed by Spain. Trade with the mother country was tied to particular ports. At the end of the seventeenth century (1680) Cadiz superseded Seville as the sole port of departure for vessels sailing to colonial markets; not until 1778 was the restriction removed. Commerce with the Indies was regulated at Cadiz by a Council, and was subjected to heavy duties. The government also raised a considerable revenue by monopolizing the sale of tobacco and other commodities, by dues on the output of minerals, by a tax on sales of almost every kind, by the sale of offices, by a tax upon salaries, and by other expedients. The agricultural and industrial interests of the colonies were neglected for the mining of precious metals, in which forced Indian labour was employed. For the most ordinary articles of consumption the colonists were dependent on imports from the mother country retailed at a high rate of profit.

The severance of the North Americans from the British Crown was too tremendous a fact to be disregarded by other European communities in the New World. Spain's participation

in that war contributed to the similar fate that befel herself a generation later. The burden of it compelled heavier colonial taxation, and in consequence a serious revolt broke out in New Granada. Spain's alliance with the French Republic also led to the loss of Trinidad and the intrusion of the British on the Honduras coast. The naval supremacy of Great Britain interrupted communication between Spain and her "kingdoms," and drove the latter to develop their own commercial interests with neutrals and the British. In 1785 Francisco Miranda, a Spanish American, visited Washington to discuss the question of South American independence. At a later time he organized societies in England and Spain to achieve it.

Unlike British America, whose independence was the fruit of a war undertaken to redress grievances, the Spanish-American colonies seceded because the fall of Ferdinand VII in 1808 and the consequent confusion of Spanish politics left them without a government. Their progress towards independence marched with the shifting situation in Spain. The accession of Joseph Bonaparte in 1808 roused no sympathy in the "kingdoms," whose loyalty to Ferdinand was not disturbed. At the same time, the extension to America of a free Press (1810) and the Constitution of 1812 spread the infection of European Liberalism, while the unsympathetic policy of the Spanish *Cortes* worked in the same direction. The restoration of Ferdinand in 1814 removed the inducement to independence offered by the events of the preceding six years. But the king stirred the movement to new vigour. He was opposed to any concession, commercial or political, to colonial feeling, and looked to the Holy Alliance to aid him in America as in Spain. The Holy Alliance gave no help, and the coercive plans of Ferdinand reached an inglorious crisis in 1820, when the army assembled at Cadiz for service in South America overthrew his absolutism. From that time onwards colonial royalists had no effective help from Spain. But the restoration of the Constitution in 1820 gave no relief to the colonies, whose relations with the *Cortes* continued to be unsatisfactory. Commercial liberty was denied them. A proposal by American deputies to the *Cortes* in 1821, to divide Spanish America into three parts, each under a viceroy and its own autonomous Legislative Assembly, was

not carried. The *Cortes* held that a Constitution which satisfied Spain could not be inequitable to her dependencies, and the Commissioners who went to America to treat for peace in 1822 were not authorized to discuss independence, even in the case of Buenos Aires, which already had achieved it. French intervention in Spain in 1823 modified the situation, since it secured for the colonies the recognition of the United States and Great Britain. But so late as 1829 Spain dispatched an inadequate expedition to Mexico to recover what she had lost, nor did she accord recognition to her "kingdoms" until within the quarter of a century that followed that attempt.

The Spanish insurrection radiated from three centres—Mexico, Caracas, and Buenos Aires. On the news of Napoleon's gift of the Spanish throne to his brother in 1808, Mexico, in common with the other American Viceroyalties, declared for the Bourbons and proclaimed war upon the French. But the idea of independence was in the air, and Miguel Hidalgo, *curé* of Dolores, struck the first blow for it. His influence brought out several thousand Indians and *mestizos* from the districts north of Mexico city, on which he marched at the head of an undisciplined force. The white population gave him no support, and he was captured and shot (1812). His friend, the *curé* José-Maria Morelos, took his place, and at first had greater success. In 1813 he assembled a Congress which proclaimed Mexico independent and gave her a Constitution. Two years later (1815) he met the fate of Hidalgo. In 1817 Xavier Mina, nephew of a Spanish *guerrillero* of 1808, arrived in Mexico, directed a *guerrilla* warfare, and six months later was taken and shot. With that event civil war in Mexico came to an end. It had been for the most part a war of Indians and half-breeds against the whites, and with its termination the Indians fall out of the contest.

Before Mexico was again disturbed by war, events took place elsewhere which affected the course of the struggle. The Conference of Aix-la-Chapelle (1818) refused Ferdinand the help he craved. In the following year (1819) Spain sacrificed the Floridas to the United States and lost a large strip of northern coast on the Gulf of Mexico. In 1820 she forced a Constitution from Ferdinand. The

situation seemed favourable, and Augustin Iturbide, a Mexican Creole who had played a prominent part in quelling the recent Indian risings, appealed to the white population and the army. In 1821 he issued a manifesto at Iguala, near Mexico, advocating (1) that Mexico should become an independent Empire under Ferdinand or another member of the royal House; (2) that the Roman Catholic religion should be maintained and safeguarded; and (3) that Creoles and Spaniards should stand upon a common platform of civil and political liberty. The Viceroy confirmed this programme (Treaty and Capitulation of Cordova), and a Mexican Congress assembled to execute it. But the Spanish *Cortes* repudiated the Treaty of Cordova, and the Mexican Congress, under the influence of mob pressure directed by Iturbide, proclaimed him Emperor of Mexico under the title Augustin I (1822). The Mexican republicans were not disposed to accept the *coup d'état*. After a short reign of ten months Augustin abdicated (1823) and made his way to Europe, whence he returned in 1824 at the head of a feeble expedition. By then Mexican republicanism was too strongly intrenched. Augustin was arrested and shot (1824). Without farther interruption a new Congress completed (1824) the Constitution of Mexico as a Federal Republic on the model of the United States of America, and before the end of 1825 the last vestiges of Spanish military occupation were removed.

The example of Mexico (the name replaced "New Spain" upon the assumption of independence) influenced her neighbours in Central America. In 1824 the five provinces, Guatemala, Costa Rica, Nicaragua, Honduras, and Salvador adopted a federal Constitution as the "United States of Central America." Particularist interests, however, proved too strong and the federation soon dissolved. A sixth state, Panama, eventually detached itself from Colombia, and in 1903 granted to the United States of America a belt of land for the construction of the Panama Canal.

The emancipation of South America is in great measure the history of one man, Simon Bolívar, a Creole. He was born at Caracas in 1783, the year in which North America won its independence, died before he had reached the age of fifty, and was the "Liberator" of five South American Republics. His career opened in Venezuela, the province

of his birth. Upon the downfall of the Bourbon monarchy in Spain a *Junta* was formed at Caracas "to preserve the rights of Ferdinand VII." In 1811 a Congress summoned by it chose as President of its executive Francisco Miranda, who recently had returned from England, and on his advice proclaimed Venezuela independent (1811). The Republic, however, had a short life. Monteverde, a Spanish naval lieutenant, put himself at the head of a force of Creoles and Indians, and the royalist cause was aided by an opportune earthquake (1812) which destroyed Caracas and killed 20,000 people in towns that favoured independence. Miranda capitulated, was sent to Spain, and died in prison there. The Venezuelan Republic collapsed.

Bolivar, raising troops in New Granada, which also had declared its independence, now invaded Venezuela, and assumed the title "Liberator" (1813). But a Spanish ex-sergeant and the herdsmen of the plains again laid the young Republic low. Abandoning Venezuela, Bolivar crossed the Andes to New Granada, which was attempting to coerce its royalists. In 1815 General Morillo and 10,000 troops arrived from Spain, and marching through Venezuela, passed into New Granada. Bolivar was again compelled to fly, to Jamaica, and thence to Haiti. In 1817 he returned, and moving up the Orinoco to Angostura (now Ciudad Bolivar) in Spanish Guiana, made it the base of his future operations. British well-wishers provided him with arms and money, and he enlisted about 6000 British veterans disbanded from the Spanish and Flemish campaigns. He failed (1818) to recover Caracas, and in 1819 settled a Venezuelan Congress at Angostura, which, challenging the Holy Alliance, declared the Republic independent.

With a view to the union of New Granada and Venezuela, Bolivar left his lieutenant in Venezuela to confront Morillo, who had returned from New Granada, and crossed the Andes. His victory at Boyacá gave him the capital, Bogotá, and returning to Angostura, he proclaimed the Republics of Venezuela and New Granada united in the Republic of Colombia (1819). Morillo thereupon concluded an armistice with Bolivar and returned to Spain (1820). The tide now flowed steadily with Bolivar. The battle of Boyacá gave him New Granada, and in 1821 his defeat of Morillo's successor at

Carabobo restored Caracas to the republicans, a result largely due to Bolivar's British contingent, which suffered heavily in the battle. Cumana, Carthagena, Panama, and other places on the coast yielded to the Republic. Quito and Guayaquil (later the Republic of Ecuador) were taken by Bolivar, aided by troops from Peru, and Colombia was completely free. In 1821 Congress gave Bolivar the Presidency of the Republic. The remaining years of his life he devoted chiefly to the emancipation of Peru, where the ground had been prepared by agencies working from the third of the revolutionary centres, Buenos Aires.

In common with other municipalities in the Spanish-American "kingdoms," Buenos Aires, on the news of Joseph Bonaparte's usurpation, formed a *Junta* to defend the interests of Ferdinand VII. But the collapse of the Bourbons also encouraged those who aimed at independence, and in 1816 a Congress at Tucuman proclaimed the "United States of La Plata." Neither Montevideo nor Paraguay joined the new Republic. The former, after falling to Brazil in 1817, formed (1828) the Republic of Uruguay. Paraguay proclaimed herself independent, and was ruled until 1840 by a strange character, José da Francia, half French, half Creole. Meanwhile, a movement in favour of independence showed itself in Chile, where Spanish rule at first was not seriously shaken. The La Plata Republic dispatched a small army to aid the movement under the command of San Martin, a Creole, who had served in the Spanish army with the rank of lieutenant-colonel. His victory over the royalists at Maipu in 1818 enabled the Chilian Bernardo O'Higgins to proclaim Chile independent, though Chiloe and the south of the province remained to be won. For two years San Martin remained in Chile, and the organization of a Chilian navy placed a new weapon at the service of South America. The nucleus of it was a captured Spanish frigate and transports, whose command was given to Lord Cochrane, a naval genius, who had served brilliantly in the British navy. His small fleet rapidly became mistress of the Pacific, and in 1820 he placed it at San Martin's disposal to transport his army to Peru, whose liberation he desired to effect. Declaring that he came merely to encourage the Peruvians to throw off the Spanish yoke, San Martin lay inactive until the royalists

evacuated Lima (1821), when he proclaimed the province independent under his protectorship. But his authority was precarious. Cochrane passed into the service of Brazil. The Chilean royalists gathered strength, and Bolivar, then engaged in the emancipation of Quito, suspecting San Martin's ambition to play the part of Iturbide, gave no help. San Martin therefore returned to Chile, and the establishment of Peruvian independence awaited Bolivar.

The cause of independence seemed lost when Bolivar entered Peru in 1823. But a Congress, summoned by San Martin before his departure, hailed him Dictator, and the royalists suffered a crushing defeat at Ayacucho in 1824. The Spanish Viceroy, the only one remaining in the Indies, was captured, and the Spanish troops evacuated Peru. The battle was the Waterloo of Spain in South America. Outside the Antilles she held only Callao and Chiloe ; she surrendered both in 1826. Meanwhile, until the close of 1826, Bolivar was occupied in Lima, striving to unite the Republic of Peru and the newly formed Republic of Upper Peru, which in his honour took the name of Bolivia. He failed in the endeavour, and returning to Colombia in 1826, encountered further disappointment. In 1829 Venezuela abandoned her union with New Granada. In 1830 Ecuador also drew apart as a separate Republic. In May, 1830, Bolivar, broken in spirit, announced his withdrawal to Europe. The chaos into which his departure threw the country probably would have brought him back to power had he not been struck down by small-pox. He died in December, 1830, at the age of forty-seven. " Union, union," were almost the last words he spoke.

Brazil

Not less important than the secession of Spanish America was the breaking, under different circumstances, of the ties that for three hundred years had bound Brazil to Portugal. The huge country, in size almost as large as Europe, had been badly governed. Despite its great extent and rich soil, its population in the early years of the nineteenth century was only 3,000,000, of whom 1,500,000 were Indians, enslaved or free. Little had been done to develop the natural resources of the country. There were no industries,

but the soil was rich in gold and diamonds, from which the Crown raised large revenues in the form of royalties. Education had been entirely neglected. Commerce with foreign nations was forbidden.

The arrival of Maria I and her son the Regent in Brazil in 1807 opened a new chapter in the history of the province. It was to the interest of the exiled Court to encourage resources which from the other side of the ocean it had smothered. Early in 1808 the Brazilian ports were thrown open to the world. Industry was freed from the cramping restrictions laid upon it, and educational and other beneficent institutions were introduced, largely on the advice of Great Britain, who obtained the largest share of the expanding trade which the new policy encouraged. The Brazilian population increased by 1,000,000 persons in ten years, the revenue doubled, and a general atmosphere of prosperity was diffused. With the king in their midst, the Brazilians began to regard the country as separated from Portugal, its inferior in size and resources. Nationalist feelings were strengthened by a royal decree (January, 1816) which raised Brazil to the rank of a kingdom on an equality with Portugal, to which John VI, lately Regent, succeeded on the death of his mother two months later.

The conclusion of peace in 1815 seemed to Portugal to invite the return of the Court from Brazil, an event desired on the ground of sentiment and as a preliminary to the restoration of the old colonial system, which exploited Brazil in the interests of the home country. But John VI showed no disposition to return. In 1820 Portugal succumbed to a Liberal movement which gave her a Constitution. Brazil was in sympathy with the Portuguese movement. The royal family was divided; the elder son of the king, Dom Pedro, affected Liberal views; his brother, Dom Miguel, was an unbending Absolutist. The king, weak in body and mind, was torn between the two. In 1821 he announced that Dom Pedro would return to Portugal to negotiate with the *Cortes*, and that, so far as it was suitable, the Portuguese Constitution would be extended to Brazil. The provisional promise did not satisfy the Brazilians, and an outbreak at Rio was not quelled until Dom Pedro, on his father's behalf, weakly promised assent to a Constitution which he had not seen. Meanwhile pressure was put upon John himself to return to

Portugal. Although he was disinclined to follow the advice, tendered by Great Britain as well as by his subjects, the king at length yielded. In April, 1821, he sailed for Portugal, after appointing Dom Pedro Regent and Lieutenant of Brazil.

Upon his father's departure Dom Pedro faced a difficult position. His wife was an Austrian archduchess, and he was anxious not to offend the Holy Alliance. He had to reckon also with three political parties. The Separatists, of whom the brothers Andrada were the chief, wished to see the connexion with Portugal severed and Brazil a Republic. Another body hoped for independence, but had no desire to unsettle the monarchy. Portuguese interests, on the other hand, were not willing to sacrifice either the monarchy or the Portuguese connexion. Portugal, however, settled Pedro's difficulties and marked out a course for him. Being resolved to restore the old colonial system, the *Cortes* requested Pedro to return to Portugal, recalled the institutions created by John VI, took measures to strengthen the garrisons in Rio and Bahia, and proposed to appoint dependent governors in the fourteen Brazilian provinces. Nothing could have sharpened more effectually the national sense of Brazil. Pedro, who had been inclined to yield to the *Cortes*, announced his intention of remaining in Brazil. The Portuguese garrison in Rio was induced to leave the country. An Assembly was summoned, from which Pedro accepted the title "Perpetual Protector and Defender of Brazil" (1822). The *Cortes* having threatened the loss of his succession to the Crown, Pedro, on September 7, 1822, adopting the war-cry of the Separatists, *Independencia ou morte!* declared Brazil independent. A month later he was acclaimed Constitutional Emperor of Brazil. By the end of 1823, largely through the help of Lord Cochrane and the Brazilian fleet, the Emperor's authority was acknowledged throughout his dominions.

A Constituent Assembly, summoned to draw up a Constitution for Brazil, met in May, 1823, and showed a strong inclination to retaliate upon Portugal her past treatment of Brazil. Andrada was anxious to expel all Portuguese residents. Pedro dismissed him and formed a Ministry from the party of conciliation. Andrada then joined the republicans in the Assembly. But Pedro, promptly dissolving that body, promised to confer a Constitution on his

people. Early in 1824 it was submitted to the municipalities, but not to a National Assembly. In March, 1824, Pedro took an oath of fidelity to it, and though resistance showed itself in the more republican north, the services of Cochrane again enabled Pedro to master the kingdom. At the same time, negotiations were opened with Portugal, through the mediation of Great Britain, for the recognition of Brazilian independence. Canning already had opposed a reference of the Brazilian question to the tribunal of the European Concert. His intervention induced Portugal to accept the *fait accompli*. In 1825 John VI recognized his son as independent Emperor of Brazil, Pedro undertaking to purchase the royal palace and other property of the Crown in Brazil, and to take over a debt recently contracted by Portugal with Great Britain. At a cost of precisely £2,000,000 Brazil secured her autonomy.

Pedro ruled for six years longer in Brazil. His half-hearted loyalty to the Constitution which he had conferred, the loss of Montevideo in 1828, and Brazilian disapproval of his anxiety to secure for his daughter Maria the throne of Portugal, which he had renounced upon his father's death in 1826, undermined his popularity. In 1830 he attempted to restrict the liberty of the Press which the Constitution accorded, and in the next year a riot in Rio compelled him to abdicate (1831) in favour of his son, Pedro II, an infant six years of age. Returning to Europe, the ex-Emperor led an army into Portugal to "liberate" the country from his brother, Dom Miguel, who had dethroned Donna Maria. Dom Pedro succeeded in restoring his daughter to the throne, and died in 1834, at the early age of thirty-five. In Brazil his son reigned until 1889, when the republicans, taking advantage of his absence in Europe, sent the rest of the royal family after him, and proclaimed the Republic of the United States of Brazil. Twenty years later (1910) the House of Braganza was replaced by a Republic in Portugal also.

Thus in the first quarter of the nineteenth century, North America already having ranged herself on the side of Liberalism, the New World, North and South, offered an example to the Old. In 1825 Latin rather than Teutonic, North rather than South, America seemed to promise the more hopeful future. Bolivar dreamed of a huge confederation of

emancipated American kingdoms, and of an assemblage of their representatives in a Pan-American Congress at Panama. But though the South American States are superior in size, in the natural richness of their soil, in the physical features which promote commercial facilities, and in the size of their population, their early promise has not been fulfilled. Vastness of territory, the corresponding difficulty of communication, the absence of a homogeneous population, and the comparatively low standard of education and political training which South America inherited from its Latin rulers, all contributed to make it fall behind Teutonic America. Also the circumstances of its emancipation have encouraged a spirit of militarism and personal ambition which has denied to South American politics the equilibrium that is essential to progress.

CHAPTER VI

THE EASTERN QUESTION

Since Suleiman the Turk, brother of Murad I (Amurath), gained a footing in Europe (1356) there has existed an "Eastern Question," which nineteenth-century Europe found it convenient to designate by that name. But more than three hundred years followed Suleiman's trespass on the Thracian Chersonese before Turkish rule assumed the character which for over two centuries it has borne. Till his loss of Budapest in 1686 the Turk was an aggressive force in Europe, and but for Austria would have carried his conquests beyond the Balkans, whose populations he enslaved. When the eighteenth century opened Turkey was an active menace no longer. The Treaty of Carlowitz (1699) took nearly the whole of Hungary and Transylvania from her. The Treaties of Passarowitz (1718) and Belgrade (1739) drove her behind the Carpathians and the Croatian river Save. Excepting Austria's acquisition of the Bukovina (1777), the Treaty of 1839 imposed on Turkey a northern frontier which was maintained until 1878 (Treaty of Berlin). On the north-east also she lost ground. The Treaty of Jassy (1792) advanced the Russian frontier at her expense from the Bug to the Dniester, depriving her of the province of Podolia. The Treaty of Bucharest (1812) carried Russia to the Pruth and over Bessarabia to the Kilia Mouth of the Danube. The Treaty of Adrianople (1829) added the Delta. But in 1815 Turkey remained one of the largest European States. She ruled, besides Albania and Macedonia, the present Kingdoms of Bulgaria, Roumania (Wallachia and Moldavia), Serbia, and Greece. The history of their emancipation is the "Eastern Question" of the nineteenth and twentieth centuries, complicated by the policy of the Powers in relation to it.

In the hundred years that preceded the German War of 1914 Europe witnessed the slow but conclusive emancipation of the Balkan States from Turkish rule. In 1817 Serbia secured the status of a dependent principality after a revolt headed by Kara George, the grandfather of the present (1915) King Peter I. The Treaty of Berlin (1878) constituted her an independent Principality, and four years later (1882) she raised herself to the rank of a kingdom under King Milan. The independent Kingdom of Greece came into existence in 1832, after a war with Turkey which lasted from 1821. The Ionian Isles were a gift to it from Great Britain in 1864, upon the accession of George I. Thessaly and the district of Arta in Epirus were acquired in 1881, and constituted Greece's northern frontier until the Balkan War (1912), though the defeat of Greece in the "Thirty Days' War" with Turkey (1897) caused a slight rectification of it. The Balkan War (1912–13) enabled Greece to incorporate Crete, whose Greek population for years had denounced its subjection to Turkey, and also greatly extended her territory northward over part of Macedonia and Thrace.

The Treaty of Berlin, 1878, which concluded the Russo-Turkish War, constituted Bulgaria an autonomous Principality under Turkish suzerainty, but forbade her union with Eastern Roumelia (Southern Bulgaria). She effected it in 1885, however; threw off Turkish suzerainty in 1908, taking advantage of the "Young Turk" revolution, and acclaimed Prince Ferdinand Tsar or King of the Bulgarians. Montenegro and Roumania also obtained (1878) their independence. Montenegro, whose mountaineers never had surrendered their independence, raised herself to the rank of a kingdom in 1910 on the occasion of the Jubilee of her present (1915) Sovereign Nicolas I. Roumania declared herself a kingdom in 1881; her two divisions (Wallachia and Moldavia) having united twenty years earlier (1859) after securing international recognition of their administrative autonomy.

Another stage was reached in 1913. Before the Turco-Italian War of 1911–12 came to a conclusion, Bulgaria, Serbia, Greece, and Montenegro declared war upon Turkey (1912). The barbarity of the "Young Turk" administration in Macedonia brought the four kingdoms together, and the condition of Turkey suggested an opportunity to ease

the Eastern Question by expelling the Turk to Asia. The issue of the war restricted Turkey in Europe to a mere strip of territory, including Constantinople, lying behind a line drawn from Enos on the Ægean to Midia on the Black Sea, a demarcation subsequently (Treaty of Constantinople, 1913) modified slightly in Turkey's favour to give her her old capital, Adrianople. Albania, tardily following the example of her neighbours, received (1913) independence under a prince, or Mpret, chosen by the Powers.

The disruption of European Turkey in the nineteenth century was hastened by annexations at her expense in the Balkan Peninsula and on the Mediterranean littoral. Austria and Russia were the aggressors in the first locality; Great Britain, France, and Italy in the second. Austria, fearing Russian influence over the Slavs of the Balkans, whose kinsmen she counted in large numbers among her subjects, and anxious to find compensation for her losses in Italy, acquired in 1878 (Treaty of Berlin) the occupation and administration of Bosnia and Herzegovina, with the right to garrison the Sanjak of Novibazar. Thirty years later (1908), in agreement with Bulgaria, Austria assumed full sovereignty over Bosnia and Herzegovina and, by way of compensation, withdrew from the Sanjak. Russia contributed to the dismemberment of European Turkey by pushing an ambition which had drawn her to the Black Sea since the days of Peter the Great. In 1833 the Treaty of Unkiar Skelessi secured for her ships the exclusive navigation of the Black Sea, a concession withdrawn by the Treaty of Paris (1856) that brought the Crimean War to a close. In the Russo-Turkish War the intervention of Great Britain stood between Russia and the apparently imminent fall of Constantinople, while the concluding Treaty of Berlin (1878) interposed the emancipated principalities of the Balkans, who a generation later in the Balkan War (1912) were able without Russia's aid nearly to finish the work she once had marked out for herself.

The hundred years that followed the settlement of 1815 witnessed the elimination of Turkish rule from the southern littoral of the Mediterranean and from the great islands in its eastern waters. In that process three European Powers have taken part, and their action resulted in Turkey's enforced abandonment of Algeria, Tunis, Tripoli,

and Egypt. Great Britain's Eastern policy throughout the nineteenth century was guided by anxiety over her Indian communications through the Suez Canal, and by suspicion of Russia's designs on India. Having restored Ottoman rule in Egypt in 1802, she contributed to force from the Sultan forty years later (1841) the hereditary Pashalik of Egypt for Mehemet Ali. In 1882 she intervened again, and subject to the Sultan and the authority of the hereditary Khedive, has administered Egypt ever since. In 1914 she denounced the Porte's suzerainty. She handed the Ionian Isles to Greece in 1864, and herself received Cyprus in 1878. At the western extremity of the Mediterranean France in 1830 began an adventure which placed her in possession of Algeria. Her occupation of Tunis in 1881 brought another section of the Mediterranean Turkish littoral under European control. Tripoli remained, and after a brief war Italy secured it by the Treaty of Lausanne (1912).

Turkish rule in the Balkans at the beginning of the nineteenth century retained its early characteristics. It was essentially a military occupation. It did not attempt to assimilate subject populations; indeed the antagonism of religions forbade it. The Janissaries, who had won the Empire's early victories, had lost their efficiency. Two Sultans, Selim III (1807) and Mustafa IV (1808), were dethroned by them for attempting the introduction of European drill and discipline. Mahmoud II in 1809 proposed to reform them, but abandoned a design which had proved fatal to his predecessors. In 1826, however, he suppressed them altogether. A similar weakening of institutions showed itself in the provincial administration. European Turkey was divided into Pashaliks in which the Pasha exercised the authority of the Sultan. Like the Counts of the Carolingian Empire, the Pashas were encouraged by the weakness of the Porte and by the European situation to aim at independence. Mehemet Ali of Egypt and Ali, Pasha of Janina, differed only in the measure of their success in achieving it. The Turkish administration concerned itself chiefly to raise tribute from the subject provinces. In addition to the labour and tithe of his crops which he owed to his *sipahi* or landlord, every Christian subject paid the *kharaj*, or poll-tax, in lieu of military service. The toll of Christian children to recruit the Janissaries ceased in the seventeenth century,

when the force was released from the obligation to celibacy. Thenceforward a father could hand on his membership to his son, and the force was concerned to maintain privilege rather than efficiency. Consequently the Janissaries declined in *moral* and in discipline.

The Christian subjects of the Porte retained their religious organization and their local institutions; for the latter facilitated the collection of the tribute. Both survivals kept alive the longing for freedom. But though the Porte mainly drew its administrative officials from the Phanar, or Greek, colony at Constantinople, the Christians of the Empire were slaves. Their freedom and property were protected by favour and were not secured by right. For justice they were compelled to invoke the Mussulman *Cadi* (judge) and the law of the Koran. They might not carry arms. They were held inferior to "true believers," and collectively and in contempt were termed *rayah* (the herd).

The Serbians

The *terrain* of the Serb or Serbian stock is the country south of the Danube and the Save; in Serbia proper, Bosnia, Herzegovina, and the Sanjak of Novibazar. Of close affinity to the Serbs are the Montenegrins, inhabiting the mountainous region under the dark and dominating *Monte Negro*. Alone of the Balkan States they eluded the Turkish yoke. The history of Montenegro begins after the defeat of Serbia at Kossovo (1389), when George Balsha, Prince of the Zeta, retired with his people to the mountains. A generation later (1421) the Balsha family became extinct, and a new line of rulers was founded by Stephen Czernovich, who placed his capital at Zhabliak on Lake Scutari. Within the next half-century the mountaineers found themselves encompassed by the rising Turkish power. Bosnia, Herzegovina, and Albania submitted, and in 1479 Venice abandoned Skutari. Zhabliak was no longer tenable, and Stephen's son, Black Ivan the heroic, withdrew to the village Cettigne under the shadow of the Black Mountain. His line came to an end in 1516. The Montenegrins then put themselves under an elected *Vladika*, the Bishop of Cettigne. In the seventeenth century

Cettigne was twice taken by the Turks (1623, 1687), and tribute was imposed. But the Turks never succeeded in subjugating the country, though they repudiated its assertion of independence until 1878 (Treaty of Berlin). After nearly two centuries Montenegro strengthened the theocratic system of 1516 by adopting the hereditary principle. Under Danilo Petrovich (1711), the ancestor of the present (1915) king, the office of *Vladika* became hereditary. For considerably more than a century thereafter it passed from uncle to nephew (the *Vladika* being celibate). In 1852, another Danilo, declining the ecclesiastical dignity, assumed the title *Gospodar*, or Sovereign Prince. Nicolas, his nephew and successor, took the title King in 1910.

Such being the record of a section of the Serbian stock, it was fitting that its main body should be the first to recover the independence lost more than three centuries before. The Serbs were under the rule of six Pashas, one of whom at Belgrade administered Serbia proper. Each Pashalik was divided into districts (*kneschina*) under a *cadi*. Every village had its local council of elected *kmeten* and shared in the election of an *obor-knes* (*knes*=prince) for each *kneschina*. To Belgrade the Sultans were wont to relegate the most turbulent Janissaries. In 1801 they killed the Pasha, and indifferently spoiled the Serbs and their Mohammedan *sipahis*. The Serbs retaliated, and formed themselves into militant bands, whom the Sultan, Selim III, threatened to use against the rebellious soldiery. The threat goaded the Janissaries in January, 1804, to a massacre of prominent Serbs, who escaped to the woods to organize and arm. Among them was George Petrovich, " Kara George," a pig farmer, huge and illiterate, who had served in the Austrian army and in the brigand bands against the Janissaries. Another was Milosh Obrenovich, a pig farmer and a *knes*. Black George was chosen *Hospodar* by a National Assembly or *Skupshtina*, the first of modern Serbia, in 1804. The Serbs as yet were loyal to the Porte, but after expelling the Janissaries they invited help from Austria and Russia, and adopted a provisional Constitution (1805). The resumption of hostilities between Russia and Turkey after Selim III's death gave them the chance to be free. But after four years of encouraging warfare the Treaty of Bucharest (1812), which

Napoleon's invasion of Russia compelled the Tsar to conclude with the Porte, freed Turkey to deal with the rebels.

The Treaty of Bucharest advanced Russia's frontier to the Pruth and took her to the Delta of the Danube. For Serbia she exacted from the Porte a promise to confer a plenary amnesty and administrative autonomy. But Russia's preoccupation with Napoleon allowed Turkey to neglect her undertaking. In 1813 she summoned Black George to surrender arms, munitions, and fortresses, and to submit to Turkish reoccupation of the country. The frontiers were forced, Serbian resistance was broken, and Black George and other leaders sought safety in Austria. He returned to Serbia and a violent death in 1817. Meanwhile, after his flight, Milosh at first inclined to influence his countrymen to accept the Turkish yoke. But his ambition and the cruelty of the victorious Turks did not permit him to continue the invidious *rôle*. Insurrection broke out again (1815), a Serbian mission attempted to make its voice heard in the Vienna Congress, and the Porte realized that the Treaty of Bucharest could be disregarded no longer. Milosh, however, accepted a compromise (1815); a Serbian *obor-knes* took his place by the side of the Turkish Pasha at Belgrade; local institutions were preserved; and the allocation of the annual tribute among the villages was left to the *Skupshtina* after the total amount had been fixed by the Pasha and the *kneses*.

In 1817 the Porte confirmed the election of Milosh as tributary Prince of Serbia, and nine years later granted Serbia administrative autonomy (Treaty of Akkerman, 1826). The Russo-Turkish War of 1828–29, however, retarded it; it did not become operative until the Treaty of Adrianople (1829). With the establishment of autonomy the Porte recognized the Serbian Principate as hereditary in the issue of Milosh (1830). A national government and Church superseded a system of alien rule, and the payment of tribute and the Turkish garrison at Belgrade alone expressed Serbia's dependence on the Porte. From those badges of servitude the next half-century released her. Milosh abdicated in 1839, and his son and successor Michael was deposed in 1842. Thereupon Kara George's son Alexander became Prince (1842–58).

Greece

Of the five nations who formed the non-Turkish population of Balkan Europe (Serbs, Albanians, Greeks or Hellenes, Bulgarians, and Roumanians), the Greeks were the most widely scattered. A compact Greek population occupied the Morea, central Greece, Thessaly, and the islands. There were few Muslim in the Morea, where Greek national organization survived to encourage ideas of independence. Thriving commercial colonies of Greeks were settled in Constantinople, where they occupied the Phanar (Lighthouse) quarter, on the coasts, and in all the large cities. Greek merchants carried on lucrative businesses in the chief Mediterranean ports (Marseilles, Leghorn, Trieste, and Odessa), and also in London and Liverpool. The Greeks profited by the opportunity which the Anglo-French war gave to neutrals, and it was computed in 1816 that they owned over 500 vessels and about 17,000 sailors. An institution which accentuated their nationalism was the Orthodox Church and its organization. At its head was the Patriarch, installed at Constantinople with authority, ecclesiastical and temporal, delegated to him by the Sultan. To the Greek his religion was a matter at once of faith and national sentiment; he neither gave nor admitted loyalty to the Sultan. And as the Patriarch focussed the nationalism of the Slav race, so the Orthodox bishops in their dioceses exercised both civil and spiritual authority over their flocks. They settled disputes between Christian and Christian. Even the Muslim on occasion submitted their differences with a Christian to them rather than to the Turkish *cadi*.

Increasing prosperity and the relaxing pressure of Turkish authority spurred the Greeks to recover their national identity. Nor were they without the experience of arms which the effort required. In the days of the Byzantine Empire the Thessalian hill-men had been enrolled as *armatoli*, bands of militia, for the protection of the passes and highways. Towards the close of the eighteenth century the Sultans discontinued the practice. But the new policy merely converted into brigands those who so far had been paid to repress them. The highlands consequently were infested by

brigands or *klephts* led by *palikars*, " kings of the mountains," whom the Greek nation regarded as its champions against the Turks. The Greeks possessed an even more potent asset in the situation of their islands. Many of them had secured a large measure of independence subject to an obligation to pay tribute and provide recruits to the Turkish navy. A sturdy seafaring population was found especially in the islands of the Argolic Gulf, Hydra, Spetsai, and Psara, the headquarters of the commercial marine, whose vessels were fully armed and their crews trained to war to meet the Barbary or Algerine pirates of the Mediterranean. On the mainland, as well as in the islands, the Greeks retained a considerable measure of local autonomy. In the Morea, which was a Pashalik divided into twenty-three districts each under a Turkish *bey*, the villages elected their elders or *demogerontes*, who formed the council and collected the local tribute. The *demogerontes* met in a district assembly to elect *proestoi*, whose duty it was to apportion the taxation (usually farmed by the local *bey*) among the communities. The *proestoi* in their turn combined to elect a Christian *primate* and a Mohammedan *ayan* to represent the province on the council of the Pasha, who resided at Tripolitza. Thus the Hellenic nation, strongly knit by the ties of religion, trained to arms on land and sea, with influential and wealthy communities in Europe, and in the Morea provided with leaders, civil and ecclesiastical, was well equipped to challenge a contest which gave it, the first of Turkey's Christian subject kingdoms, an independent monarchy.

The Greeks had been disappointed more than once in their hopes of deliverance. Charles VIII of France entered Italy in 1494 with an eye on the Turkish power. Catharine II of Russia permitted Count Alexei Orloff to encourage the Greeks to strike for independence. But she deserted them, secured Russia's interests in the Treaty of Kutchuk-Kainardji (1774), and left the Greeks to Turkish vengeance. Twenty years later the French occupation of the Ionian Isles brought the Revolution to the doors of Greece—even Ali, Pasha of Janina, pinned the Tricolour to his turban ! The new call to action came from the Greeks of the Phanar (Lighthouse) quarter at Constantinople and of the principal European centres of commerce. These wealthy " Greeks of the Dispersion "

were profoundly impressed by the French Revolution as a force which might even restore the Byzantine Empire. The movement at first was literary. Rhegas, a Thessalian poet, inspired by the Revolution and adopting its device, *Liberté, Egalité, Fraternité,* wrote stirring war-songs which fired a later generation in a cause of which he was the proto-martyr (1798). Adamantios Korais, who, like Rhegas, studied at Paris, advanced the cause by interpreting the literature of ancient in the language of modern Hellas. Enthusiasm such as Lord Byron showed for the cause of Greece was universal. Societies of *Philhellenes* and *Philomuses* were numerous, and their enthusiasm focussed upon the emancipation of Greece upon the foundation (1814) at Odessa of the *Hetairia Philike.* It spread rapidly within and without the bounds of Turkey. In 1820, its membership probably having reached 80,000, it took action.

The war which gave Greece her independence has three distinct periods. In the first (1821–24) Greek and Turk faced each other without auxiliaries, and the issue favoured the Greek. In the second (1824–27) European sympathisers flocked to the standard of Greece, while Turkey called in the Pasha of Egypt. In the third (1827–32) European intervention constituted Greece an independent kingdom under the guarantee of Great Britain, France, and Russia.

The *Hetairia* held a firm conviction that Russia would support her co-religionists. Its leaders therefore approached the Corfiote Capodistrias, the Russian diplomatist, whose sympathy with Greek aspirations was well known. But he was too informed regarding the probabilities of Russian action to respond. The conspirators turned to Prince Alexander Ypsilanti, the Tsar's Aide-de-Camp and a general in Russian service. He belonged to an ancient Phanariot family that boasted descent from the Imperial Comneni, and enthusiasm for the cause of Greece veiled his personal ambition. He had little ability, but the fact that his father had been *Hospodar* (Turkish governor) of Wallachia determined him to raise the standard first in the Danubian provinces. Against the judgment of many who doubted the success of a Wallachian rising, Ypsilanti crossed the Pruth March, 1821. He let it be understood that he had the countenance of the Tsar, and his dilatory motions gave

the Turks ample time to enter Bucharest. The Wallachians suspected Turks and Greeks equally; the Tsar, attending the Laibach Conference, disavowed the Prince's escapade and withdrew his commission in the army. Metternich, in fact, had convinced Alexander that the Greek movement was in the category of those in Italy and Spain. Ypsilanti, therefore, went unsupported, and was easily defeated at Dragashan in June, 1821. He escaped into Hungary and by Metternich's instructions was placed in custody. He was released in 1827 and died in 1828. Meanwhile his brother Demetrius displayed the banner of the *Hetairia*, a phoenix (resurrection) on a black ground (of mourning) in the Morea, where the Archbishop of Patras had raised the Standard of the Virgin. Isolated risings developed into a general revolt. *Klephts* and *palikars* threw themselves with ardour into a campaign in which patriotism promised agreeable loot. A general massacre of Turks was carried out in April, 1821, and within six weeks of raising the Standard the Turkish population was defending itself behind walls. Before the end of the year the Morea, excepting a few beleaguered fortresses, was lost. From Hydra, Spetsai, and Psara, the headquarters of the Greek marine, privateers issued to sweep the Turkish flag off the Ægean.

The Christian Terror invited reprisals which were not a whit less barbarous. On Easter Day, 1822, the Patriarch Gregorios was seized in his cathedral at Constantinople and with a bishop on each side of him was hanged in his vestments before his palace. After degrading insults his body was thrown into the Bosphorus, whence a Greek merchant vessel rescued it for reverent burial at Odessa. Similar atrocities were committed in Macedonia and Thrace. Churches were pillaged and burnt. Two archbishops and eighty bishops and high ecclesiastics were slaughtered. Russia demanded an avenging crusade. But Alexander was under Metternich's control, and the Sultan Mahmoud, vowing to exterminate every Christian in his dominions, pursued his course unchecked. In February, 1822, Ali of Janina, whose rebellion had timed the Greek revolt, was treacherously lured to an interview, stabbed to death, and his dissevered head was sent to Constantinople.

The fall of Janina freed the Porte to deal with the

Greeks. Bœotia, Thessaly, and Attica were put to fire and sword. The Morea was wasted by the victorious Pasha of Drama. In the islands the Turks committed excesses. Scio (Chios), the most flourishing island in the archipelago of the Ægean, had been drawn unwillingly into the national cause. In April, 1822, a Turkish fleet arrived and amid circumstances of unexampled horror slaughtered over 20,000 Christians, men, women, and children, and departed with heavy cargoes of Christian slaves. Opportunely the Greeks arrived before all the Turkish vessels had cleared the island. Fire ships were sent among them, and 3000 Turks and their commander were drowned. At Mitylene the Greeks blew up the Turkish flag-ship, and before the end of the year the Ottoman flag had been cleared from the Ægean and the Turkish fleet lay inactive in the Dardanelles. In the Morea also the situation changed to the advantage of the Greeks. Rallied by the *palikar* Kolokotronis they harried Ali of Drama. Before the end of the year, 1822, Corinth, Nauplia, and Athens were recovered, and the Morea was cleared of the Turks.

The assassination of the Patriarch and the massacre of the population of Scio made it difficult for Europe to abstain from intervention, and their successes in 1822 encouraged the Greeks to invite help. At first they lacked a central authority to direct them. But upon the fall of Tripolitza, the capital of the Morea, in October, 1821, Ypsilanti convoked a National Assembly which, on January 1, 1822, proclaimed the Constitution of Epidaurus. Greece's first Constitution gave her a Legislature of seventy members, and an Executive, of which Prince Alexander Mavrocordatos was chosen President. His government looked for help from Great Britain or Russia. But the Tsar regarded the Greeks as "rebels against the Sublime Porte," and Great Britain, whose Eastern interests demanded a strong Turkey, maintained an equivocal attitude which permitted Chateaubriand to remark caustically, "English Liberalism wears a Cap of Liberty in Mexico. But it puts on a Turkish *fez* in Athens." A Greek deputation to the Congress of Verona (1822) was denied a hearing. But Greek activity in 1822 forced the hand of the British Government. Having shut up the Turkish fleet in the Dardanelles, the Greek privateers interfered with the shipping

of all flags and carried valuable prizes into Nauplia. A similar outbreak of piracy happened during the Spanish-American War, and for the reasons that determined his conduct then, Canning in March, 1823, recognized the Greeks as belligerents. "The recognition of the belligerent character of the Greeks," he explained, "was necessitated by the impossibility of treating as pirates a population of a million souls." Canning already had influenced the Porte to milder counsels, and his recognition of the belligerency of the Greeks, since it portended British intervention independently of the Concert, caused Metternich much alarm. To avert the danger was his immediate concern, and a conference between the Russian and Austrian Emperors at Czernovitz (1823) produced a Russian proposal to erect the mainland and isles of Greece into three autonomous but dependent principalities, under the guarantee of the European Concert. Great Britain took part in a renewed conference on the proposal at Petrograd in 1824, but withdrew when it became clear that neither Turkey nor Greece was prepared to accept it. Russia and Austria, however, whose interests in Turkey actually were far from identical, made a joint offer of mediation to Turkey, who rejected it.

The Porte's rejection of the proferred mediation was encouraged by the military situation. Their successes in 1822 broke the solidarity of the Greeks. Obedience to the new Executive was given grudgingly. The civilian *primates* did not work harmoniously with the *palikars*, and while the civil government established itself at Nauplia at the head of the Gulf of Argolis, Kolokotronis and the *palikars* made their headquarters in the old Turkish capital, Tripolitza. The factions came to blows in 1824, and co-ordinated and centralized direction of the war ceased. At sea the Greek marine was devoting itself very largely to piracy. Had not the plight of the Turks been almost as great, nothing could have saved the Greek cause.

The Turks meanwhile made no headway. The Janissaries were out of hand; men and money were raised with the greatest difficulty, and the position gained by the Greeks in 1822 suffered little disturbance. Mahmoud already contemplated the dissolution of the Janissaries and accomplished it in 1826. But as yet he had no organized army to take its

place. Like the Sovereigns of the Middle Ages he was dependent on his local feudatories, and to one of them, Mehemet (Mohammed) Ali, Pasha of Egypt, he turned.

Mehemet Ali was the son of a small Albanian farmer. In 1798 he deserted his trade as a tobacco dealer to join an Albanian regiment raised for service against Napoleon in Egypt. He was in command of the regiment when the French and British evacuated Egypt in 1801, in accordance with the London Preliminaries of that year. In the contest that followed between the Mamelukes and Turkish authority Mehemet consistently followed his own interests, and in 1806 was confirmed by the Sultan in the Pashalik of Egypt. His *prestige* was increased by the repulse of a British force at Rosetta in 1807, and the destruction of the Mamelukes (1811), whose power dated from the thirteenth century, removed the last local obstacle from his ambitious path. He commended his rule to pious Muslim by his successful war against the Arabian Wahabis, who had seized Mecca and Medina, the Holy Places of Islam. He pushed his power to the Upper Nile, founded Khartoum, organized a powerful army on the European model, and created a large and efficient fleet. In 1824 he was invited to aid Mahmoud to recover Greece.

In January, 1824, an Imperial *firman* confided to Mehemet Ali, styled "Exterminator of Infidels," the repression of the Greek rebellion, and conveyed the Pashalik of Crete to him and the Pashalik of the Morea to his stepson Ibrahim. In July Ibrahim sailed from Alexandria with a fleet of over four hundred transports and an escorting squadron conveying about 17,000 foot and horse and a strong equipment of guns. Ibrahim first sought a junction with the Turkish fleet, which had ventured to leave the Dardanelles to inflict the fate of Scio on Psara. The Greek Miaoulis, in a series of naval engagements, was able to retard Ibrahim's arrival in the Morea. But in February, 1825, he established himself at Modon on the Messenian coast, and secured Navarino for a naval base. Kolokotronis was driven before his advance, and though the Greek Government at Nauplia escaped capture, the close of the campaign found Ibrahim in complete possession of the Pashalik. Continental Greece north of the Gulf of Corinth underwent a similar discipline at the

hands of Rechid Pasha, who had been let loose upon Albania and Thessaly and sat down before Missolonghi to reduce the last defenders of Greek independence, Lord Byron among them. Throughout the year (1825) command of the sea strengthened its defenders to hold Missolonghi, and Rechid invited Ibrahim's help. In April, 1826, after a year's valiant resistance, Missolonghi fell. Western Greece passed back under Turkish control, and Rechid moved into Attica to complete his conquest. In June, 1827, Athens fell after a defence conducted by Colonel Fabvier, one of Napoleon's veterans, Sir Richard Church, and Lord Cochrane, who placed his sword at the disposal of a cause that he had served twice in the New World. Already, however, Europe was moving and Greece herself had taken steps to heal her lamentable factions. On April 14, 1827, a third, Russophil, Assembly elected Count Capodistria as President for seven years. He delayed his return to Greece until January, 1828.

The collapse of the Greek revolt gave Mahmoud opportunity to carry out his long-designed plan to abolish the Janissaries. In May, 1826, he formed a new force of *akindji* (soldiers on active service) to which each regiment of Janissaries quartered at Constantinople was ordered to contribute 150 men. European drill also was introduced. The Janissaries revolted and stormed the palace. They were shot down, a *firman* (1826) decreed their abolition, and the reform of the military establishment proceeded unchecked. Within a few years Turkey possessed an army equipped and disciplined on European methods.

While Europe was watching the death gasp, as it seemed, of Greece at Missolonghi, Canning, whose advent to the Foreign Office altered the outlook of British policy, took advantage of his cousin Stratford Canning's (afterwards Lord Stratford de Redcliffe) appointment (1825) to the Petrograd Embassy to sound the Russian Government on the Greek question. Anxious to solve a problem which threatened to embroil the Powers, yet unwilling to coerce Turkey, Canning suggested a joint representation to the Porte on the Greek question. Russia, however, refused to commit herself to any policy which did not contemplate the use of force in the last resort. The negotiations therefore came to an end. But

Nicolas I, who signalled his accession by issuing a vigorous *ultimatum* to Turkey, was agreeable to an understanding with Great Britain rather than to seek a mandate from the Concert. In April, 1826, therefore, the two Powers signed the Protocol of Petrograd, which recommended the Porte to recognize Greece as an autonomous but dependent Principality. Should the Sultan reject the proposal, the two Powers bound themselves jointly and separately to secure a settlement on the lines of the Protocol. But the Protocol was not immediately acted on. Russia preferred to hold it in reserve, while the Tsar, independently of the Greek question, pressed the Porte to evacuate the Danubian provinces occupied by its troops during Ypsilanti's revolt. The recent dissolution of the Janissaries forbade the Sultan to resist, and in October, 1826, the Treaty of Akkerman gave Russia the satisfaction she demanded. The tardy presentation of the Protocol in April, 1827, a year after its signature, found the Sultan in another mood. He refused to yield on the Greek question except to superior force. In the circumstances, the five Powers met in conference at London to discuss the Greek question, increased in urgency by the fall of Athens in June. Austria, who now, as always, was alarmed at any concession to Nationalism, and Prussia, who obediently followed Metternich, refused to adhere to the Protocol of Petrograd. But in France Villèle was faced by an Opposition strongly sympathetic towards the Greeks, and Charles X naturally favoured a *rapprochement* with the Russia of the Holy Alliance. In July, 1827, therefore, the Petrograd Protocol became the Treaty of London, which committed Great Britain, Russia, and France jointly to settle the Greek question.

The Treaty of London bound the three Powers to procure the autonomy of Greece under Turkish suzerainty. In the event of the Porte's refusal they engaged to establish consular relations with the Greeks. Meanwhile they proposed an armistice to both sides, and, as Turkey refused, enforced it by establishing a "peaceful blockade" of the Morea. Instructions to that effect were sent to the admirals commanding the British, French, and Russian fleets in the Mediterranean. Simultaneously a Joint Note was presented to the Porte. But the issue was taken out of the hands of diplomacy and was

decided by an unforeseen engagement in the Bay of Navarino (October, 1827). The Turco-Egyptian fleet lay within the bay, Egyptian transports having arrived recently with large reinforcements for Ibrahim. Warned by Admiral Codrington and his French colleague that he would not be allowed to leave the harbour, Ibrahim made the attempt. He was compelled to return, and, resolving to dare the Powers, landed his forces within sight of the allied fleets and turned them loose to burn and pillage the country. The Allies stood into the bay, stray shots brought on a general engagement, and before nightfall the Ottoman and Egyptian fleets practically were destroyed.

The Battle of Navarino filled the Sultan with fury. The Ambassadors of the three offending Powers left Constantinople (December, 1827). Mahmoud repudiated the Treaty of Akkerman, and invoked a Holy War against those, he declared, who had been fomenting revolt in his dominions. In England the news of the battle was received with consternation; the King's Speech at the opening of Parliament (January, 1828) referred to it as an "untoward event." In the following August, a British naval demonstration at Alexandria induced Mehemet Ali to recall Ibrahim from the Morea, and a French army arrived there to hold the country pending a diplomatic settlement. Turkey meanwhile was involved with Russia, whom she had provoked by her Manifesto of December, 1827, and by her repudiation of the Treaty of Akkerman. The Russians, crossing the Balkans for the first time, were supported from the Black Sea, which their fleet controlled. Adrianople fell without a blow, and advanced parties ranged as far as Tchorlu and Rodosto threatening Constantinople. In September, 1829, therefore, Turkey agreed to the Treaty of Adrianople. It bound her to accept a settlement of the Greek question in terms of a Protocol already signed by the three Powers, by which Greece was to become an autonomous, but tributary, Principality under a prince to be selected by the signatory Powers. Her boundaries, which had been delimited less generously in a Protocol of November, 1828, were to include the Morea, the Cyclades, the large island Eubœa, and continental Greece northward to a line running from the Gulf of Volo on the east to the Gulf of Arta on the west. The Treaty of Adrianople

also confirmed the autonomy of Serbia, and advanced that of Moldavia and Wallachia by transforming their *Hospodars* into governors for life instead, as heretofore, for a term of seven years. Its effect was to impress Europe with a strong conviction that Turkey was doomed, and that it was futile to place Greece under a suzerain powerless to protect her.

The conditions upon which the Greek Principality came into existence were considered by the Powers with selfish regard to their own interests. A weak Turkey and semi-dependent principalities, the Russian Nesselrode admitted cynically, better suited Russia's interests than a group of independent States founded on the ruins of Turkey in Europe. Great Britain, suspicious of Russia's motives, reflected that a completely independent Greece would be less under the influence of Russia than a Greece partially so; since Russia would have the less excuse to intervene. On the other hand, a liberal grant of frontier to Greece would prejudice Great Britain's position in the Ionian Isles. At the same time, a Russophil Greece being suspect, British policy preferred that she should be small.

But the Russo-Turkish War changed the situation. Ibrahim abandoned the Morea and, in September, 1829, the Turks were driven out of eastern Greece. Capodistrias, who had assumed Dictatorial powers, let it be known that he would accept nothing less than absolute independence. A new Protocol (1830) conceded it, and proposed to place Greece under Leopold of Saxe-Coburg-Gotha, widower of George IV's only daughter, Princess Charlotte, and later the first King of the Belgians. But the boundaries of the "Sovereign Principality of Greece" were restricted churlishly and purposely; her northern frontier being drawn from the mouth of the river Aspro-Potamo in the Gulf of Patras to the mouth of the river Spercheius on the east. Capodistrias rejected the new Protocol as he had refused that of 1829. For, in addition to Thessaly, Epirus, Macedonia, Crete, Samos, and Scio, withheld by the earlier Protocol, Greece was now deprived of Acarnania and a great part of Ætolia.

Once more the fate of Greece veered to the European situation. Prince Leopold, influenced by Capodistrias, withdrew his candidature. But the outbreak of the French Revolution of July (1830) made a settlement of the Greek question

imperative. Palmerston's advent to the Foreign Office in the following November promised a more generous treatment of the Greeks than Wellington and the Tories had been ready to give. Hence, in September, 1831, a new Protocol was signed by the signatories to the London Treaty. It restored the Arta-Volo frontier and offered the title Sovereign Prince to Prince Otho, second son of Lewis I of Bavaria. The latter stipulated on behalf of his son, a youth of seventeen years, that he should receive the title " King of Greece," and that the three Powers should guarantee a loan to enable the new kingdom to establish itself. In May, 1832, a final treaty constituting it under the guarantee of Great Britain, France, and Russia, was signed at London. Capodistrias, who had been working either for his own ambition or in the interests of Russia, had been assassinated in the autumn of 1831, and King Otho landed at Nauplia without opposition early in 1833. Bavarian troops took the place of the French in the Morea, and Bavarian officials accompanied the young king to organize his kingdom. But he failed to capture the loyalty of his subjects. One revolution forced him to dismiss his Bavarian followers. A second, twenty years later (1862), drove him from the throne ; though his colours (blue and white) are still those of the Greek kingdom. His successor was found in a Danish prince, brother of the future Queen Alexandra of Great Britain. He accepted the throne as George I, " King of the Hellenes," in 1863, and after a successful reign of half a century was assassinated in 1913, in the climax of the victories won by his kingdom in the Balkan War against the Turk.

Egypt and the Porte

Greece's winning of independence, Serbia's autonomy, the loss of Algeria, Albania's revolt, and the Treaties of Akkerman and Adrianople created a new situation round the Eastern Question. To this point the European Chancelleries regarded Turkey as a vigorous, albeit declining, Power, fully able to hold her own against her enemies. But the policy of Tsar Nicolas I, and the success it had won, seemed to portend no less than the dissolution of the Ottoman Empire, and the supremacy of Russia in South-East Europe.

All the Powers watched with varying sympathy the efforts

of Mahmoud II to reform the Ottoman Empire. "I am convinced," said a high official of the Porte, "that if we do not make haste to imitate Europe, we must resign ourselves to leave Europe altogether." The "Young Turk" was already born, and the *Tanzimat* (Era of Reorganization) began. Mahmoud realized the need for reform as clearly as Peter the Great in Russia a century earlier, and his attempt to achieve it drew on him the conservative prejudices of his subjects. The reorganization of the army was carried out on European lines by European instructors. "We are making an army," said the Prussian Moltke, who was one of them, "on the European plan. It uses Russian jackets, French discipline, Belgian muskets, Turkish caps, Hungarian saddles, English swords, and employs instructors of all nations." Like Peter the Great, Mahmoud reformed the national dress and substituted the fez and cloak for the turban and robe. He scandalized the Old Turks by giving concerts, balls, and *fêtes*. He built a theatre at Constantinople. His official Gazette, the *Moniteur*, was published in Turkish and French. He did his best to make the provincial administration submissive, and organized a civil service more efficient, but not less corrupt. To the mass of his subjects his innovations were sacrilegious assaults upon Islam's ancient traditions, and Mehemet Ali of Egypt seemed ordained by Allah to be the instrument of vengeance.

Mehemet Ali was as zealous a reformer as Mahmoud. His fleet and army were organized on European methods. His stepson Ibrahim had a genius for war, and under his leadership the Egyptian army won the respect of Europe. On one plea or another Mehemet Ali had gathered into his own hands all the resources of the Pashalik. The massacre of the Mamelukes in 1811 left him heir to their power. On the plea that they would be better looked after, he confiscated the possessions of the mosques and other religious foundations. On the pretence of restoring the system of Selim I he managed to convert the Egyptian proprietors into his tenants at an annual rental. He got into his hands the monopoly of Egypt's industrial and commercial resources. Egypt, in fact, as far as distant Khartoum (which he founded in 1823) was his property, and he set himself with skill to improve it. He built the Mahmoudieh Canal between Cairo and Alexandria. He made Alexandria a city of comfort and

importance. He began the barrage of the Nile, whence so great an increase of fertility has resulted. Egypt owes her cotton industry to his introduction. The planting of olive trees and sugar canes was among his successful experiments. He did not learn to read until he was nearly fifty; but he was ready to send young Egyptians to study in London and Paris, and maintained particularly friendly relations with France, who regarded him as the executor of Napoleon's plans for Egypt's future.

Mehemet Ali retired from the Morea in 1828 with the knowledge that when Mahmoud's military reforms were completed they would be tested on himself. Wisdom counselled that he should strike the first blow. Besides, he still had to find reward for his expenditure of 20,000,000 *francs* and the loss of a fleet and 30,000 men in the Sultan's service. He held the Pashalik of Crete; but Ibrahim had been cheated of the Morea. Mehemet requested the gift of Syria in its place, and was refused. But Syria had attractions which made Mehemet resolved to acquire it. Lebanon, as in the days of Solomon, was coveted for its timber, of which Mehemet was in need for the reconstruction of his fleet. Possession of Syria also would complete his control of the Levant. From time immemorial, the Pharaoh, the Ptolemies, and Saladin, all had regarded Syria as the natural *boulevard* of Egypt. Through Syria also lay the land route to Constantinople, whither possibly Mehemet's ambition drew him with thoughts of Islam rejuvenated by his genius. A pretext for action was found in the refusal of the Pasha of Acre to surrender some Egyptian *fellaheen* who had sought his protection. In the autumn of 1831 Ibrahim invaded Syria.

The campaign of 1831–2 demonstrated once more the efficiency of Mehemet's Arab regiments and of Ibrahim's leadership. Jaffa and Jerusalem fell without opposition. Acre, which Bonaparte had failed to take, fell in May, 1832. Mahmoud, a few days earlier, launched a decree of deposition against Mehemet, and placed his nominated successor at the head of an army to oppose Ibrahim's northward progress. The latter continued his triumphant advance. Damascus fell to him and he repulsed the Turks at Homs. At the Pass of Beilan, the gateway of the Taurus into Asia Minor, he routed his stepfather's supplanter. In November, 1832,

a year after embarking on the campaign, Ibrahim crossed the Taurus into Asia Minor and marched on Konieh, the ancient Iconium. The Sultan was in sore straits. France had robbed him of Algiers and favoured Mehemet Ali. Mahmoud was not willing to approach Russia. He therefore turned to Great Britain. But Palmerston was not prepared to take action alone and for the moment was preoccupied in Belgium. The Sultan therefore staked his last resource. He launched Rechid Pasha and the army lately employed in Albania against Ibrahim. But in December, 1832, Rechid was roundly beaten and made prisoner at Konieh. A Turkish camp at Brussa alone stood between the victors and Constantinople. "Drowning men," said one of Mahmoud's Ministers with some confusion of imagery, "clutch at serpents." Early in February, 1833, Russian help was formally invited, and before the end of the month a Russian squadron anchored in the Bosphorus. Ibrahim advanced to Kiutayeh. Alarmed by the Sultan's relations with Russia, the representatives of France and Great Britain at Constantinople advised the Sultan to make terms with Ibrahim. The middle and southern Syrian districts of Acre, Naplous, Tripoli, and Jerusalem were offered and refused; Ibrahim and his stepfather would accept nothing less than the whole of Syria, with the district of Adana commanding the entrance into Asia Minor. In April, 1833, the Russians landed on the Asiatic shore of the Dardanelles, and Great Britain, France, and Austria intervened to bring to an end a dangerous situation. After a last effort to withhold Adana, the Sultan agreed (Convention of Kiutayeh, April, 1833) to concede that district and the whole of Syria to Mehemet. Thereupon the Egyptian army retraced its steps.

It remained for the Sultan to pay Russia the price of assistance that had saved him from deeper humiliation at the hands of the Pasha of Egypt. In July, 1833, the Russians withdrew from the Bosphorus after concluding the Treaty of Unkiar Skelessi. The agreement bound the two governments in a defensive league for a term of eight years. Russia, "inspired by sincere desire to assure the stability and complete independence of the Sublime Porte," undertook to contribute all her military and naval resources to the defence of Turkey. Turkey, by an additional and secret article, was relieved of a reciprocal undertaking on agreeing to close the Dardanelles

au besoin (if need be) against the warships of all other nations than Russia. The treaty, in fact, placed Turkey at Russia's mercy. She would never lack opportunities to justify the intervention for which the treaty provided, while the agreement constituted Turkey janitor of the Dardanelles in Russia's interest. The closure of the Straits virtually made Russia invulnerable; for the Baltic was impracticable during the greater part of the year, and Napoleon's fate in 1812 was not likely to tempt others to follow his route. The terms of the secret clause of the treaty leaked out and caused grave apprehension in France and Great Britain. The latter had suggested joint action against the Russian Black Sea fleet in the event of the continuance of the Turco-Egyptian war. But Louis Philippe was not firm enough on the French throne to carry out the adventure of Napoleon III twenty years later. The two countries therefore contented themselves with a repudiation of the treaty, and concluded with Austria a Convention (1838) guaranteeing the free navigation of the Danube and the security of their commerce in the Black Sea. And though in the crisis of 1839 the Tsar shelved the objectionable agreement of 1833, the document strengthened the impression of Russian diplomacy which the Treaty of Adrianople had made.

The second phase of the Turco-Egyptian crisis opened in 1839 and resulted in a farther weakening of the Ottoman Empire. Neither Mahmoud nor Mehemet regarded the Convention of Kiutayeh as other than a truce. "I would rather die," Mahmoud declared, "or become the slave of Russia, than spare my rebellious vassal." Mehemet, on his part, held his position in Egypt and Syria subject to the pleasure of his suzerain, and was anxious to convert his tenure into independence. The situation in Syria also was disturbed. Egyptian rule there, at first considerate and popular, became tyrannous. Conscription and the establishment of the system of monopoly which Mehemet found so profitable in Egypt caused a revolt in 1834, and Mahmoud was restrained with difficulty from intervening. Great Britain also watched with concern the development of Franco-Egyptian influence over eastern trade routes to India by Suez and the Euphrates. In 1838 she concluded a treaty with the Porte which gave her liberty to trade freely throughout the Ottoman

Empire in spite of the monopolies that Mehemet created. At length a rising in the Lebanon, whose staple silk industry suffered greatly from Mehemet's monopolies, tempted Mahmoud to action. In the spring of 1839 he launched an army, partly officered by Europeans (Moltke among them), across the Euphrates, and issued a sentence of outlawry against Mehemet. Little more than a fortnight later (June 24, 1839) Ibrahim won his last victory over his implacable enemy on the plain of Nezib. The Turkish army practically was annihilated, and shortly after, an act of treachery delivered into Mehemet's hands at Alexandria the Turkish fleet that had been sent to fight him. Within three months of the opening of war Turkey was deprived of both army and navy.

Mahmoud died in July, 1839, unconscious of the last indignity which his vassal had done him. His son, Abd-ul-Mejid, a youth of sixteen years, became Sultan, and negotiations with Mehemet were opened. He was offered full pardon for past misconduct, Egypt for himself as a hereditary Pashalik, and the government of Syria for Ibrahim, to be resigned when he succeeded Mehemet in Egypt. But the Powers, remembering Turkey's plight after the battle of Konieh, and anxious to avert renewed Russian intervention, presented a Joint Note (July, 1839) announcing themselves in accord regarding the solution of the crisis and urging the Porte to refrain from any settlement without their concurrence. The Note indicated the general tutelage in which Turkey now stood to Europe. But its profession of unanimity was misleading. Great Britain, Russia, Austria, and Prussia desired to stem the ambition of Mehemet Ali. France stood apart from the rest, though she signed the Note. Her sentimental and economic interest in Mehemet was intensified by the belief that Egypt was invincible against the Turk, and that the attempt of Europe to play the bully would fail. France, also, had begun to build colonial interests in the Mediterranean, and friendship with the victorious master of Egypt and Syria promised reward. She therefore disapproved of the Concert's inclination to coerce Mehemet. Wiser counsels would have kept her outside the Concert frankly. But her government chose to play a double part, and inflicted on her a galling humiliation which eventually threatened the peace of Europe.

In view of her own Mediterranean interests Great Britain mistrusted France's policy. The new King of Prussia, Frederick William IV, was strongly Gallophobe. The Tsar detested Louis Philippe, and suspected Mehemet of a design to usurp the young Sultan's throne. Austria held the same fear as Russia. All four regarded France with suspicion, and being convinced that she, while professing to act with them, was in direct communication with Mehemet, signed the Convention of London (July, 1840) and informed France after the event. The instrument declared the Porte and the signatory Powers to be in accord as to the terms to be offered to Mehemet; if he rejected them their united force would impose them upon him, and would protect the Straits and Constantinople against his assault. The terms to be offered varied according as he accepted them promptly or with delay. If he yielded within ten days of receiving the *ultimatum* he was guaranteed the hereditary Pashalik of Egypt, the administration for life of southern Syria, the title Pasha of Acre and possession of the fortress. The conditions involved his surrender of Crete, the Arabian Holy Places, Adana, and northern Syria. Should his obedience be delayed beyond ten days, southern Syria and Acre would be withdrawn. Another ten days of delay would confiscate the hereditary Pashalik of Egypt also. France not only resented the Powers' browbeating of Mehemet, but regarded their independent action as a blow to herself. Soult spoke of the Convention as "another Treaty of Chaumont." Lamartine called it "a diplomatic Waterloo." The *Journal des Débats* denounced it as an insult which France could not tolerate. There was wild talk of tearing up the Treaty of Vienna, answered with equal fervour from the other side of the Rhine, whence came calls to avenge Marie-Louise, Valmy, and Jena. But Louis Philippe had no intention of going to war with Europe, and Thiers resigned after presenting a Note in which he restricted a *casus belli* on the part of France to an attempt by the Powers to deprive Mehemet Ali of Egypt. The French war fever cooled, and the translation of Napoleon's ashes in December, 1840, from St. Helena to their present resting place in the Hôtel des Invalides in Paris passed without a demonstration.

The Powers lost no time in putting the Convention into

action. In August, 1840, an Anglo-Austrian fleet under Sir Charles Napier appeared off Beirut, the port of Lebanon, and ordered Suleiman Pasha to evacuate the town and Syria. The Emir of the Lebanon joined the Allies, and after an effort by France to save Syria for Ibrahim, Napier opened fire on Beirut and landed an Ottoman force. The Sultan, on the plea that the days of grace allowed by the Convention had expired, pronounced the deposition of the Pasha of Egypt. To the consternation of France her *protégé* showed little fight. Beirut fell early in October. Acre surrendered a month later, and Ibrahim, deprived of his ports of communication with Egypt, evacuated the country. Before the end of November, Napier appeared off Alexandria and induced Mehemet to sign a Convention by which, on his agreement to surrender the Turkish fleet gained by treachery in the previous year and to evacuate Syria, he was to receive from the Powers a guarantee of the hereditary Pashalik of Egypt.

The Convention of Alexandria displeased the Sultan; for it interposed between him and summary vengeance on his fallen enemy. But a Joint Note of the Powers (January, 1841) made it clear that a policy of reprisals would not be permitted. In the following month, therefore, an Imperial edict restored to Mehemet the hereditary Pashalik of Egypt, reserving to the Porte at every vacancy the right to select the new Pasha from the males of Mehemet's line. Mehemet stoutly protested against this limitation, and in the result was conceded the rule of succession in force in the Ottoman Empire, namely, that of the eldest surviving male. The Porte's suzerainty was safeguarded by a condition forbidding the Pasha to maintain a peace military establishment of more than 18,000 men, the Sultan retaining the appointment of its officers up to the rank of colonel. Augmentation of the Egyptian fleet also was made conditional upon the Sultan's approval. The annual Egyptian tribute was fixed at about £T400,000. In June, 1841, the edict was proclaimed at Alexandria. Mehemet, an old man of over seventy, enjoyed his victory for seven years. In 1848 he abdicated, and Ibrahim's son, Ismaïl, by the expenditure of much *bakshish*, and by consenting to increase the annual tribute, procured (1866–67–72) the title Khedive (Prince), almost sovereign independence, and the transmission of the Pashalik from

father to eldest son. The dignity terminated with Ismaïl's grandson, Abbas, in 1914. Great Britain, after the outbreak of the German War, denounced Turkey's suzerainty, proclaimed Egypt a British Protectorate (December 17, 1914), and deposed the Khedive, a notorious Anglophobe. His uncle Hussein was established in his room, with the title Sultan of Egypt.

The European Concert formally closed its labours in July, 1841, when the allied Powers signed a Convention recording the "closure" of the Turko-Egyptian incident. Three days later France joined them in the Straits' Convention (*Protocole des Détroits*), which proclaimed the Dardanelles closed against the warships of all nations, excepting dispatch vessels in the service of the Embassies and Legations. Russia regarded the Convention with satisfaction; for it preserved the advantages of the extinct Treaty of Unkiar Skelessi. Yet it did not prevent France and Great Britain from sending their fleets into the Black Sea in 1854, and Great Britain, for whom Admiral Duckworth had forced the Straits in Turkey's despite in 1807, from repeating the adventure in her behalf in 1878. The Convention was renewed in 1879.

CHAPTER VII

THE REVOLUTIONS OF 1830

France

The movements of 1830 definitively closed the era of reaction and the rule of the Holy Alliance. France, whence the signal came forty years earlier, led the way once more. Louis XVIII's death in 1824 left the Bourbon Monarchy in a strong position. The exile of St. Helena was dead (1821). Bonapartism had few adherents, and neither Napoleon's son, the Duc de Reichstadt, nor his nephews, Louis Bonaparte's sons, made a close appeal to its allegiance. Republicanism was neither active nor influential. Ten years of peace following twenty-three years of war had brought prosperity under a Constitution which commerce and industry had no wish to disturb. The Revolution had clipped the wings of aristocratic privilege and, by levelling the barrier between birth and trade, reconciled the *bourgeoisie* to the Monarchy. Louis XVIII also had kept in touch with the fundamental Liberalism of the country, and like Charles II of England walked warily after a period of political stress. His brother, Charles X, with the rashness of James II and VII and an equal contempt for the lessons of experience, threw into compact opposition the sympathetic and moderate Liberalism on which the restored Monarchy rested. But when he came to the throne in 1824 he had not exhausted his popularity. Unlike his ungainly brother he had a good seat on horseback, and Paris admired her *roi cavalier*. But his past record left it hardly doubtful that he would reign as *le roi des émigrés*, and Louis on his deathbed, blessing the young Comte de Chambord, breathed a hope and implied a doubt that the Crown would survive to descend to him.

Charles X came to the throne in 1824 resolved to restore

the characteristics of the *ancien régime*—a Monarchy founded on a powerful Church and privileged aristocracy. Among the early events of his reign, the nomination of three bishops to the Chamber of Peers, and the compulsory retirement of the whole body of general officers, more than 250 in number, who had served the Republic and Empire, showed his bias. He revived the title *Dauphin* in favour of his surviving son, the Duc d'Angoulême, conferred the style *altesse royale* on his cousin and successor Louis Philippe of Orleans (the son of Égalité of the Revolution), and placed his establishment on the Civil List. Villèle, whom Charles retained in office, reintroduced the proposal to compensate the *émigrés* which he failed to carry in the late reign. The *émigrés* urged the restoration to them of their confiscated properties, with an indemnity to their present owners, who held them under the security of the Charter. But Villèle did not venture to adopt a policy of dispossession. Inquiry determined the value of the confiscated properties, and a round sum of 1,000,000,000 *francs*, being their estimated value in 1790 at twenty years purchase, was agreed upon (1825) for payment to their old owners. To raise it for persons who had fought against or rejected a government which the majority accepted threatened obvious dangers, and Charles urged the Chambers to do an act of justice "without increasing the taxes or injuring the public credit." The ingenious method of the previous year was resuscitated. By lowering the interest on the Public Funds from 5 *per cent.* to 3 *per cent.* a sum was released available to provide a 3 *per cent.* interest upon a fund of 1,000,000,000 *francs* raised on bonds and added to the debt. *Le milliard des émigrés*, as the transaction was called, indemnified the royalists at the expense of the nation. But it gave the holders of the confiscated properties additional security and deprived the *émigrés* of an incentive to intrigue. Equally imperative as a measure of "policy and justice," in Charles's view, was the restoration of the Church's influence. Early in 1825 the Chambers passed the measure which had been lost a few months earlier. It gave the king the power to establish by royal decree conventual societies of women. An amendment, carried against the government, required the Chambers' assent to any decree in favour of male fraternities. The Jesuits, however, soon received secret authorization and

admission to the schools. With a view to establishing a specific class of ecclesiastical offences, a severe Law of Sacrilege (1825) punished with great severity crimes and thefts in churches and public acts of irreverence to the sacred vessels and the Host. The measure was not put into operation.

In May, 1825, Charles was crowned at Rheims with the ancient rites of the old Monarchy. The state of France and his infirmities had prevented Louis XVIII from being crowned. Charles regarded the ceremony as a public profession of the union of crown and altar and as reconfirming the Divine Right by which his ancestors ruled France. He was girt with the sword of Charlemagne, anointed with holy oil, and "touched" for the "King's Evil," as his predecessors had done. Béranger made fun of the "Consecration of Charles the Simple." But the ceremony illuminated the king's policy. The suspicion with which he was regarded showed itself in the rejection of two measures laid before the Chambers in 1826. On the specious plea that the interests of agriculture demanded a landed aristocracy, Villèle proposed an amendment of the Law of Succession in respect to estates paying 300 *francs* and upwards in direct taxation (virtually the narrow electorate established by the Charter), a restriction which confined the measure to some 50,000 persons. The bill proposed that if the proprietor of such an estate died intestate, his eldest son or heir in direct descent, in addition to the equal share with the younger children allowed him by the Civil Code, should receive (*droit d'âinesse*) that part of the estate which the Code placed at the father's disposal for allocation (*quotité disponible*). The measure made entail permissible, infringed the principle of equality which was the essence of the Revolution, and aimed at reconstituting the land system of the *ancien régime* and the political and social structures built upon it. Villèle failed to carry the measure, and the event was celebrated in Paris and the provinces with extraordinary rejoicing. No greater success attended the introduction (1826) of a drastic Press Law—*loi vandale* Chateaubriand called it. It affected publications of all kinds—pamphlets of twenty leaves and upwards, books, and newspapers. Non-periodical literature was subjected to the old form of official approval (*autorisation préalable*). Pamphlets of five pages and upwards were made liable to stamp duty. Newspapers and periodicals were

required to bear the names of their proprietors and printers and to be deposited for approval at the Ministry of the Interior five days before publication. The measure was introduced as a *loi de justice et d'amour*, an incongruous definition which was seized upon by its opponents to ridicule the measure. The bill was withdrawn in the Chamber of Peers, and the rejoicings which attended the loss of the Succession Bill were repeated.

The *Ultras*, whom Richelieu's fall called to office in 1821, were losing touch increasingly with public opinion. Their enemies included the Liberals, who were directly threatened; the middle and commercial class, which had no desire to see the social divisions of the *ancien régime* reproduced; the Gallican party opposed to Ultramontanism; and the bondholders affected by the reduction of interest on the Public Debt. The National Guards, now and in Louis Philippe's reign, were an accurate index of middle class feeling. At a review of the force in Paris in 1827 shouts were raised for Villèle's dismissal, mingled with cries for the Charter and of loyalty to Charles. The king was indignant: "I am here to receive your homage, not your orders," he said to a Guardsman who raised his voice near him. Villèle demanded the dissolution of the force, and Charles unwisely assented; for the act ranged the Paris *bourgeoisie* with the swelling opposition. The disbanded men retained their arms, and employed them at the barricades in July, 1830. The situation obviously being critical, Charles, after securing the Budget for the year, dissolved Parliament (November, 1827) and leavened the Liberalism of the Peers by creating seventy-six new members of their Chamber. But he looked vainly for another *Chambre retrouvée*. Guided by a new Club, *Aide toi, le ciel t'aidera* (Heaven helps those who help themselves), Liberalism won a striking success at the polls. Finding himself in a minority in the Chamber of Deputies Villèle resigned, and, in January, 1828, retired to the Chamber of Peers.

Villèle's place was taken by the Vicomte de Martignac, a supporter of the fallen Minister. He had entered Parliament during the royalist reaction of 1821, identified himself with the chief measures of the past seven years—the Septennial Act, the Spanish War, the restraint of the Press, the indemnification of the *émigrés*—and had received the title Vicomte.

Charles was bent on maintaining the "system" of Villèle, and commended it to Martignac. But the latter saw clearly that its continuance was impossible, and that in a Chamber containing nearly 200 Liberals a return to Decazes' policy of conciliation was the safer course. In a communication to the *Moniteur* he announced his intention to observe the Charter and to harmonize the mutual interests of the Crown and its subjects. His first measures suggested a Liberal outlook. The direction of public education was withdrawn from the Ministry of Ecclesiastical Affairs, which Louis XVIII had created. A Commission was appointed to inspect the State schools, which bore fruit in the Ordinances of June, 1828. Guizot and others, silenced in 1822, were restored to their Chairs at the Sorbonne. A new electoral Bill promised to improve the position of the Liberals in the constituencies. Villèle had left the revision of Parliamentary voter lists to the Prefects, a method of obvious advantage to a government anxious to influence the elections. Martignac's Bill made it competent for an elector to appeal to the Law Courts to correct any omissions from or improper additions to the electoral roll. A new Press Law (1828) removed many of the severities that Martignac himself had advocated in the past. It suppressed the censorship established in 1822, the *autorisation préalable*, and the offence of "tendency." But it withheld from the Press the protection of a jury trial, and allowed the ordinary magisterial courts, which the government could influence easily, to suspend and fine offending journals. The heavy deposit (*cautionnement*) required from newspaper proprietors was not relaxed. Hence the dissatisfied Liberals described the measure as "a new Bastille with 'Liberty' as its watchword."

The two Ordinances of June, 1828, are the distinctive record of Martignac's administration, and were designed to correct Charles's Ultramontane policy. They dealt with the Church schools established during the Empire for the training of youths intended for the priesthood. The seminaries had enlarged their *clientèle* by admitting pupils other than the class for which they were intended, and were also suspected of employing members of the expelled Orders on their teaching staffs. The first Ordinance forbade instruction to be given by any religious Society unauthorized by the State; required

the principals and teachers of Church schools to prove themselves unconnected with the prohibited Orders; and gave to the civil power the appointment of their heads. By the second Ordinance the number of pupils in Church schools was limited to 20,000, a total deemed adequate for the supply of priests to the Church; their students were required to wear a distinctive habit; and day-scholars (whose fees had formed their chief revenue) were forbidden, a government subvention being granted instead. The Ordinances had the intended effect. Eight seminaries were disclosed in which the Jesuits were suspected of giving instruction contrary to the Law.

Twelve months of Martignac's government refashioned the strange union between extreme Liberals and Royalists that destroyed Villèle. The introduction in 1829 of a scheme for the reform of provincial and municipal government brought the wings of the Chamber together and caused Martignac's fall. In the constituencies the Liberals were handicapped by the Electoral Law of 1820 and its "double vote." They looked to Martignac to amend it. Instead, he introduced two measures affecting the Councils of the Communes, Cantons, and Departments, whose members, in accordance with the practice of the Empire, were nominated by the central government. Martignac proposed to substitute popular election, and threw out the suggestion that the experiment, if successful, might pave the way for an enlargement of the Parliamentary franchise. While the Extreme Right regarded the measure as a dangerous concession to democracy, the Left held it ridiculously inadequate to the circumstances. Martignac therefore withdrew the proposal. It had been framed to placate the Left, and their rejection of it was seized by the King to establish his contention that conciliation was useless. "Nothing will satisfy those people," he told Martignac, and took the opportunity to revert to the frank *Ultraism* of Villèle. In August, 1829, Martignac was superseded by the Prince de Polignac.

Polignac inherited an unpopularity which his mother's friendship with Marie Antoinette had founded. He had been concerned in Cadoudal's plot (1804) for a Bourbon restoration; had been condemned to death; and owed his reprieve to Josephine's intervention. Upon Louis's restoration Polignac

had opposed the Charter strongly and refused the oath to regard it. As an intimate of Charles X during his residence at the Pavilion de Marsan in the Tuileries, Polignac had been in close touch with the intrigues which embarrassed Louis XVIII. His unpopularity was intensified by the character of his colleagues in the Cabinet. All were extreme Royalists, and two of them were regarded with particular odium: La Bourdonnaye, Minister of the Interior, was one of the most vindictive fomenters of the White Terror: Bourmont, Minister of War, deserted his command on the morning of the Battle of Charleroi (1815) and warned the Prussians of Napoleon's approach. Even the moderate Royalists viewed the Ministry with dismay. "Coblenz! Waterloo! 1815!" was its terse characterization by the *Journal des Débats*. It was nicknamed the "White Terror Ministry," whose imposition on France at such a time was declared to be "an effect without a cause." Even the reactionary Metternich watched it with apprehension and described as "a sort of Counter-Revolution" the appointment of one who bluntly announced his programme to be "the reorganization of society, the restoration of their political influence to the clergy, and the creation of a powerful and privileged aristocracy." Nothing less than a revived *ancien régime* was Polignac's purpose, and the ill-considered attempt to throw France back into the eighteenth century decreed the collapse of the Monarchy that made it.

Polignac showed no anxiety to meet the Chambers. They were not summoned until March, 1830, and sat for little more than a fortnight. Great preparations were made, meanwhile, for the expedition which resulted in the fall of Algiers in July, 1830. It was suspected that Charles either hoped to win popularity by a military success, or was using the Algerian dispute as a pretext for the organization of a powerful force. The situation recalled the Parliamentary *interregnum* in the reign of Charles I of Great Britain—the Algerian expedition could be likened to Buckingham's gambling ventures in that its success threatened the liberties of the country. The analogy between the Stewarts and the restored Bourbons was a favourite theme of French politicians, and in particular of the *National*, a journal founded by Thiers, Mignet, and others in January, 1830. The catastrophe which Charles was inviting was patent.

But Thiers, Talleyrand, Guizot, and men of moderate views dreaded the alternative of a Republic. The horrors of the Terror clung to the name, and desertion of Monarchy might provoke European intervention again. Their hopes were fixed upon Louis Philippe of Orleans, who alone could play the part of William of Orange and reconcile the monarchical principle with popular sovereignty. As the son of Philippe Egalité he was Liberal by tradition and had fought under the Tricolour at Jemappes (1792) for the expulsion of the Republic's enemies from French soil. The fact that under the Empire he had tried to take service in foreign armies hostile to Napoleon was discreetly concealed for the present.

The Chambers reassembled for a brief session in March, 1830, after a vigorous Liberal campaign in the provinces, in which the *Aide-toi* Club and Lafayette, who made a triumphant progress in the South, played a considerable part. The Speech from the Throne denounced the recent electoral agitation and "the vile insinuations which evil-minded persons are seeking to disseminate." In reply the Chamber of Deputies, by 221 to 181 votes, adopted an Address (*l'adresse des* 221), which, while assuring the king of the respect and affection of his people towards him, added that the Chamber had neither confidence in nor sympathy with his government. The Address was in fact a vote of censure. "Concessions," Charles remarked, "ruined Louis XVI. I prefer a seat on horseback to one in a tumbril." His answer therefore was the instant prorogation of the Chambers, followed by a decree of dissolution in May. A general election took place in June, and though Charles protested by proclamation his intention to observe the Charter, the ministerialists were reduced to 145 members in the new Chamber. News of the fall of Algiers arrived too late to influence the electors and served only to strengthen the king's obstinate resolution not to yield.

Deaf to the voice of public opinion opposed to them, Charles and Polignac supposed that revision of the Electoral Law and coercion of the Press would recover the situation. Article XIV of the Charter permitted the king "to make such regulations and Ordinances as the execution of the laws and the safety of the State may demand." Accordingly, on July 25, 1830, at Saint-Cloud, Charles signed the Four Ordinances which sent him into permanent exile. "Gentlemen,"

he said to Polignac and his colleagues, "we sink or swim together." "What are you looking for?" Polignac asked one of them who was scanning the walls of the apartment. "A picture of Strafford" was the disconcerting answer. The first Ordinance restored the *autorisation préalable* which the Press Law of 1828 had suppressed. The second dissolved the newly-elected Chamber before it even assembled. The third, with a view to a fresh appeal to the electors, altered the franchise and the composition of the Chamber of Deputies. By simply suppressing the roll of direct or assessed tax-payers on which the lists of Parliamentary voters were drawn up, about three-fourths of the electorate, industrial and commercial voters for the most part, were summarily disfranchised. The franchise practically became the monopoly of the landed interest. The Chamber of Deputies was reduced to 258 members, its strength before the Electoral Law of 1820; and the annual election of one-fifth of its membership was restored. The fourth Ordinance directed new elections under these conditions to be held in September.

The Ordinances, published in the *Moniteur* on July 26, 1830, were read with consternation. The Press already had taken a leading part in organizing opposition. On the appearance of the *Moniteur* between forty and fifty journalists met under the direction of Thiers in the office of the *Constitutionel* and signed a strongly worded Manifesto. "The reign of law is at an end," it declared; "that of force has begun. Obedience is no longer a duty." The appeal was placarded throughout the city, with instant effect. Students of the École Polytechnique, an institution which had won the favour of the people by its defence of Paris against the Allies in 1814, artisans, journalists, and members of the disbanded National Guard, assembled in arms. Old Republican officers offered to head an *émeute*. Barricades were erected. The Tricolour, displaying the motto "The Charter or Death," was unfurled. Collisions with the troops took place. Marmont, unpopular for his desertion of Napoleon in 1814, was directed to quell the riot. But there were only about 14,000 troops in Paris, armed with the old flintlocks; and the Tricolour, under which the insurgents were fighting, was to many of the army the national flag. By the 28th the mob was in complete possession of the east of the city, the Arsenal, the Bastille, the Hôtel

de Ville, and the Tricolour floated over Nôtre Dame. "This is not a riot, but a revolution," Marmont sent word to Charles at Saint-Cloud. After an attempt to penetrate the barricades and recover the Hôtel de Ville, Marmont drew back to defend the Louvre and the Tuileries. On the 29th both were carried by the insurgents, who refrained from the brigandage which followed their capture in 1792. The Swiss Guards fled; Marmont marched out of the city towards Saint-Cloud. Paris was in the hands of the people. In all about 5000 people had been killed and wounded.

Meanwhile the Republicans were organizing measures at the Hôtel de Ville. There was danger that another *Commune de 10 août*, 1792, would be established. On July 30, therefore, Thiers issued a Manifseto. It declared that Charles X, guilty of the nation's blood, could not be permitted to rule. It warned the people that a Republic would embroil France with Europe. It pointed to the Duc d'Orleans, a tried friend of the Revolution, as an ideal *roi citoyen* who only awaited an invitation to accept the Crown at the people's hands. On the same day Thiers visited Louis Philippe, who had held aloof at Raincy, to urge him to come to Paris. Ambition struggled with loyalty in the duke. But his irresolution was solved by Thiers' argument, that the choice was between acceptance of the throne and exile from the territory of an otherwise inevitable Republic. Early on the 31st Louis Philippe came to Paris, accepted the Lieutenancy-General of the kingdom from the Deputies at the Palais Bourbon, announced a session of Parliament to determine the crisis, and promised that henceforth the Charter should be a reality. To proceed farther without the approval of Lafayette and the Republicans at the Hôtel de Ville was dangerous. The duke tested public feeling by riding thither through the still standing barricades. He was coldly received, on the whole. But a *tableau de théâtre* at the Hôtel de Ville, presenting the duke at a window embracing Lafayette, won the mob and for the moment relegated a Republic to a future opportunity.

Marmont's evacuation of Paris (July 29) disturbed Charles in his fool's paradise. He had convinced himself that the crisis was not serious. He now revoked the Ordinances, dismissed the Ministry, and fled to Rambouillet. On August 2 he abdicated on his own and his son's behalf in favour of the

young Comte de Chambord, committing the latter's interests to Orleans, whom he nominated Lieutenant-General of the Kingdom, a post which the duke already had accepted from the other side. The march of Lafayette and a few hundreds of armed Parisians towards Rambouillet on August 3 frightened the king into renewed flight. On the 14th an American vessel took him on board at Cherbourg and landed him in England. For a time he occupied Holyrood, where once had lived his British counterpart, James II and VII. In 1836 he died.

Meanwhile, on August 3, the day of Charles's flight, about 250 (252) of the 430 deputies whose election his Ordinance sought to quash assembled at the Palais Bourbon. Bonapartism at the moment had no vogue; though the political creed of thousands of Frenchmen was devotion to the memory of Napoleon, "the Man," as Heine called him. But dispatch was needed to forestall the Republicans, and the circumstances of the situation prevented more than a hasty revision of the Charter. A new preamble was drafted which declared Charles X and the senior branch of the Bourbons incapable of holding the Crown, by reason of their infractions of the Charter. The Roman Catholic religion, though recognized as that of the majority of the French people, was declared to be no longer that of the State. Article XIV was modified to assert the Crown incapable of suspending or dispensing laws. The power to initiate legislation was conferred on the Chambers. The preamble to the Charter of 1814, representing it as *octroyée* (conceded) by the king, was deleted on the ground that the rights it conveyed belonged naturally to the people. The age qualifying for the Parliamentary franchise and for a seat in the Chamber was lowered from 30 and 40 (as established by the Charter) to 25 and 30 years respectively. Censorship over newspapers and books was withdrawn. Subject to his acceptance of the revised Charter the Deputies called the Duc d'Orleans to the throne, changing the royal style from *roi de France* to *roi des Français*, in order to emphasize the position of the king as the chosen of the nation and not the heir merely of his ancestors. The Tricolour was substituted for the *drapeau blanc* of the Bourbons. To the new "Constitutional Charter," *la Charte bâclée* (the patched-up Charter) its opponents derisively called it, the new Sovereign took the oath on August 9, 1830. The title Philip VII was

suggested and discarded, on the ground that the king reigned "*although* and not *because* he is a Bourbon." As Louis Philippe I, therefore, the new Sovereign received from four Marshals of France the insignia of the Monarchy. The revolution that set him on the throne was a compromise, and eighteen years later (1848) France yielded herself again to a Republic.

The fallen Monarchy at least had opened a new chapter in the history of colonial France. The great wars of the eighteenth century and the Treaty of Vienna reduced the French colonies to meagre proportions. After the pacification of 1814 they consisted of Guiana in South America; St. Martin (with the Dutch), Martinique, Desirade, Marie Galante, Les Saintes, and Guadeloupe in the Antilles; the small islands of Miquelon and St. Pierre in the St. Lawrence estuary; the Senegal coast in Africa; Île Bourbon (Réunion) in the Indian Ocean; and five isolated positions (Pondicherry, Chandernagore, Karikal, Mahé, and Yanaon) in India. The present French colonial Empire is many times larger than France herself, and its foundations were laid by Charles X in the Algerian expedition of 1830.

Algeria nominally was a dependency of the Ottoman Empire. Its population consisted mainly of Berbers, whose ancestors had warred against the Carthaginians, and Arabs, whose forbears conquered the country for Islam in the seventh century. Algiers was a seaport which for centuries had been the headquarters of the dreaded Barbary pirates. Their depredations were discussed at the Vienna Congress in 1815. In the following year Great Britain bombarded Algiers to compel its Dey to abolish Christian slavery and to surrender captives in his possession. France's quarrel with Algiers arose over the loan of a few million *francs* to the First Republic by a former Dey. The loan was taken up by two Jews, whose creditors claimed repayment of part of the capital. The French government declined to liquidate the loan until the law courts had decided an issue between the Jews and their creditors. The Dey Hussein, however, demanded instant liquidation of the debt, insulted the French consul at Algiers, and after prolonged negotiations drew upon himself the punitive expedition of 1830. Algiers was captured a few days before the fall of Charles X. Under Louis Philippe the whole

country passed under French occupation in the course of a Holy War conducted by Abd-el-Kader, an Arab chieftain. French interests in Algeria made intervention inevitable sooner or later in neighbouring Tunis. It was delayed, however, until 1881.

Belgium

Four weeks after the French Revolution of July, 1830, which destroyed part of the work of the European Powers in 1815, Belgium ruined another achievement of the same architects. After the Treaty of Amiens (1802), a proposal had been entertained by Great Britain and Russia for the union of Austria's Flemish domain with the United Provinces (Holland), which conferred the title "Sovereign Prince" on William of Nassau upon his return and restoration in 1813. In 1814 Great Britain proposed to the Allies at Chaumont, and the first Treaty of Paris agreed (May 30), that "Holland, placed under the Sovereignty of the House of Orange, shall receive an increase of Territory." A secret clause provided, that "the establishment of a just Balance of Power in Europe requiring that Holland shall be so constituted as to be enabled to support her Independence through her own resources," the Belgian provinces of Austria "shall be given up for ever to Holland." In fact, the new kingdom united three areas which had been separate before their conquest by France: (1) the former Austrian Netherlands, (2) the Bishopric of Liège, and (3) the United Provinces of the Netherlands. In July, 1814, William accepted the Eight Articles drawn up by the four Powers to regulate the union. They provided that the enlarged kingdom should adopt the monarchical Constitution formulated in Holland's Fundamental Law (*Grond-wet*) of February, 1814, with the necessary modifications. Religious equality was guaranteed, and adequate representation was promised to the extra-Dutch territory in the Assembly of the States General of the new kingdom, whose sittings were to be held in turn in a Dutch and Belgian town. The Belgians were promised equal commercial and political rights with their fellow subjects, and the public debt of Belgium and Holland was to be pooled. The arrangement in large measure was the work of British diplomacy, and a supplementary Convention of London (August, 1814) between

Great Britain and Holland restored to the latter her losses since January 1, 1803, except the Cape of Good Hope and the Guiana region (Essequibo, Berbice, and Demerara). As Holland already (1802) had surrendered Ceylon to Great Britain, the Kingdom of the Netherlands came into existence possessed of the Dutch East Indies, and the islands Curaçao, Oruba, Buen Ayre, Saba, St. Eustatius, St. Martin (with the French) in the Antilles. In South Africa the appearance of the British at the Cape stimulated the *trek* of Dutch farmers into the interior which eventually produced the Transvaal and Orange River Republics.

In March, 1815, William of Nassau assumed the title "King of the Netherlands and Duke of Luxemburg," receiving the duchy (excepting the federal fortress of Luxemburg) and membership of the Germanic *Bund* from the Vienna Congress as compensation for Nassau-Dillenburg and his other German territories acquired by Prussia. The second Treaty of Paris (November 20, 1815) added the districts of Philippeville and Marienburg and the Duchy of Bouillon, which were taken from France. But in forming the new kingdom the Allies paid little regard to considerations of race, religion, language, economics, or political tradition, neglect which endangered the union. William, like his Dutch compatriots, despised the Belgians. The latter resented the flippant diplomacy that dealt with their territory as a mere "increase" of Holland and treated it as a fortuitous "collection of provinces in which in turn every horse in Europe has stabled." The Belgian Liberals disliked a Constitution which was essentially aristocratic and autocratic. The Belgian Catholics condemned the religious equality which it guaranteed, and the bishops forbade (1815) their congregations to take the oath to support it. An added grievance was the king's insistence on a philosophic curriculum at the University of Louvain for candidates for the priesthood, and his refusal to allow Catholics to study abroad lest they should come under Jesuit influence. Nor was the equality of treatment promised to Belgium by the Eight Articles accorded. The Court resided regularly at the Hague. The States General never met out of Holland, and all the important public Departments were housed there. In 1830 the Court of Appeal was settled at the Hague, though about three-quarters of its litigation during the previous ten

years came from Belgium. Even the administration of the coal-mines was established in Holland, though the industry was exclusively a Belgian one. In the civil service the same partiality was shown; in 1830 only one of the seven Ministers was a Belgian. In the army (1830) all but 147 of over 2000 officers were Dutch. Probably two-thirds of the Belgians spoke a dialect closely akin to the Dutch, but French for long had been the official language and that of the bar. With a sincere desire to promote a "national" language, William made knowledge of Dutch a condition of public employment and eventually constituted it the sole language of official intercourse. The union also saddled Belgium with a share of a Public Debt much greater than her own, and the *mouture* (tax on grist or flour) and *abbatage* (tax on meat) affected her particularly. Belgium's population was far larger than that of Holland, but she had the same representation in the States General. While Belgium, a manufacturing and industrial country, demanded protective tariffs, Holland, a trading and commercial community, maintained a system of free exchange. Though the *Fundamental Law*, adopted after joint conference in 1815, guaranteed the freedom of the Press, Napoleon's invasion of Belgium in 1815 encouraged the government to introduce repressive legislation. The "Law of Five Hundred Florins" (1816) imposed that sum on offending journalists for a first offence, and imprisonment from one to three years for its repetition.

Belgium is a small country—it is only some 120 miles broad between Ostend and Arlon. About two-thirds across, the forests of the Ardennes divide the Flemings of the west from the Walloons of the east. By 1828 Flemings and Walloons, Catholic Clericals and Liberals, had drawn together in a "Union" for the redress of common grievances, and petitions poured in demanding repeal of the *mouture* and *abbatage*. William characterized them as "infamous," and the official organ at Brussels even declared that their authors ought to be "muzzled like dogs." Demands were also made for a separate Belgian administration. A mock "Order of Disgrace" was instituted by the malcontents and the Belgian Deputies refused supplies until their grievances were redressed. William took the unwise course of depriving of their posts and salaries those who voted against the Budget of 1829.

The French Revolution in July, 1830, found the relations of Holland and Belgium in a critical state, and stimulated the latter's longing for separation. In the summer Brussels held an Industrial Exhibition, and in connexion with it proposed to celebrate the king's birthday on August 24. A few days before that event bills were distributed containing the laconic announcement, *lundi 23 août, feu d'artifice ; mardi 24, illumination ; mercredi 25, révolution.* The Brussels garrison numbered little more than 2000 horse and foot with half a dozen guns, and the authorities thought it advisable to forbid the illuminations arranged for the 24th. They permitted, however, a special performance on the 25th of Auber's Opera *La Muette de Portici*, which dealt with the Neapolitan rising against the Spaniards under Masaniello in 1647. The theme was provocative and the singing of the tenor aria *Amour sacré de la patrie* stirred the audience to a frenzy of excitement. An expectant mob in the street began to demonstrate ; the royal insignia were torn down, and the old flag of Brabant (red, yellow, and black ; the present flag of Belgium) was unfurled. Hopes of a Republic or of annexation to France inspired some. But the more responsible citizens merely demanded a separate administration for Belgium. They appealed for redress of grievances, and in response William sent his eldest son, the Prince of Orange, to Brussels and summoned the States General in extraordinary session to the Hague. But the king strongly opposed the Belgian demands, and his second son, Prince Frederick, whom he ordered to occupy Brussels, was repulsed after a series of encounters. The aggression drove from the insurgents all thoughts of accommodation. A single tomb was erected on the *Place des Martyrs* for those who had fallen, and a provisional government installed at the Hôtel de Ville proclaimed (October 4) the Belgian provinces independent. A National Convention was convoked to determine the Constitution.

In November, 1830, 200 Deputies elected by the direct vote of tax-paying Belgians and members of the liberal professions met at Brussels. Clericals and Liberals were present in about equal numbers. Four parties were represented, each with its solution of the crisis. The Orange Monarchists, whose strength was in Ghent and Antwerp, held to the House of Nassau. The Republicans, who had engineered the rising,

desired the abandonment of a monarchy altogether. A small party drawn from the Bishopric of Liège preferred annexation to France. The most numerous body desired a separate and national monarchy. On November 18 the Convention formally voted a declaration of independence, with a proviso upon the relations of Luxemburg (which declared for Belgium against Holland) with the Germanic *Bund*. By an overwhelming majority a hereditary Monarchy was adopted, to the disgust of the Republicans. "Monarchy's not worth all the blood that has been spilt," said their leader. The House of Orange-Nassau was declared to be for ever ineligible to occupy the Belgian throne.

While the Convention was drafting a Constitution of the English Parliamentary type (1831), the European Powers had still to give their sanction to the undoing of their work. William had strong hopes that the Concert would not permit the destruction of the Treaties of 1815. But the situation was favourable to the cause of Belgium; for the Powers were divided. Russia and Prussia were closely allied to the House of Nassau; but Russia was engaged in Poland, Austria in Italy, and Great Britain and France were sympathetic to the Belgians. Great Britain was actuated by the old fear of French influence at Antwerp, and by a more recent antagonism to the Kingdom of the Netherlands as a potential commercial rival. The Western Powers being more free to act, a Conference of the Five Powers assembled in London, and on December 20, 1830, accepted the dissolution of the Netherlands State of 1815. It remained to determine the frontier of the severed kingdoms, the division of the Public Debt, the navigation of the Scheldt, and the relations of Luxemburg to the Germanic *Bund*. As to her frontier, Belgium demanded the right bank of the Scheldt, Limburg, and Luxemburg. The Powers, however (Protocols of January, 1831), assigned Luxemburg to Holland with her frontiers of 1790, and allotted the rest of the dissevered Kingdom of the Netherlands to Belgium with a guarantee of "perpetual neutrality," France's adhesion to which put an end to her chance of expansion to her "natural" frontiers. A second Protocol assessed Belgium's share of the Debt roughly at one-half (16/31ths) of the whole.

The London Protocols disappointed the Belgians, who were frustrated also in their choice of a Sovereign. The candidates

most strongly supported were Augustus von Leuchtenberg, grandson of Josephine Beauharnais, Napoleon's first wife; and the Duc de Nemours, second son of Louis Philippe. But France would not tolerate a Bonaparte at her very gates, and, in view of Great Britain's nervousness, reluctantly declined the Belgian Crown offered to Louis Philippe's son. The Convention eventually (June, 1831) chose Leopold of Saxe-Coburg-Gotha, who recently had refused the Greek throne. His candidature was agreeable to Great Britain and Prussia, and not unwelcome to France. He made his acceptance conditional upon a revision of the Protocols of 1831, and did not leave England for his new kingdom until the Powers cancelled them, and drafted new conditions in Eighteen Articles (June, 1831). They made Holland responsible for her pre-Union Public Debt and reserved the ownership of Luxemburg for consideration. The Articles were accepted by the Belgian Convention, and on July 21, 1831, Leopold I took the oath to the Constitution.

Within a few days of Leopold's accession the Dutch army crossed the frontier in protest against the Concert's disregard of Dutch rights and interests. The "Ten Days' Campaign," as it is called, found Belgium quite defenceless. But the intervention of a French army, to Great Britain's momentary alarm, saved the situation, and the Dutch withdrew. Holland, however, had demonstrated her claim to consideration, and the Powers proceeded to modify the Eighteen Articles in her favour. In November, 1831, Twenty-Four Articles were accepted by the Powers as the basis of agreement between Belgium and Holland. They allocated the Joint Debt in a manner less favourable to Belgium. Her freedom to navigate the Scheldt (the maritime door of Belgium as of Holland) was burdened with the payment of dues to Holland. Limburg east of the Meuse was transferred to Holland in exchange for Western Luxemburg, which comprised about two-thirds of the Grand-Duchy and was now severed from the Germanic *Bund*.

With reluctance Belgium accepted the revised terms. William, however, could not resign himself to the loss of so large a slice of the Grand-Duchy. He continued to hold Antwerp, where the Orange-Nassau party was strong, and a joint demonstration by France and Great Britain

(December, 1832) alone induced him to evacuate the city. By the Convention of London (May, 1833) he made peace with the Western Powers, undertook not to resume hostilities against Belgium; and, as a preliminary to a definitive treaty with her, promised to secure the assent of the Nassau interests to the exchange of Western Luxemburg for the portion of Limburg assigned to him. But he was reluctant to compound Belgium's claim for independence. Consequently the latter continued to hold the whole of Luxemburg (except the fortress) and Limburg (except the fortress of Maestricht). Dutch feeling, however, resented the withholding of territory assigned to Holland, and at length in 1838 William agreed to accept the Twenty-Four Articles. On April 19, 1839, Belgian independence and neutrality received the guarantee of Europe. In 1870, again, France, Prussia, and Great Britain entered into binding obligations to respect the neutrality of the kingdom, a pact which Germany flagrantly violated in 1914.

On April 19, 1839, the Five Powers, Belgium, and Holland signed a group of treaties which conveyed to Holland Limburg, east of the Meuse, as a sovereign duchy within the Germanic *Bund*, which received it in compensation for the surrender of Western (Belgian) Luxemburg. Only eastern or Dutch Luxemburg remained within the *Bund;* it was neutralized (1867) as a separate State upon the formation of the North-German Confederation, and passed with the Dutch Crown until Queen Wilhelmina's accession in 1890, when the operation of the Salic Law gave it to the male heir. Limburg also, on the dissolution of the *Deutsche Bund*, became an integral part of the Kingdom of the Netherlands. The adjustment of matters relating to the Public Debt, the frontier, and the navigation of the Scheldt and Meuse was concluded between Holland and Belgium in 1842 (Treaty of the Hague).

The settlement of 1839 at length admitted Belgium as an independent but neutral member of the European family. Leopold I was succeeded in 1865 by his son Leopold II (1865–1909), whose foundation of the Congo State in Africa transferred to Belgium in 1908 colonial interests which compensated her for those of which the dissolution of her partnership with Holland deprived her.

Poland

While new kingdoms were coming into existence in Belgium and Greece, that of Poland, another unstable creation of 1815, practically came to an end. The Vienna Congress of 1815, after satisfying the demands of Prussia and Austria and establishing Cracow as a free neutral city, converted the rest of Napoleon's Grand Duchy of Warsaw into the Kingdom of Poland and attached it to Russia, with the promise of a Constitution. In May, 1815, by proclamation at Warsaw, Poland was constituted a kingdom. A few weeks later the King of Saxony renounced his title as Grand-Duke of Warsaw, and an oath of allegiance was taken to the Tsar as "King." In December, 1815, Alexander conferred a Charter on Poland, modelled on that of France. It provided a Viceroy, a Council of State, and a Legislative Diet of two Chambers, the Upper nominated, the Lower elected, convokable every other year for a session of one month's duration. Its power was limited to voting the laws and taxes; it had no control over the Administration, of which the Crown was master. An Imperial Commissioner for Poland was attached to the Russian Court. But apart from the Commissioner and the Viceroy Poland was left to the Poles. Their Church was not disturbed nor the educational system which it controlled. The Customs and administrative officials remained as before. The Polish language was employed in the public services. The Polish army, with a peace footing of 30,000 men, retained its distinctive uniform and organisation.

But Alexander's ardour in the cause of Constitutionalism cooled. In fifteen years only four Polish Diets were held. To none of them was a Budget submitted. Censorship of the Press (newspapers, books, and periodicals) was established in 1819, in violation of the Charter, and arbitrary arrest of individuals was sanctioned. Catholic monasteries and schools were closed in large numbers. The situation offended both patriots and Liberals. The former were not satisfied to restrict Poland to the limits which the settlement of 1815 imposed, and desired reunion with Lithuania. The Liberals reproached the government for violating the Charter. The Masonic and patriotic societies resumed their activity, and in 1821 the "National Patriotic Society" was formed in the

interests of Polish reunion. A revolt of the *Decembrists* in December, 1825, was put down with great severity by the new Tsar, Nicolas I, whose severer *régime* was oppressive to all. One party, the *Whites*, proposed to negotiate in the hope to avoid civil war. The democratic *Reds*, admirers of the French Revolution, were resolved to fight for the recovery of Poland's liberties and boundaries. Till 1830 the Whites kept the Reds in check.

A military plot was hatched in 1828 in the Army College which the Viceroy, the Grand-Duke Constantine, had founded. Its object was to sever Poland from Russia and to unite with the Lithuanian provinces. The French Revolution of July, 1830, and the reappearance of the French Tricolour at the French Consulate in Warsaw, stimulated the plotters, and the Tsar's proposal to use Polish forces to restore the Bourbons signalled them to act. In November, 1830, they seized Warsaw, and risings took place throughout the kingdom. The Grand Duke Constantine, Viceroy since 1826, left the country, and in December, a veteran of the Napoleonic wars, Joseph Chlopicki, was set up as Dictator "in the king's name" and with the approval of the Whites. Chlopicki hoped to obtain Poland's terms without fighting. But his petition for the consideration of Polish grievances was in vain. He resigned, the Whites fell into the background, and the Reds took the field. In January, 1831, they deposed Nicolas, declared the Romanoffs for ever incapable of holding the Polish crown, and decreed the union of Lithuania and Poland. A few weeks later the Russian army appeared in overwhelming strength, and in May, 1831, beat the Poles decisively at Ostrolenka. In the following September the Russians entered Warsaw and soon were masters of the kingdom. The Charter of 1815 was suppressed. By an *ukase* Poland was declared henceforth "one nation with Russia," and the coronation of Nicolas as King of Poland was appointed to be held at Petrograd instead of Warsaw. The Russian language, money, and officials were imposed on the country and the Polish army was dissolved. After a second rebellion in 1863 Poland became an administrative part of the Russian Empire under the Governor-General of the "Ten Governments on the Vistula." In 1914 Russia herself stirred new hopes.

Italy

After the failure of the movements of 1820 Italy remained undisturbed by political plots, excepting a movement of the *Carbonari* in Naples in 1827. But the French Revolution of July and the successes of Liberalism in Western Europe encouraged Italy to resume the agitation which had been suppressed so easily ten years earlier. Neither Tuscany, whose *régime* was Liberal, Naples, Sardinia, nor Austrian Italy were affected by the insurrections of 1831, which expended their energy in localities that eluded the earlier effort. The object of the demonstrators of 1831 was ill defined. There was a vague idea of destroying Papal rule, and of establishing an Italian kingdom, perhaps under Jerome Bonaparte (Napoleon's only surviving brother) or a son of Eugene Beauharnais, Napoleon's Italian Viceroy. In February, 1831, insurrection spread through all the Papal States except the Patrimony. The Tricolour of Napoleon's Italian Kingdom was raised, and a provisional government was established at Bologna to secure "release from the temporal rule of the Pope and complete union under a central government." Francis IV of Modena was driven from his capital, and the ex-Empress Marie-Louise fled from Parma before a demonstration in which Louis Napoleon Bonaparte and his brother, the sons of her brother-in-law Louis Bonaparte, played an active part. Both in Parma and Modena provisional governments were set up. Louis Philippe was looked-to for help, but was not disposed to aid a movement in which Bonapartist princes were engaged. At the Pope's invitation an Austrian army entered his dominions; his authority was restored; Modena and Parma were recovered by their rulers; and the provisional governments were overthrown. The *Carbonari* had shot their last ineffectual bolt. Italian nationalism at length came into the light, and under Mazzini's inspiration worked openly for the deliverance of Italy from the Austrian yoke and for the compression of her political divisions.

Mazzini, the son of a Professor of Mathematics in the University of Genoa, joined the *Carbonara* when that body had lost its old vigour and appeal. He had little respect for its method of conspiracy, the vagueness of its aims, its control by secret chiefs, and its employment of instruments which

his rooted republicanism suspected. The ill-managed revolt of 1831, in which a sentence of exile forbade him from taking active part, convinced Mazzini that Italy's regeneration required a new organisation. In 1831, therefore, he launched *La Giovine Italia* (Young Italy). It was of the essence of the new society that it was both democratic and nationalist. Its appeal was to the youth of Italy's democracy, and its rules excluded from enrolment, except under special conditions, persons whose age exceeded forty years.

Foremost in Mazzini's dogmatic creed was his affirmation that Free Italy must be Republican, and that the potential agents of her salvation were neither kings, statesmen, nor mercenary armies. He was a son of Genoa, whose republican traditions survived its attachment to monarchical Sardinia in 1815. It seemed to him that social reform was improbable of attainment under a monarchical Constitution, and he regarded the experience of France as establishing his conviction. The traditions of the past also linked Italy and republicanism. Unity under any other Constitution seemed impossible. Sardinia and the Two Sicilies were the principal secular States. That either would efface its monarchy in the cause of unity was beyond Mazzini's belief. He also held unflinchingly, that the goal of Italian patriotism was the conversion of a Heptarchy into a single State, and that Austria must be removed first of all. The federalists held that unity was impossible, though desirable, and supposed that Italy's population differed too profoundly in race and temperament to make a single State possible. But Mazzini never wavered in his resolve that Italy should be free and should be one. He impressed the resolution on his countrymen, and founded a conviction on which Cavour built.

At Marseilles, among exiles who fled thither from the collapse of the movements of 1831 in Central Italy, Mazzini organized *La Giovine Italia*. Day and night for two years he conducted an ever-growing correspondence with all parts of Italy. He founded the journal "Young Italy," and wrote most of its articles himself so long as it made its infrequent and irregular appearance—its sixth number in 1834 was its last. Genoa and Leghorn were the earliest to establish lodges of the new Society, and Genoa was its headquarters in Italy. It spread rapidly in central and

northern Italy, and drew its members chiefly from the young men and students of the middle and professional classes, though the army, the Church, and the nobility were represented in its ranks. Garibaldi, at that time a young sailor recently promoted to the command of a merchantman, was one of its earliest members. In 1833 Young Italy's ramifications extended throughout the peninsula, and Mazzini estimated its membership at from 50,000 to 60,000.

Until 1848 the new organization did not strike an effective blow for Italy; the time was not opportune to challenge Austria. But neither then nor later did Mazzini pay attention to the diplomatic barometer. He was impatient for action. From Marseilles in 1831 he addressed an open letter to Charles Albert of Sardinia: "Place yourself at the head of the nation. Write on your flag 'Union, Liberty, Independence.' Free Italy from the barbarian [an echo of Pope Julius's appeal to an earlier age], build up the future, be the Napoleon of Italian freedom. Do this and we will gather round you, we will give our lives for you, we will bring the little States of Italy under your flag. Your safety lies on the sword's point; draw it and throw away the scabbard. But remember, if you do not do so, others will do it against you and without you." Charles Albert took no heed and Mazzini turned his back thenceforth on "official" agencies. He had threatened to set up a provisional directorate in Genoa if the king refused to act. In the spring of 1833 the government struck, and Young Italy received its baptism of blood. The conspirators were arrested; twelve of them actually were shot; others were sent to prison. News of the events at Genoa reached Mazzini at Marseilles. He betook himself to Geneva to be nearer the scene of future operations, and in 1834 launched another futile conspiracy to goad Sardinia into action. Its failure disheartened the patriots, and in 1837 Mazzini made his way to London in great poverty. From thence he guided Young Italy until the *Risorgimento* of 1848 called him from exile, and to London he returned after its failure. But at 1848, as was said of him, "his watch stopped." To all but Mazzini, who refused the evidence of facts, it was patent that Italian unity and independence could not be won by enthusiasm alone. Italy found her Bismarck, and Cavour, controlling the patriotism which Mazzini had inspired, consummated his work.

The Iberian Kingdoms.

The significance of the events of 1830–31 lies in the cleavage they made in the European Concert, unanimous fifteen years before. On one side the Eastern Powers remained faithful to the principles of the Holy Alliance. A meeting of the two Emperors and the Prussian Crown Prince at Münchengrätz produced the Treaty of Berlin (1833), whose secret clauses affirmed the principle of legitimacy to which the events of 1820 and 1830 had given so rude a shock, and asserted the right of the signatories to intervene at the call of any independent Sovereign who might require assistance against the assaults of Liberalism. In Western Europe the principles which the Eastern Powers proclaimed anew were permanently discarded. The British Reform Act of 1832, moderate compared with its successors in the following half-century, admitted the middle-class to political power, and broke the monopoly which the Whig aristocracy hitherto had enjoyed. In France the prevalent Liberalism which was the abiding result of the first Revolution asserted itself in 1830 and again more emphatically in 1848.

Portugal and Spain also divorced themselves from the Holy Alliance. Their union with Great Britain and France in the Quadruple Alliance of 1834 opposed a Liberal League of the West to the Absolutist League of the East. The abdication of Dom Pedro of Portugal in 1826 placed his daughter Maria da Gloria on the throne under the regency of her uncle, the Absolutist Dom Miguel. The latter, however, usurped the Crown in 1828 with the acclamation of the populace, who had no love for "the Brazilian," and of the reactionary interests which disliked the Constitutional Charter of 1826, Pedro's last gift to the kingdom he resigned, a document that established a constitutional monarchy like that of the restored Bourbons in France. Maria retired to England, and in 1829 returned to Brazil. But the French Revolution of July, 1830, and the advent of the Whigs to power in England changed the situation. Dom Pedro resigned the Brazilian Crown in 1831, and was free to aid his daughter. With British support he drove Dom Miguel out of the country, and compelled him to sign the Capitulation of Evora-Monte (1834). Dom Pedro

died a few months later, and his daughter sat firmly on the throne of a Liberal monarchy.

On the death of Ferdinand VII in 1833, Spain was in a predicament like Portugal's, and, as in Portugal, her absolutist system came to an end in a war of succession. Ferdinand's fourth wife, Cristina of Naples, gave him two daughters, Isabella and Maria Louisa. In Isabella's interests he revoked the Spanish Salic Law of 1713 and promulgated a Pragmatic Sanction of 1789 which restored female succession to the throne. But for the revocation of the Salic Law of 1713 the Crown would have passed to the king's brother, Don Carlos, whose claims were supported by the Absolutist or "Apostolical" party, while Isabella was identified with Liberalism through her mother's gift of a Louis XVIII Constitution under the Royal Statute of 1834. The first bout between the *Cristinos* and *Carlists* ended in 1840, when Don Carlos retired across the frontier. In 1845 he abdicated in favour of his son. Cristina, who favoured the Moderate Liberals, laid down the regency in 1840, and the *progressista* General Espartero took her place. But Isabella's attainment of her majority in 1843 restored the Queen-Mother's influence, and the Progressist Constitution of 1837 was replaced by a new one in 1845, founded on the Royal Statute of 1834. The queen's marriage and that of her sister in 1846 destroyed the Anglo-French *entente* founded on the Quadruple Alliance of 1834. Louis Philippe, whom Great Britain's prejudices deprived of the Belgian Crown for his son in 1830, engaged in a scheme which promised to secure that of Spain for another son, the Duc de Montpensier. Aware that Great Britain would not tolerate his marriage with the queen, Louis Philippe secured for him the hand of her sister, after giving a pledge, which he broke, to delay the marriage until the queen had given birth to an heir. French influence arranged a marriage between Isabella and her cousin Francisco of Asiz, who was selected because the union promised to be barren. In Great Britain the "Spanish Marriages" caused lively indignation and alienated sympathy from Louis Philippe at a critical moment in his reign.

Thus on the eve of the revolutionary period of 1848, Western Europe—Great Britain, France, Belgium, Portugal, and Spain—had cast itself adrift from the system in which Metternich, had his influence prevailed, would have locked the whole

Continent. In Central Europe, the territories of the Germanic Confederation, in Eastern Europe under Tsar Nicolas, throughout the continental and peninsular dominions of Austria, and in the smaller Italian States, the lessons of the Revolution of 1789 were still repelled. Their victory was imminent and France once more sounded the assault.

CHAPTER VIII

THE ORLEANS MONARCHY

Louis Philippe's election as King of the French was the climax to a career of some adventure. Fifty-seven years of age in 1830, he was old enough to remember the Revolution in which his father had played a tragic part. He himself was a member of the Jacobin Club, and while quartered at Vendôme acted as President of the "Friends of the Constitution" there. He served with distinction in the armies of the Republic until the treasonable communications (1793) of Dumouriez with the Austrians, in which he was implicated, made the Convention (against whom they were directed) his enemy and terminated his military career. His father ended his life of intrigue on the scaffold in the same year. No longer on terms with Égalité's friends, hated by the *émigrés* whom his father had wronged, Louis Philippe betook himself to Switzerland in circumstances so reduced that he taught mathematics and geography at Reichenau, where he resided. His confiscated property in France having been restored partially by the Directory, he travelled in Europe and the United States of America, and eventually settled at Twickenham, near London, on a subsidy granted by the British government. His protest against Bonaparte's execution of the Duc d'Enghien (1804) reconciled him to his Bourbon kinsmen. Louis XVIII received him at Mittau, gave him recognition as a Prince of France, and permitted him to share the Tsar's bounty. In 1809 he married the daughter of the Bourbon Ferdinand of Naples. Later, on the invitation of the *Junta* at Seville, he visited Spain, perhaps with an eye upon its vacant throne. But the representations of Great Britain compelled him to leave the country, and after the Bourbon restoration of 1814 he returned to France. He

refused to follow Louis XVIII to Ghent during the Hundred Days, retired to England, and held himself aloof from the exiled king. His substitution for Louis on the French throne was mooted, and on his return to France a speech delivered by him in the Chamber of Peers formed a pretext for sending him into exile for two years. On his return his residence in Paris, the Palais Royal, became the headquarters of Liberalism. Quietly and without apparent effort he attracted the *bourgeois* element on which the July Monarchy rested. "He doesn't *seem* to move," Louis remarked, "and yet he gets over the ground." He greeted his fellow citizens on his walks, conversed with them, and on occasion drank wine with them. The umbrella which he carried was accepted as the badge of a simple, unaffected character. His sons were sent to the middle class *Collège Henri IV*. Even after he became king, the uniform of an officer of the *bourgeois* National Guard secured admission to the Palace. Queen Marie Amélie plied her needle like an industrious and homely housewife during her receptions.

But a simple and unaffected bearing concealed a carefully considered pose. Louis Philippe set as high a store as his predecessors upon the prerogative of the Sovereign, and had a clear vision of the policy he meant to pursue. Heine, with a sneer, pictured Louis Philippe "casting ecstatic glances at the Tricolour," when the *Marseillaise* was played, "as if he had found a long-lost mistress." In fact he followed his own course. "They shan't stop me driving my own carriage" was a remark of his. But his position was difficult. To his partisans of the Hôtel de Ville, whose approval placed him on the throne, the July Monarchy was recommended as "the best kind of Republic." It proved to be nothing of the kind. Its domestic history is the record of an attempt to cheat Lafayette and his following of the anticipated results of the July Revolution. In its foreign policy they were equally disappointed. They built the barricades of 1830 in the ardour of 1792, and viewed their victory as a message of encouragement to oppressed nationalities elsewhere. The subsequent risings in Belgium, Poland, and Italy cried out for the brotherly assistance which the Republic gave so lavishly and effectively forty years before. But a policy of intervention threatened to make France the enemy of

Europe and expose her anew to coercion. Louis Philippe therefore refused to lead a crusade in the cause of Liberty, Equality, and Fraternity. He yielded to Great Britain in Belgium, to Russia in Poland, and to Austria in Italy. Both in foreign and in domestic affairs his rule was unadventurous and dull.

The Monarchy of July, so-called from the circumstances which gave the Crown to Louis Philippe, lasted a little less than eighteen years. It was overthrown by the Revolution of February, 1848, which established the Second Republic. Its history falls into two chapters. The first, characterized by French historians as *la période héroique*, extended from July, 1830, to October, 1840, a disturbed period in which Radicalism vainly spent its force upon the government. The second, from October, 1840, to February, 1848, was a period of personal rule and calm, broken at last by the outbreak of forces which the July Monarchy had failed to conciliate.

Upon his accession Louis Philippe faced four political parties, two of which opposed, and two in varying degree supported his government. The former consisted of the Legitimists, or *Carlists*, as the adherents of the fallen Charles X were styled, and the *Republicans*. The supporters of the July Monarchy were represented by an advanced and a Conservative wing, the former known as the "forward party" (*parti du mouvement*), the latter as the "cautious party" (*parti de la résistance*). The Legitimists or Carlists were the *Ultras* of the last two reigns, the *parti du salon et de sacristie*, whose policy was directed from the drawing-rooms of the aristocracy and the vestries of the Church. Possessing social influence and wealth, the freedom of the Press conferred by the revised Charter enabled them to assail the government and to sneer at the new *roi des barricades*. A riot in Paris in 1831 and an attempt to rouse Vendée for the Comte de Chambord in the following year were the only activities of their party, an insignificant minority of the nation. The Republicans, on the other hand, were strong in numbers and organized. Secret societies devoted to their programme were numerous, the *Société des droits de l'homme*, framed on the model of the *Charbonnerie*, being the most active and influential one. Like the Carlists, but on different grounds, the Republicans regarded the July Monarchy as illegally constituted. Louis Philippe, they held, was elected by a Chamber

which the Ordinance of July 26 had annulled. The 219 Deputies who took part in it had received no mandate from the electors to choose a new Sovereign. Consequently, far from being the popularly chosen king of the 94,000 persons who formed the *pays légal*, Louis Philippe, they held, was merely the nominee of 219 irresponsible individuals assembled fortuitously at the Palais Bourbon. The Republicans organized insurrections in Paris and Lyons in 1832 and 1834. For the Charter of 1830 went but a little way towards meeting their demand for an elective and popular Chamber of Peers, and the Electoral Law of 1831 was wholly unsatisfactory to a party which ultimately raised the cry of universal suffrage. Of the two bodies which supported the government, the more conservative "Resisters," who included Guizot, Thiers, de Broglie, and Casimir Périer, in effect were the Constitutional Royalists, or Doctrinaires, of the Restoration. Attachment to Monarchy and the revised Charter distinguished them. Their foreign policy was governed by the conviction that the interests of France required the avoidance of risks. More strenuous was the *parti du mouvement*, whose leaders were the veteran Lafayette, and the banker and confidante of Louis Philippe, Jacques Laffitte. They regarded the Charter as the shell of a potentially Liberal edifice, and desired to free the democracy from the restrictions by which Bourbonism cautiously had hobbled it. They were with the Republicans in favouring an extension of the franchise. They viewed with fraternal interest the national movements in Belgium, Poland, and Italy, and eventually lost the king's confidence by attempting to force upon him a policy of intervention.

Louis Philippe hastened to assure the Powers that the July Monarchy was not a menace to France's neighbours. Metternich, who received the news of the Revolution with the remark, "the end of the world is approaching," proposed to renew the Chaumont agreement in restraint of France, and at Carlsbad (1830) signed a project of alliance with Russia and Prussia. The Tsar regarded Louis Philippe with little goodwill, refused to address him as "my brother," and withheld recognition of his government until the beginning of 1831. But with Wellington's Tory Ministry the French Ambassador, Talleyrand, established friendly relations. Great

Britain was favourably inclined to the July Monarchy. Its Constitution approximated to her own, and she viewed without regret the fall of a *régime* which had threatened British influence in Spain and disturbed the situation in the Mediterranean by its Algerian adventure. By sacrificing the principles on which the *parti du mouvement* set store, Louis Philippe reconciled Europe to the Revolution which gave him the throne.

Louis Philippe's first Ministry was a composite one drawn from the two government parties. It included Casimir Périer, Guizot, de Broglie, and Laffitte. Lafayette received the command of the National Guards throughout the kingdom. Another of the Tricolour party, Odilon Barrot, controlled the capital as Prefect of the Seine. A question of importance, the treatment of Polignac and his colleagues, broke up the Ministry four months (November, 1830) after its formation. Less fortunate than their master, Polignac and three others who signed the Ordinances of July were arrested and imprisoned at Vincennes. Louis Philippe was averse from a vindictive sentence. A motion abolishing the death penalty for political offences was considered in the Chamber of Deputies in October, 1830, following a resolution to put Polignac and the others on their trial. By an almost unanimous vote the Chamber passed an Address to the king commending the proposal as "a salutary reform." But the prospect of Polignac's escape infuriated his enemies in the capital, and the Chamber's vote of pensions to those whose relatives fell at the barricades in July failed to pacify the demonstrators. An attempt to lynch the prisoners at Vincennes was frustrated, and the "Tricolour" Prefect of the Seine publicly condoned the action of the mob. The "Resisters" left the Cabinet, and Laffitte reconstructed it (November, 1830) from the *parti du mouvement*. The disorders in the capital continued, and in the midst of them Polignac and his fellow-prisoners were impeached before the Chamber of Peers. A sentence of perpetual imprisonment was passed on all, and Polignac was also deprived of civil rights. The sentence did not run its course; for on the death of Charles X in 1836 the prisoners were released, and Polignac was banished from the country for an unfulfilled period of twenty years. He died at Paris in 1847.

That the trial of the Ministers would provoke disorder

in Paris was anticipated, and the National Guards and garrison were placed under arms (December 22). But the mob shrank from an encounter, and the collapse of the demonstration emboldened the Chamber to get rid of Lafayette. In the late crisis he had exercised a sort of dictatorship, inveighing against the Deputies and their moderate counsels, demanding an elected Peerage, advocating the Chamber's dissolution and the election of another on a broader suffrage. The party of caution, which formed the majority of the Chamber of Deputies, regarded him as a " popular Polignac," and within a few days of the sentence on the latter a Bill was introduced which cancelled his command of the National Guards by confining the authority of commandants within a single commune. The king publicly thanked Lafayette for " the example of courage, patriotism, and respect for the law " shown by him in the recent crisis, and offered him the local command of the Paris National Guards. But Louis Philippe shared the Chamber's satisfaction at the veteran's refusal, and his retirement released the July Monarchy from its dependence on the Paris mob and their idol.

The disorders which attended the Polignac trial, and the cleavage between the two sections of the government's supporters, encouraged the Carlists. On February 14, 1831, the anniversary of the Duc de Berry's assassination, they held a memorial service in the church of Saint-Germain l'Auxerrois, when opportunity was taken to make a collection for members of the Royal Guard who had been wounded during the Days of July. A picture of the Comte de Chambord crowned with *immortelles* was displayed as " Our King Henry V." The proceedings attracted a hostile crowd, which raised the old anti-clerical cry. The church was raided and the adjoining presbytery was pillaged. On the following day the Archbishop's palace was similarly treated—it was remembered against him that he had advised Charles X earlier in the year to make a military *coup d'état*. The Prefect of the Seine took no measures to preserve public order, and was dismissed. A few weeks later (March, 1831), on Louis Philippe's refusal to aid the Italian insurgents against Austrian intervention, Laffitte resigned. For the rest of the reign the party of caution was in power.

Though Laffitte's Ministry lasted little more than four

months, it passed (1831) three important measures: (1) a Municipal Law, (2) a Law organizing the National Guards, (3) an Electoral Law. The Municipal Law adopted the proposals of Martignac's abandoned measure of 1829. It substituted election for the Napoleonic system of nomination in the Municipal Councils, the electors being the better-to-do citizens, members of the learned professions, and officials. The Councillors took office for a period of six years, and from their number the Mayor was selected by the central government. The National Guards were organized as a political force "for the defence of constitutional monarchy, the Charter, and the rights guaranteed by it." All tax-paying Frenchmen were eligible for enrolment in it, provided they could furnish the prescribed uniform. The force was divided into legions, which selected their own officers and, in the case of the superior ranks, presented names for the king's approval. The Paris contingent furnished the royal guard in place of the Swiss regiments. But the force was a *bourgeois* rather than a national body. The obligation to provide its uniform put membership beyond the means of the poor, and it was recruited almost entirely from among those of independent means: tradesmen, business men, and officials. It was typical of the July Monarchy, and was its main support.

The Electoral Law, which passed the Peers after Laffitte's fall, abolished the "double vote," and removed the disability under which Liberalism had rested since 1820. The qualifications established by the Electoral Law of 1817 for eligibility as a Parliamentary Deputy and voter were reduced from 1000 to 500 *francs* direct contribution in taxes in the case of the former, and from 300 to 200 *francs* in the case of the latter. The principle recently adopted in municipal elections was again applied; public officials and members of the learned professions received the franchise even though their means were below the 200 *francs* limit. In opposition to the government, however, instead of waiving the financial qualification altogether for that class of electors, the Chamber restricted the franchise to those who contributed not less than 100 *francs* in direct taxation. The philosopher Victor Cousin replied to one who solicited his vote: "Sir, I am a Professor in the Faculty of Letters, a member of the Academy of Moral and Political Sciences, a member of the

French Academy, a member of the Council of Education. I have been a Cabinet Minister and may be a Minister again. But I have no Parliamentary vote." The effect of the reforms was to double the *pays légal*, and yet to limit the electorate to a total of 188,000 persons out of a population of 30,000,000. The important class of peasant proprietors was excluded altogether, and if not hostile to, was indifferent to the Orleans monarchy. The July Monarchy in fact was supported mainly by the middle-class plutocracy. Hence its fall.

Upon Laffitte's resignation in March, 1831, Louis Philippe threw over the party of action to which he belonged. Laffitte's place was taken by a wealthy banker, Casimir Périer, one of the Deputies for Paris after the Restoration, whose Conservatism had shown itself in his refusal to join the 221 Deputies in their Address to Charles X. A man of dominating character, he demonstrated to France and her neighbours that the Orleans Monarchy was a stable institution and not the outcome of a sudden mood. His administration, which lasted from March, 1831, to May, 1832, has been described as "a Dictatorship of Liberal tendency." Dictatorial it was. The Ministry met at his house and not, as heretofore, at the Palace. He allowed no communications between his colleagues and the king that had not been approved by himself. To Soult, his Minister of War, he wrote on a particular matter: "It must be stopped. If it isn't, you will have cause to be sorry." With a curt "Come here, d'Argoult!" he extinguished the inconvenient speech of another colleague on his feet to address the Chamber. Even Louis Philippe submitted to him the announcements for the official *Moniteur*. He confronted the enemies of the established *régime* with resolution. Mob intimidation he refused to tolerate, and forbade the armed meetings which Laffitte had treated so tolerantly. Active Republicans were hunted out for trial, their journals were fined, their societies were suppressed. Industrial riots, mainly due to the introduction of machinery, were dealt with firmly. Two months after taking office he challenged the verdict of the country on behalf of the Constitution which the Republicans and Carlists assailed, and the passing of Laffitte's Electoral Law by the Peers (April, 1831) widened the electorate to which the appeal was made. In May, 1831, Parliament was dissolved. The Chamber of Deputies had

been elected in June—July, 1830, before the Revolution, though about one hundred seats vacated by resignation on the fall of the old *régime* were filled by election in October, 1830. Hence the constituencies had their first opportunity to approve or condemn the July Revolution. Their verdict was strongly in its favour.

With a secure majority behind him Casimir Périer dislodged the Legitimists from their stronghold, the Chamber of Peers. After creating 36 Peers to assure the passing of the measure, he obtained a Law (September, 1831) which suppressed the hereditary peerage and prescribed categories of high functionaries and wealthy men (5000 *francs* tax-payers) from whose number the king could nominate members of the upper Chamber. He procured a decree of perpetual banishment against the eldest branch of the Bourbons. The Carlists made futile demonstrations in reply. In January, 1832, some one obtained access to the belfry of Nôtre Dame and sounded the *tocsin* in the vain hope of rousing Paris against the usurper. A month later an enthusiastic bootmaker planned to carry off the royal family from the Tuileries while a Ball was in progress. The plot was divulged, and the conspirators were arrested at a restaurant in the Rue des Prouvaires where they were dining before raiding the palace. A few weeks later Casimir Périer's strenuous administration came to an end. Asiatic cholera made its first appearance in Europe in 1831 ; in Paris alone it claimed nearly 20,000 victims. Périer caught the infection during a visit to the hospitals with the king's eldest son, the Duc d'Orleans. With a premonition of death he had warned his friends when he took office that he would not survive the responsibility. In May, 1832, he died in harness. He had vindicated the vitality of the Orleans Monarchy, made royalty national and no longer impotent, and had brought the Constitution into touch with the middle-class Liberalism of the Doctrinaires of 1815. Abroad he had given France peace by holding her aloof from Revolutions of which she herself had fired the train. His co-operation with Great Britain secured Belgium's neutrality and independence. His intervention in August, 1831, compelled the Dutch army to evacuate her territory, and in spite of popular sympathy with Poland he refused to be drawn into war with Russia on her account.

Casimir Périer had recommended Guizot as his successor. But the king, unwilling to remain in the background or to submit to the dictation of the Doctrinaires, appointed no one to the vacant Presidentship of the Council. The experiment of a personal Ministry was abandoned five months later, after futile Legitimist and Republican plots had proved how little Louis Philippe need fear the enemies of his middle-class rule. Charles X still lived at Holyrood, but his Italian daughter-in-law, the Duchesse de Berry, who had settled at the seaport Massa in the Duchy of Modena, launched herself suddenly (April, 1832) upon France with a handful of followers and a new Charter for the anticipated Bourbon Restoration. Marseilles and Provence received her coldly. Undaunted she traversed France in disguise by unfrequented roads to Vendée. Few rose at her call. Her partisans were disarmed. She herself escaped to Nancy, where some months later her hiding-place was revealed by a converted Jew. She was imprisoned in the citadel of Blaye, gave birth to a daughter there, and confessed her secret marriage to a Sicilian, the Chamberlain of her brother Ferdinand II of Naples. The event killed her reputation and her cause. She was released soon after and retired to Palermo. Her party fell back on the Press to promote its ends.

At the moment when Legitimism was proving its weakness in Vendée, Republicanism made an equally abortive effort in Paris. The advent to power of the party of caution stimulated the *Société des droits de l'homme* to action. On June 5, 1832, the funeral of General Lamarque, a prominent Republican and a victim of the cholera, was made the occasion of a demonstration. Several thousand persons followed the bier to the Austerlitz Bridge, whence it was to proceed to the last rites in the country. Speeches were addressed to excited crowds. The cry *aux armes !* was raised, and Lafayette with difficulty prevented his admirers from drawing his carriage to the Hôtel de Ville. The demonstrators had hopes of restoring the Republic of 1793. Barricades were raised in the working-class quarters of the city about the Bastille and Temple. The National Guards were called out, and by the morning of the 6th the insurgents were penned into a Close off the Rue Saint-Merry near the Hôtel de Ville. In the afternoon the survivors surrendered. The king hurried from Saint-Cloud

and made a progress on horseback through the city. "My five sons are my best armour," he is said to have remarked to those who pointed out his danger. But in fact the populace showed itself inactive and indifferent to the *émeute*. The government behaved with leniency. Many persons were arrested, only six were condemned, and no death penalty was inflicted. In July, 1832, the death at Vienna of Napoleon's son, the Duc de Reichstadt, a victim of consumption, seemed to remove the Bonapartists also from the path of the Orleans Monarchy.

In August, 1832, the government attacked the followers of Saint-Simon, the founder of a school of Communism and Socialism which alarmed the middle class by its schemes of social reform. The accumulation of crises added to the insistence with which the king's personal rule was challenged by the party of caution. The latter was dominated by two personalities: Guizot, one of the principal Doctrinaires of the Restoration, active in the Address to Charles X, was ten years older than Thiers, a journalist, author of a notable *History of the Revolution*, and a prominent agent in bringing Louis Philippe to the throne in 1830. Thiers had no liking for the personal government of the king. "The King reigns but does not govern" is an aphorism attributed to him. He advocated the propriety of choosing Ministers from the party dominant in the Chamber. Guizot, on the other hand, was not willing to eliminate the king from the machinery of the administration. "The throne is not an empty chair," he replied to Thiers. Thus the Centre majority, or party of caution, in the Chamber developed into the Right Centre (the more numerous section) under Guizot, *ma bouche* as Louis Philippe called him later, and the Left Centre under Thiers, the king's *cher Adolphe*. The party of action represented the Dynastic Left, and the opposition of Legitimists formed the Right. For the moment the division of the majority was not serious, and in October, 1832, the king admitted both leaders to the "Ministry of October 11," the "Great Ministry," in which Soult was President of the Council, de Broglie took the Foreign, Guizot the Education, and Thiers the Home Office. With some changes the Ministry lasted until February, 1836.

For eighteen months the new government was not disturbed

by the enemies of the July *régime*. In its foreign policy it continued the traditions of Casimir Périer. It co-operated with Great Britain in December, 1832, forced Holland to release Antwerp, and joined in the Quadruple Alliance of 1834 with Great Britain, Spain, and Portugal. In its domestic policy the Ministry devoted itself to constructive and ameliorative measures, though the disturbances of 1834 diverted it to a renewal of coercion. The elective principle already applied to municipalities in 1831 was extended to *départements* and *arrondissements*. French local government, created by the Republic in the year VIII, had not been disturbed by the Bourbons. Each Department was administered by a Prefect and a General Council; each *arrondissement* by a Sub-Prefect and a Council. Under the Empire and the restored Bourbons the Councils were nominated bodies. The Charter of 1830 promised to apply the elective principle to Municipal and Departmental government, and the Laws of 1831 and 1833 redeemed the promise. Henceforth (1833) the Councils in the Departments and *arrondissements* were elected by the principal ratepayers, of whom those only were eligible for office who were assessed at and above 200 and 150 *francs* respectively. Other measures were passed for the development of the country's agricultural resources by constructing roads, canals, and railways. Savings Banks were established for the encouragement of thrift and economy. But the most important constructive work of the "Great Ministry" was the *loi Guizot*, which organized elementary education throughout the kingdom.

Under the Restoration little had been done to remedy Napoleon's neglect of elementary education. Louis XVIII established a small Education Committee in each *canton* (district) of each *arrondissement*. Normal schools were set up, and inducements were held out to teachers. But the latter for the most part were untrained, and too frequently were employed because they were too old or unskilled for other duties. In 1833 between 7000 and 8000 *communes* (parishes) were without a school, and in a single *arrondissement* were found four mayors who could not sign their names. There were no suitable buildings for school purposes. Guizot's Law of 1833 compelled every parish, alone or in association with its neighbours, to support an elementary school. Parishes

whose population exceeded 60,000, and the chief towns of Departments, were required to establish advanced elementary schools. Normal schools were founded for the training of teachers, who before becoming schoolmasters were obliged to produce certificates of character and ability. A later (1835) Ordinance appointed inspectors of elementary schools. The Law of 1833 made education neither compulsory nor free, but in 1848 over 60,000 schools were in existence, with an aggregate of 3,500,000 pupils, and the teachers were assured of a house, a school-building, and an income. Guizot's law had ulterior objects. He designed it to arrest the " dangers to which the revolutionary classes, and, in consequence of class demands, the whole of society, were exposed."

While the Thiers-Guizot Ministry was counteracting political agitation among the uneducated population, the *Société des droits de l'homme* continued its Socialistic activities. In order to evade the law forbidding the association of more than twenty persons, it broke up into sections of twenty members. The Ministry decided to " muzzle the tiger of anarchy." In March (1834) the Chambers enacted that every society, whether divided into sections or not, should submit its rules to the government for approval. To join an unauthorized association was declared a criminal offence, deprived the offender of a jury trial, and carried heavy penalties. The law produced a farther batch of disorders. A strike of weavers at Lyons (April, 1834) led to a conflict with the soldiery which lasted for five days. In Paris barricades were raised on the news of the outbreak in Lyons. Thiers acted with great decision, arrested a large number of the leaders of the *Société des droits de l'homme*, and marched at the head of the troops against the rioters in the Saint-Merry district. Order was restored, but a house in the Rue Transnonain, whence shots were fired upon the soldiers, was raided by them and its inmates were " massacred." Two thousand persons were arrested, and 164 were put on their trial in a " monster prosecution " before the Chamber of Peers sitting as a High Court of Justice to try offences against the safety of the State. About 4000 witnesses were examined. Not until January, 1836, were the last sentences of imprisonment and deportation pronounced. The marriage of the Duc d'Orleans afforded the opportunity for a general amnesty.

But for the republican cause the event was disastrous. "The Republican party," it was said, "is with Carrel [a Republican journalist who had been killed in a duel] in its coffin." Three years later (1839) it made another unsuccessful demonstration. In 1848 it triumphed.

While the Republican trials were proceeding, one of the many attempts upon the life of Louis Philippe took place, with important consequences. On July 28, 1835, the anniversary of the July Revolution, as the king arrived on the Boulevard du Temple to review the National Guards, shots were fired from a rudely contrived *mitrailleuse* at an upper window. The miscreant was a Corsican named Fieschi, a convicted thief and forger, whose chief object was to secure notoriety for himself. The king escaped, but his horse was wounded and many of his escort were killed. Fieschi himself was hurt by his "infernal machine," and he and two accomplices were executed. The indignation caused by the crime encouraged the Ministry to propose the "Laws of September" (1835), which completed the discomfiture of the Tricolour party. The Laws were three in number. The first permitted the Minister of Justice to institute Courts of Assize for the trial of offences against the State. The second allowed a verdict to be recorded by a bare majority (seven) instead of two-thirds (eight) of the jury of twelve, and abolished the open voting by jurymen which the Code of 1808 established. More important was the third law relating to the Press.

Since 1830 the Press had received unwonted liberty; it was liable to neither censorship nor *autorisation préalable*. Republican and Legitimist journals alike had used their freedom to attack the government with acrimony, and prosecutions had been frequent. In Paris since 1830 over 500 actions at law had been instituted, and more than £16,000 in fines had been imposed. The chief and most violent Republican journal, the *Tribune*, was prosecuted no less than 111 times in the period. Sentences amounting to nearly fifty years' imprisonment were passed upon its editors, and it was fined about £6000. Fieschi's attempt was regarded, as the assassination of the Duc de Berry twenty-five years earlier had been, as the consequence of administrative leniency. The September Press Law therefore reintroduced the censorship and *autorisation préalable* and applied it to drawings,

engravings, and caricatures, which had become dangerous weapons of political warfare. The *Caricature* and the *Charivari* were the chief offenders, and the former's famous sketch *Les poires* was sold to defray a heavy fine which its contemporary incurred. It showed the head of Louis Philippe ingeniously converted by three transformations into a pear, to hint that it was as reasonable to punish the drawing of a pear as the likeness of the king. In regard to newspapers the Law increased the amount of caution-money which they were required to deposit, and created new offences. It was forbidden to express Republican or Legitimist aspirations and sympathies; to ridicule the king's person, government, or authority; to bring into discussion theories regarding the basis of sovereignty, the rights of property, and the family as an institution. As being the poorer, the law particularly affected the Republican journals, the chief of which, the *Tribune* and the *Réformateur*, were ruined and disappeared.

The long trial before the Chamber of Peers, and the Press Law of 1835, completed the suppression of the Tricolour party. It was the last achievement of the "Great Ministry." In February, 1836, de Broglie, President of the Council, was defeated unexpectedly in the Chamber, and with Guizot retired from the Cabinet. Thiers succeeded him, and upon the king's refusal to intervene against the Carlists in Spain, tendered his resignation also (August, 1836). The "Ministry of October 11" was at an end, and Louis Philippe turned again to his frustrated project of personal government.

The fall of Thiers threw Louis Philippe back upon Guizot. But he did not desire to identify his policy with that of the Doctrinaires, who were prone to forget that the king had saved them from a Republic and to minimize the wisdom of his cautious control. Guizot therefore came into the Ministry on the king's terms, and in a comparatively subordinate position. The Presidentship and the Foreign Office, in which the king was resolved to have his way, he conferred on the Comte de Molé, an able opportunist, the favourite and Minister of Napoleon. He had been in office with Richelieu and at the Foreign Office in Laffitte's Ministry. In domestic affairs his policy was conciliatory. Charles X's death in October, 1836, allowed him to release Polignac and his fellow-prisoners. The republican demonstrators of 1834 were

amnestied upon the occasion of the Duc d'Orleans' marriage. The Legitimists were gratified by the reopening of the Church of Saint-Germain l'Auxerrois, which had been closed since the riot in 1831. Abroad the "Little Ministry," its enemies called it, did well. France decisively settled herself in Algeria. Belgium was aided to consolidate her independence (April, 1839). In Italy, the garrison which Casimir Périer placed in Ancona in 1832, in protest against the Austrian occupation of the Legations, was withdrawn when the Austrians retired, emphasizing the fact that French policy could not tolerate foreign intervention in the peninsula. In Greece the new Bavarian dynasty received useful support.

The government barely had taken office before it was assailed from an unexpected quarter. Louis Napoleon, the only surviving son of the Emperor's brother, Louis Bonaparte, suddenly advertised his existence. His elder brother died in 1831, after the Italian rising in which both took part. Avowing republican sympathies, Louis Napoleon, while residing in Switzerland, had kept in touch with the partisans of the Empire and Republic. His mother (the ex-Empress Josephine's daughter) inspired him with a profound belief in his destiny, and he put it now to a preliminary test. Colonel Vaudrey, who commanded a regiment of artillery at Strassburg, was in his confidence. Early on the morning of October 30, 1836, Louis Napoleon presented himself at its barracks. He was received with acclamation and, accompanied by his new partisans, visited a neighbouring infantry regiment. The latter also was on the point of mutiny, but their lieutenant-colonel rallied the men, forced the prince and his followers from the barracks, and made them prisoners. Unwilling to give the Imperialists a wider advertisement, Louis Philippe did not bring his rival to trial, caused him to be escorted *incognito* through France, and shipped him off to America. The prince's accomplices were sent before a Rhenish jury. But as the principal culprit had been helped to escape justice, the jury refused to convict the prisoners—its foreman actually attended a banquet given to them in honour of their release. The circumstances induced the government to introduce a law providing that civilian and military prisoners implicated in a common enterprise should be sent before a Court of Assize and a Court Martial respectively.

But, on the ground that discrimination was untenable, the measure was lost.

Molé's failure to carry the Chamber with him in the proposed *loi de disjonction* was followed by another reverse. As accorded with his position as a constitutional sovereign, Louis Philippe appealed to the Chamber early in 1837 to make provision for his eldest three children, the Duc d'Orleans, whose marriage was imminent, the Queen of the Belgians, and the Duc de Nemours. The Chamber declined the king's request, and Guizot, who resented the subordinate position in which he was placed, resigned, and his friends with him. Molé reconstructed the Cabinet (April, 1837) and succeeded in obtaining settlements for the Duc d'Orleans and his sister. Nemours was again denied the establishment which his father asked for him. In October, 1837, Molé received the king's permission to dissolve, in the hope that a general election would strengthen his position. But in spite of the influence which the government controlled, the Opposition returned to Parliament in numbers almost equal to its own.

Molé's position brought into sharp antagonism two conflicting theories of the Constitution—that of the party which had made Louis Philippe king, and that of Louis Philippe himself. After the Duc d'Orleans' marriage (1837), as if to label the *ancien régime* an historical memory, the king inaugurated the Palace of Versailles, whence France had been ruled from 1682 to 1789, as a Museum of national antiquities. Yet he desired to make his rule as personal as that of Louis XIV. Opposed to him were the Right Centre, Left Centre, and Dynastic Left of the Chamber, under Guizot, Thiers, and Odilon Barrot, who formed a stubborn coalition on the principle that the nation's was the preponderant voice in the Constitution, and that the last word in public policy was with its mouthpiece, the Chamber. From December 26, 1838, to January 19, 1839, a fierce debate engaged the Deputies upon a carefully worded motion drafted by the Coalition : " We are convinced, Sire, that a mutual association of powers, exercised within their constitutional limits, alone can give the country peace and your government stability. A strong, able, administration, generous in its aims, compelling our neighbours to respect the throne, and giving the support of its own responsibility to the nation, is the surest guarantee of that association which

we desire to offer." The motion challenged the principle on which the king desired to conduct his government. It created intense excitement and was debated for a fortnight. One hundred and twenty-eight speeches were made upon it, and Guizot and Thiers between them spoke twenty-five times. Molé's *ministère de la cour*, as the Coalition called it, defended itself with great spirit against the Opposition's effort to adjust the Constitution to English forms, and by a majority of thirteen votes saved itself from defeat. But the victory was a Pyrrhic one. The king refused to accept Molé's resignation, and in March, 1839, he made another appeal to the constituencies. The Coalition fought under the cry, " Parliamentary and not Personal government," gained forty-five seats, and placed the Ministry in a minority of nearly eighty in the Chamber ; " a terrible blow to the throne," Béranger called it. Molé resigned before the new Chamber assembled.

The defeat of Molé left the king no alternative to the Coalition for a Ministry. But having carried the campaign against the king to a successful issue, Guizot, Thiers, and their friends were too little united on matters of general policy to coalesce. Soult, to whom the king entrusted the task, failed to construct a Cabinet. A renewal of republican activity in Paris, however, brought the ministerial interregnum to an end. Since the *émeute* of 1834 a Socialist Creole named Barbès, and one Blanqui who had taken part in the July Revolution, organized a working-class Communist association called the *Société des Saisons*, whose aim was a revolution for the establishment of social reform. When the new Parliament assembled as a leaderless body in April, 1839, there was a good deal of disorder, which encouraged Barbès and his associates a month later to attempt a demonstration. The members of the " Seasons " took arms from a gunsmith's shop, marched on the Hôtel de Ville, and held it while Barbès read a manifesto to the crowd. Attempts to seize the Prefecture of Police and the Law Courts failed, and the hastily raised barricades were easily carried by the troops. Blanqui escaped. Barbès, covered with wounds, was reprieved by the king. The effect of the disturbance was to enable Soult, a soldier, to form a Ministry (May 13). Guizot was sent to England as Ambassador, in view of the critical situation between Mehemet Ali and Turkey in the East. In February, 1840, a third attempt

to secure an establishment for the Duc de Nemours was defeated, and Soult resigned.

Thiers being leader of the majority which refused the duke's *dotation*, Louis Philippe, conforming to constitutional practice, entrusted him with the formation of a Ministry. But the king had no intention to resign his control of foreign policy. The situation created by the Convention of London in July, 1840, has been dealt with in an earlier chapter. Thiers fully shared the bellicose spirit of his countrymen and their hope that a European conflict would enable France to wipe off scores against Prussia and win back the Rhenish frontier. Without waiting for the approval of the Chambers, Thiers opened a credit for the construction of a fortified *enceinte* round Paris. He demanded equipment also for an additional 500,000 men in the army. With intent to stimulate the country's spirit he brought home the remains of Napoleon from St. Helena for interment in the Invalides. Louis Napoleon Bonaparte seized the opportunity to advertise himself again. In August, 1840, he landed at Boulogne, proposing to seize its arsenal and march on Paris. But he failed to rally the local garrison to his side, narrowly escaped being shot, and was made prisoner. He was put on his trial before the Peers, who condemned him to perpetual imprisonment in the Castle of Ham, whence he escaped to England in 1846. As to war with Europe on Mehemet Ali's behalf, Louis Philippe would not hear of it. He refused to sanction Thiers' warlike proposals, accepted his consequent resignation, and to placate Great Britain called Guizot to office. In October, 1840, Guizot joined Soult in the "Ministry of October 29," which lasted till the end of the reign. Its mission was to execute the king's personal rule, and to resist warlike entanglements and concessions to revolutionary ideas. In the latter task it showed itself deaf to the traditions of Liberalism, and the catastrophe of 1848 was the result.

Guizot was fifty-three years old when Louis Philippe recalled him from the London Embassy to the Ministry of Foreign Affairs in Soult's Cabinet, of which he was the foremost member, though he did not succeed to the Presidency of the Council until Soult's voluntary retirement in September, 1847. Guizot defined his policy as "the maintenance of

peace, persistently, and in every direction"—*la politique de l'immobilité* it has been characterised concisely. Hence the last seven years of the July Monarchy were outwardly calm after a longer period of stress. But the calm was not the quietude of content. It was imposed upon France by a king and Minister who had lost touch with moving forces. Their Liberalism was that of the Charter of 1814. Their *pays légal* was a middle and upper-class oligarchy of less than 200,000 electors. The plea for a widened franchise was noxious Radicalism to both of them. In the whole of France, Guizot stated, there were not more than 180,000 persons "capable of exercising the vote in a reasonable and responsible manner." As to universal suffrage, the demand of the Socialists, "its day will never dawn," he stated positively. With the industrial conditions which were changing the face of France, and with the ideals that thinkers like Louis Blanc and Proudhon were implanting in the proletariat, Guizot was wholly out of touch. He was the Metternich of France, fearing to advance, and therefore sitting still. "What has he done in seven years?" asked a Deputy in 1847, and answered his own question, *rien! rien! rien!* Guizot's Ministry was the longest-lived since 1814; it was also the dullest and most stagnant. Lamartine wrote its epitaph in four words, *la France s'ennuyait.*

As little adventurous was Guizot's foreign policy. When Louis Philippe received the body of Napoleon under the dome of the Invalides on its return from St. Helena in December, 1840, some one pictured "the king of peace rendering homage to the king of war." But the return of the Great Captain's ashes meant more to France than mere homage to a man. It testified her desire to play once more a big *rôle* in Europe, and her unwillingness to stay in the corner in which she had been placed in 1815. Guizot, on the other hand, with the approval of his master, condemned a policy of action, except in Algeria, and cultivating peace generally, set himself especially to gain the goodwill of Great Britain. The *entente cordiale* (a definition of Anglo-French relations first used by Lord Aberdeen in a communication to the French *chargé d'affaires* in 1843) had been shaken rudely upon the Eastern Question, and the Convention of London of July, 1840, almost goaded France to war. But the fall of the Palmerston-Melbourne Ministry in August, 1841, and the advent of the Tories under

Sir Robert Peel, with Lord Aberdeen at the Foreign Office, encouraged Guizot to work for a renewed *entente*, which Louis Philippe regarded as imperative in the interests of France and of his dynasty. Queen Victoria paid two visits to him (1843 and 1845) at the Château d'Eu, and Louis Philippe took Guizot with him to Windsor in 1844, when, in reply to an address from the Corporation of the City of London, he declared that "France wants nothing from England and England nothing from France but *entente cordiale*." Yet, in spite of royal visits, each country regarded the other with suspicion. French activity in the Mediterranean and the Pacific was viewed with apprehension across the Channel. France herself found it impossible to build a sincere friendship upon Guizot's policy, which, as she held, invariably involved the sacrifice of her own interests.

On three matters mutually affecting Great Britain and France Guizot came into collision with his countrymen. The first was the right of search. The Powers at Vienna (1815) and Verona (1822) placed the African slave-trade under the ban of Europe. But it was not easy to give international effect to the resolution. Great Britain advocated the right of warships of all nations to search vessels suspected of slave trafficking. But her maritime preponderance threatened to convert international into British control of the *traite des nègres*, and on that ground Louis XVIII and Charles X refused the British proposal. Louis Philippe, early in his reign (1831 and 1833), signed and renewed a Convention with Great Britain which established a mutual right of search, but stipulated that the number of British cruisers engaged in the service should not be more than half as many again as France's, and that the agreement should terminate if other navies were admitted to the right of search. Though the agreement was not approved by French traders, Guizot submitted to the Chambers in 1842 a new Convention, in which Great Britain proposed to include Russia, Austria, and Prussia in the right of search. As none of them was an effective maritime Power, the limiting clause of the Anglo-French Convention was cut out, and the French commercial marine lost an important safeguard. At the same time the area of search was extended beyond the African coast to the open Atlantic, across which the slave-vessels plied. The interests

of French commerce triumphed over the claims of humanity urged by Guizot to recommend the new Convention. He was obliged not only to abandon it, but to withdraw France's recognition of the right of search in the lapsed agreement. In 1845 the matter was settled by the organization of a joint Franco-British fleet off the African coast to police the slave dealers.

Another menace to amicable relations with Great Britain arose in a part of the world where European interests had not clashed as yet. Excepting the Philippines, the Pacific islands ceased to attract Europe, after their discovery by Spanish and Portuguese navigators, until the end of the eighteenth century, when missionaries and traders found their way to them. In 1842 France annexed the Marquesas, with a view to establishing a penal colony, and inaugurated a process of partition which in the course of the century divided the Pacific islands between the United States, Great Britain, France, and Germany. From the Marquesas a French squadron proceeded to Tahiti, the largest of the Society Isles, to demand reparation in regard to complaints lodged by French traders and missionaries. The Tahiti Queen Pomaré in alarm conveyed the protectorate of the islands to France. The matter might have rested there but for an Englishman named Pritchard, a missionary, apothecary, and acting British Consul, who encouraged the queen to take advantage of the departure of the squadron to repudiate the protectorate and haul down the French flag. The French admiral returned, deposed Pomaré, and took possession of the Society Isles in the name of France (November, 1843). The news caused a good deal of feeling in England, and Aberdeen called upon Guizot to disavow the admiral's action. Guizot did so in the interests of peace—" English peace, not French peace," said Lamartine—and the public showed its approval of the admiral's action by raising a fund to present him with a sword of honour. Pritchard again nearly embroiled the two countries. Upon the deposition of Pomaré he resigned his post as consul, and intrigued against the French *régime*. The French arrested him, sacked his store of medicines, the source of his influence among the islanders, imprisoned him, and eventually deported him to the Sandwich Isles in an English vessel. In the summer of 1844 he arrived in

England. A chorus of indignation arose. Peel denounced his treatment as a "gross insult accompanied by a gross indignity" to a British official, though in fact Pritchard had ceased to be one. The Cabinet resolved to restore him to Tahiti in a British man-of-war. But Pritchard sensibly suggested a money *solatium*, and Guizot agreed to "an equitable indemnity" of 25,000 *francs*. He secured a majority of only eight votes for his policy on a division in the Chamber, though nine members of the Ministry took part in it—*la majorité prichardiste* it was called in derision. Guizot offered to resign, but retained office in deference to the wishes of the king, who brushed the matter aside as "the Tahiti nonsense."

The desire to placate Great Britain also guided Guizot's policy in Morocco, a country which was to give France plenty of trouble in the future. Her Algerian foe, Abd-el-Kader, having found refuge and recruits among its population, France took vigorous action. Tangier and Mogador were bombarded, and Marshal Bugeaud gained a decisive victory over the Moorish army on the Isly. But Guizot rested content with an agreement (1844) which procured the recall of Moorish troops from Algeria and the expulsion of Abd-el-Kader from Moorish territory. Great Britain in return recognized France's interests in Algeria. But the circumstances of the Spanish marriages in 1846 finally smothered the *entente cordiale*, and on the eve of its downfall left the July Monarchy without a friend in Europe. Guizot's policy elsewhere was equally undistinguished. He looked on while Austria annexed the Republic of Cracow (1846), the sole relic of independent Poland preserved by the Treaty of Vienna. He joined Metternich in supporting the *Sonderbund* of the Catholic Cantons of the Swiss Confederation against its Protestant members. Palmerston, on the other hand, applied the influence of Great Britain against it, and the victory of the Swiss federal forces brought the *Sonderbund* to an end (1847).

The prolonged stability of the Ministry of October 29 is accounted for by the fact that it possessed the confidence of the king and the practically unbroken support of the Chamber. Guizot, a man of scrupulous personal integrity, maintained, like Walpole a hundred years earlier, a Parliamentary majority which was bound to the Ministry by ties of self-interest. The electoral Colleges frequently contained but few electors, in

some cases hardly two hundred, many of whom held official posts under the government and could be intimidated from voting against their employer. Others, in return for licences to sell tobacco, school bursaries, minor official posts, and the like, were influenced to vote for official candidates. In the Chamber of 1846, 184 members, more than one-third of the whole, were *fonctionnaires*, "an assembly of the king's servants." Thirty or forty independent members secured by the methods employed in the constituencies were sufficient usually to procure a steady ministerial majority. Hence the reform movement which eventually wrecked the Monarchy had two sides. To make the Chamber representative of the country a wide extension of the electoral franchise was needed. To make Parliament independent of the Ministry it was desirable to exclude all *fonctionnaires*, such as prefects, or at least to suspend their official promotion while they acted as Deputies. From 1841 to 1847 annual motions in favour of reform were introduced in varying terms, but without avail. It was proposed to lower the electoral qualification from 200 to 100 *francs;* to add to the category of privileged electors persons scheduled on jury lists, University graduates, notaries, officers of the National Guards, municipal councillors; to relieve privileged electors of all tax-paying qualifications; to establish universal suffrage. Guizot was as firm as his master in resisting these proposals. Even in the throes of the Revolution of February, 1848, Louis Philippe with difficulty consented to dissolve the unreformed Chamber which had served him so well. Enmity to the ministry threw Thiers and the Left Centre into line with Odilon Barrot, Ledru-Rollin, and the advanced Radicals, as they were called after their English counterpart. The Socialists, for whom the Revolution of 1789 was still incomplete, demanded universal suffrage in the interests of a proletariat disregarded by the middle-class *régime*. Louis Blanc's theoretical "right to work" and call for the organization of national workshops, Proudhon's axiom that "property is theft," the Socialists' programme for "amelioration of the working-man's lot," all looked to manhood suffrage to secure their victory. The Republicans joined hands with the Socialists to capture the working-class population. Even the Catholic Legitimists, realizing the mistake of tethering the Church to a fallen

dynasty, and desiring to procure liberty for it under the existing *régime*, regarded reform as the means to their ends. But Guizot and his master barred and bolted the door which the majority of the nation desired to throw open, and the death of the Duc d'Orleans (1842), who was popular and in sympathy with ideas which his father could not understand, made a crisis more inevitable.

With a view to informing public opinion and to exert pressure on the government, Odillon Barrot and the Radicals, with the countenance of Thiers, organized a series of banquets throughout the country. The principles of reform were expounded at them and signatures were invited to a monster petition in its behalf. The first banquet was held at Pa is in July, 1847, at the *Château-Rouge* in the Rue de Rochechouart ; a toast was drunk to the " amelioration of the working man's lot," and an imminent revolution was predicted. At Châlons the Convention of 1793 was toasted. At Maçon, to an audience of actually 6000 persons, Lamartine, poet and author of the *Histoire des Girondins*, prophesied that if the Monarchy retained an exclusive electorate instead of admitting *le peuple tout entier* it would perish, not in its own blood as in 1793, but in its own snare. At Chartres a speaker bluntly urged his audience to substitute " government by the people for the people " in place of the personal rule which the July Revolution had established. On Parliament reassembling towards the end of 1847, the King's Speech characterized the *campagne des banquets* as an agitation stimulated by " blind and hostile passions." A long and lively debate took place on the Address, and in reply to the king's censure the Opposition arranged a concluding banquet in the Faubourg Saint-Marceau, at which practically all its Deputies, eighty-seven in number, promised to be present. The government forbade it to take place, and its managers postponed it to February 22, 1848. It was proposed to organize then an imposing procession from the Boulevard de la Madeleine through the Place de la Concorde to the banquet hall. Both sides shrank from the dangers which the event threatened. Guizot could not be sure of the National Guards, who had raised cries for reform in 1840 and had not been called out since. On the side of the Opposition, the Republican wing was uncertain to what lengths it was safe to go, while Thiers

was afraid to what lengths it might go. Hence the government again forbade the banquet to take place, and the organizers of the procession countermanded it on its very eve.

Ignorant of the cancelling of arrangements widely known, a considerable crowd assembled on the morning of February 22, 1848, on the Place de la Concorde to indicate by its presence hatred of Guizot rather than to initiate a revolution, as in fact it did. There were scuffles between the crowd and the police, an attempt to demonstrate at the Palais Bourbon, and a few shots in the suburbs; but the day passed without any serious outbreak. The 23rd opened on a more menacing situation. The gunsmiths' shops were rifled, and fighting took place in the neighbourhood of the Châtelet on the river-side, east of the royal palaces. With some misgiving the government called out the National Guards, whose demeanour proved at once that they could not be relied on. The First Legion alone showed a disposition to obey orders. Some joined the demonstrators, shouting for Reform and *à bas Guizot!* Others demonstrated at the Palais Bourbon. In the Place des Victoires, behind the Palais Royal, a battalion of the Guards fixed bayonets in defence of the crowd whom the cavalry were endeavouring to drive back. Louis Philippe realized the position to be critical; for the National Guards had been to him always a political thermometer. He therefore, resolved to sacrifice Guizot, and in the afternoon the Minister announced his resignation to the Chamber. The news caused an instant calm. The demonstrators dispersed, and the crisis seemed over.

But the Republican element, acting in the background, was eager to take advantage of any angry mood into which the mob might be wrought, and an event in the Rue des Capucines, where the Foreign Office was situated, played into its hands. Guizot's fall was celebrated at nightfall by a general illumination throughout the city. Bands of jubilant *ouvriers* and students passed along the *boulevards* shouting to negligent householders to set lamps in their windows. One of them marched to the Foreign Office in the Rue des Capucines, where Guizot was in residence. The street was guarded by troops, and the order was given to fix bayonets. A shot was fired, apparently by a soldier who saw his commanding officer threatened. A volley at short range into the middle of the

crowd brought down about fifty killed and wounded. Placing some of the dead bodies in a cart, and exposing prominently that of a woman who was among the victims, the mob conducted the torch-lit hearse through the city with cries of "Vengeance! they are killing the people!" Barricades sprang up in every direction, and the cry for Reform was drowned in the shout *Vive la République!* "Louis Philippe shoots us as Charles X did," said some: "let him join Charles."

Early on the morning of the 24th, Louis Philippe summoned Thiers, to whom, with Odilon Barrot (at Thiers' demand), he entrusted the forming of a Ministry. An effort to secure Molé had failed. Thiers insisted on the dissolution of the Chamber and an enlargement of the franchise. The king reluctantly agreed. At the same time he sent to the War Office Marshal Bugeaud, who had won distinction in the Moorish campaign. Bugeaud, whom Barrot called "the most unpopular man in Paris," proceeded at once to headquarters in the Place du Carrousel, near the Tuileries, and sent out columns to hold the Pantheon, Hôtel de Ville, and the Bastille. None of them carried out his orders, and some of them marched out of Paris. The situation was desperate, and by ten o'clock in the morning Bugeaud called in his remaining troops round the Tuileries. The Palais Royal was occupied by the insurgents, and between it and the Tuileries a single guard-house, the Château d'Eau, held back the oncoming mob, which, since the Capucines tragedy, was led by the most revolutionary among the agitators. The National Guards were the last hope of the Monarchy. Toward mid-day Louis Philippe put himself on horseback to test their demeanour in the Cour du Carrousel. He was received with loud cries for Reform, and returned at once to the palace. *Tout est fini!* he said to Thiers, who accompanied him. Within an hour he yielded to the argument by which Thiers had brought him to the throne eighteen years before, namely, that his action alone could save the country from a Republic. At one o'clock he abdicated in favour of his grandson, the Comte de Paris, a boy of ten. A little later, a couple of closed carriages drove up to the Tuileries. The king and his family, excepting the Duchesse d'Orleans, her sons, and the Duc de Nemours, entered them and, escorted by a party of cavalry, drove off along the road between the palace and the river. Like his predecessor, the ex-king's

destination was England. His son-in-law, the King of the Belgians, placed Claremont, near London, at his disposal. He died there two years later (1850).

Meanwhile, as the clumsy carriages rumbled out of Paris, the revolution was completed. The crowd had carried the Château d'Eau, and were firing from the houses in the Place du Carrousel even while Louis Philippe was signing his abdication. Upon his departure the soldiery dispersed and the mob broke into the Palace, as it had done in 1792 and 1830. Someone sat himself on the throne and aped the king. Others destroyed the pictures and busts of Louis Philippe. The receptions of the Citizen King were parodied, and after rude horse-play the throne was carried out and burnt in the Place de la Bastille. While these scenes were enacted, the Duchesse d'Orleans, with Nemours and her son, made her way through the streets to the Palais Bourbon to obtain recognition of the new Sovereign. She was greeted with acclamation by the majority, but the mob's irruption into the Chamber ruined the prospects of the dynasty. Ledru-Rollin and Lamartine demanded a provisional government to consult the country upon the Constitution it desired. Upon a renewed irruption of the people the President and the royalist Deputies withdrew with the duchess and her son and brother-in-law. Lamartine then read out to the trespassing mob the names, already agreed on by the republican leaders, of the provisional government. As in 1792 and 1830, the last word was with the people of Paris at the Hôtel de Ville. Thither the members of the provisional government made their way to demand confirmation of the powers with which they had been invested at the Palais Bourbon. Louis Blanc and his associates there agreed to join the new government upon an instant proclamation of the Republic, subject to its ratification by the people. The proclamation was made forthwith. The Chamber of Deputies was dissolved, the Peers were forbidden to meet, and the Orleans monarchy was at an end. It succumbed to what Lamartine called a *révolution de mépris*, the shortest and least violent of the revolutions which nineteenth-century France experienced. Its effects were destined to prove even more transitory than the *régime* which it overthrew.

CHAPTER IX

THE SECOND REPUBLIC

Proclaimed on February 24, 1848, the Second Republic lasted for nearly five years and gave place to the Second Empire, which began its career on December 2, 1852. In fact, the Second Republic was of shorter duration. The Constitution of 1848 was overthrown on December 2, 1851, and for the last twelve months of its nominal existence the Republic submitted to the dictatorship of Louis Napoleon Bonaparte, ploddingly stalking the imperial title which France conferred upon him at the end of the period.

For the first two months the Provisional Government, formed at the Palais Bourbon and confirmed at the Hôtel de Ville on the day of Louis Philippe's flight, ruled the country. No movement took place in favour of the fallen monarchy nor in opposition to the action of Paris. The government's difficulties came rather from its own situation. Like the Revolution of 1830, that of 1848 was the work of moderate and extreme wings. The former, represented by Lamartine and others whose names were approved by the tumultuous meeting at the Palais Bourbon, was the *parti de la République démocratique*. It was represented by the *National* newspaper, and wished for the establishment of a Republic on a democratic basis. Later, after the elections in April, 1848, and the opening of the Constituent Assembly in the following month, the wild schemes of the Socialists caused a general concentration of Legitimists, Orleanists, and Catholics in a *parti d'ordre*, organised by the so-called *Comité de la rue de Poitiers*, in which Thiers and Montalembert respectively represented the Orleanist and Catholic sections. More clamorous and Utopian was the *parti de la République démocratique et socialiste* at the Hôtel de Ville, which looked to Louis Blanc as its prophet and to the newspaper *La Réforme*

for its guidance. Known shortly as the *démoc-soc*, this, the party of the *ouvriers*, demanded the instant adoption of Socialistic schemes for the betterment of labour. The Provisional Government was compelled to humour the Socialists, though their party had little vogue outside Paris. Its successor was in a stronger position, and in the June days of 1848 Socialism was crushed by military force. Meanwhile, the paralysis of trade caused by the February Revolution, the consequent idleness which allowed the *ouvriers* to frequent the *Droits de l'homme* and other Clubs, the freedom with which the Socialist Press was allowed to preach its doctrines, and the government's release of such active plotters as Blanqui and Barbès, all contributed to create among the industrial population of Paris a dangerous and determined spirit. Hence, to the general dismay, the revolution against Louis Philippe and the plutocratic July Monarchy not only handed France over to a Republic, but menaced her with Communism and Socialism, new forces of untested malignancy.

The proclamation of the Republic on February 24, 1848, and again beneath the Column of Liberty on the Place de la Bastille three days later, sent a thrill of emotion throughout France. The new Constitution, it was promised, would have "The People" as its motto, "Liberty, Equality, and Fraternity" as its creed, and "Government of the People by the People" as its system. The Provisional Government, in which Lamartine took the Foreign Office, first of all attempted to satisfy the Socialists, a noisy minority. The Tuileries, the palace of the July Monarchy and of the Second Empire before its destruction in the Commune twenty-three years later, was promised to the people as a home for worn-out working-men. The Civil List of Louis Philippe was offered as a fund of redemption for those whom poverty had driven to pawn their tools. The salt duty was abolished. The interest on capital invested in Savings Banks was raised to 5 *per cent.*, to equalize the rewards of thrift for rich and poor. Titles of nobility were abolished. Restrictions upon the Press were removed; the stamp-duty on papers was withdrawn. The right to hold public political meetings, which Guizot had challenged in the case of the Banquets, was affirmed. To conciliate those who associated a Republic with the Terror and the *guillotine*, the death penalty for

political offences was abolished. Following the precedent of the First Republic, slavery was annulled throughout the French colonies. To facilitate acceptance of the republican *régime*, the oath of fidelity to the Constitution so far exacted from State officials was done away with. Of more dangerous consequence was the removal of restrictions which hitherto had kept the National Guards a *bourgeois* force. Its *élite* grenadier companies, who wore a distinctive head-dress, *bonnets à poils* (like the English Guards' bearskins), were disbanded. The ranks of the force were opened to working-men armed and equipped at the expense of the State. As the government ordered all citizens to join the National Guards their numbers rose to nearly 200,000 in March, 1848, and represented an almost irresistible lever when applied, as it was on three occasions (February 25, February 28, and March 17), to coerce the government in the interests of the Paris proletariat. In place of the Municipal Guard, whose part in the recent revolution rendered it unpopular with the Paris mob, Lamartine organized twenty-four battalions of a stipendiary police or *Garde Mobile*, formed of young men out of work, who were tempted to enlist at thirty *sous* a day.

The Socialists lost no time in impressing their interpretation of recent events as an economic and social revolution. On the day (February 25) after Louis Philippe's flight, an armed mob marched to the Hôtel de Ville, where the Provisional Government was installed. It demanded that the Tricolour, which in 1830 superseded the *drapeau blanc* of the Bourbons, should be displaced by the *drapeau rouge* of revolution and enmity to the existing social order. Lamartine replied in a speech of great force. "You ask the government of the Republic," he said, "to set up a standard of 'war to the knife' between citizens of the same country. Never shall my hand sign such a decree. I will resist to the death your blood-stained banner, which you ought to disown no less than I. Your *drapeau rouge* was carried round the Champ-de-Mars in 1791 and 1793, trailing in the people's blood. But the Tricolour has travelled round the world proclaiming the name, glory, and freedom of France." Lamartine's eloquence prevailed. The *ouvriers* discarded the Red Flag and adopted the Tricolour, adding merely to it a red rosette upon the flag-pole. The government was more sympathetic

to the loudly asserted "right to work." With the assent of his colleagues, Louis Blanc drafted a decree officially endorsing his doctrine: "The government of the French Republic pledges itself that every working man shall be able to maintain himself by his labour, and guarantees employment for every citizen." In fulfilment of its pledge the government decreed the establishment of National Workshops (*ateliers nationaux*), Blanc's own formula. Three days later (February 28), another armed mob marched to the Hôtel de Ville carrying flags bearing the device *Organisation du Travail*, the title of Blanc's remarkable treatise, and demanding a "Minister of Progress and Labour." The government was averse from conceding the demand. Blanc was not prepared to employ force, and therefore accepted a compromise. He agreed to preside over a Commission to inquire into the conditions of labour, and it was installed forthwith in the Luxembourg Palace, where the Peers had been wont to sit. It heard a great mass of evidence, and on the ground that "too prolonged work ruins the working-man's health, prevents him from cultivating his mind, and therefore lowers the dignity of manhood," recommended the adoption of a ten hours' day. It had no means to enforce its report, and its most serious effect was to separate the Socialists in the Luxembourg from their Republican colleagues at the Hôtel de Ville, and to weaken the influence of the former in the government.

Provision of work for the unemployed by the State had been tried without success under the First Republic, and the dangerous experiment was repeated now. But it was carried out by Marie, the Minister of Commerce, who saw the opportunity to discredit Blanc and his theories. Blanc advocated the provision of separate workshops for individual crafts. Marie, making no attempt to differentiate applicants for employment, put them all to work as navvies. He organized them in military squads of ten men, brigades of five squads, lieutenancies of four brigades, and companies of sixteen brigades, the pay varying from two *francs* a day for a working-man to three *francs* for a brigadier. The numbers of this skilled and unskilled labour army rose from 25,000 to over 100,000 by May, 1848. Its cost was so great that the government was obliged to levy a supplementary 45 *centimes* on each assessed *franc* of taxation, an impost which embittered

the *bourgeois* and peasant proprietors against industrial Socialism. Whatever their specialized training, the State labourers were employed on the construction of embankments for the new railways, and especially on the Saint-Lazare and Montparnasse railway-stations. When it was no longer possible to provide regular work, swelled as the demand was by immigrants from the provinces, the men were put on half-pay for four days in each week. The luxury of receiving pay for doing no work increased the number of the State's workers, and the government put them to such unremunerative work as digging up the Champ-de-Mars and the roads. The resolution (June, 1848) to discontinue the wasteful experiment provoked a pitched battle in Paris, and alienated Socialism from the Republic whose foundation it had welcomed with such extravagant hopes.

Early in March, 1848, the government issued a decree calling upon every Frenchman above the age of twenty-one to vote in the election of a Constituent Assembly of 900 members. Voting was to be secret; each elector was permitted to vote for as many Deputies as were allotted to his Department (*scrutin de liste*); and every Frenchman over twenty-five years of age was eligible for election. The adoption of universal suffrage was sudden and unpremeditated, and the dangerous reform was completed by providing a daily stipend of twenty-five *francs* for each Deputy, a reversion to Revolutionary practice which had been discontinued by the Monarchy. At a stroke the destinies of France were transferred from a narrow *pays légal* of about a quarter of a million electors to one of over nine million persons, most of whom were without adequate education or experience of affairs. In some alarm lest the conservative peasantry should pronounce against the Socialist *partageurs* and *rouges*, as they were called, several thousand armed members of Socialist Clubs assembled on the Champ-de-Mars on March 17. Led by Blanqui and Barbès they marched to the Hôtel de Ville, where the *bonnets à poil* of the National Guards had vainly protested on the previous day against the suppression of their *élite* companies. The Socialist agitators, regarding their position in Paris as secure and their hold on the provinces doubtful, demanded the postponement of the elections and the dismissal of the regular troops from the capital. A

qualified assent was given to the second demand, and the government so far yielded to the first as to postpone the elections until April 23. On April 16 a second armed demonstration found the Ministry resolute and prepared. The *Garde Mobile* had been organized in the interval, and received the agitators on their arrival at the Hôtel de Ville with shouts of "Down with the Communists." The mob dispersed ignominiously. The day was decisive; for the first time the government had dared to face the *drapeau rouge*.

On May 4, 1848, the Constituent Assembly met. Its composition amply justified the forebodings of the Socialists; it contained very few of their party among the 840 members who assembled. Even in Paris they carried only three of their twenty-four candidates. The efforts of the clergy returned about 130 Clericals, "honest Republicans" they called themselves, who were royalist at heart, and could be counted on to fight Socialism. The Assembly as a whole was democratic and differed in its composition from Louis Philippe's Chambers of property-owning citizens. But though its majority was Republican, it was antagonistic to Socialism. The *rouges* therefore continued their intimidating tactics, and after a demonstration on May 15, 1848, encountered their Waterloo in the "Days of June." The Provisional Government surrendered its powers on May 8, 1848, when the Assembly revealed its sympathies by creating an Executive of five members (Arago, Garnier-Pagès, Marie, Lamartine, and Ledru-Rollin), all of whom belonged to the non-Socialist wing of the Provisional Government. Of its Socialist members the Assembly made a complete sweep. It refused also to reconsider the Socialist demand for a Ministry of Labour. A Polish rising, put down by the Prussians with great severity, afforded the Socialists a plea to measure their strength with the new government. Assembling in the Place de la Concorde (May 15), a great procession of them made its way to the Palais Bourbon, shouting "Long live Poland!" They invaded the Assembly and declared it dissolved "in the name of the people." They proclaimed a Socialist government, in which Louis Blanc associated reluctantly with Barbès and Blanqui. The *Garde Mobile* once more rescued the Assembly from danger. The mob was driven from the Chamber. Barbès and Blanqui were arrested. The former was sentenced to

transportation and the latter to seven years' imprisonment. Louis Blanc found safety in flight.

The government was encouraged to pursue its advantage. As a preliminary to abandoning the National Workshops, it appointed a committee to examine their working, and on June 21, 1848, abolished them. Men who had been working in Paris for more than a year were promised assistance to return home. Private work was to be accepted by those to whom it was offered. But the Assembly refused to purchase the railways for the State with a view to settling the labour problem. Unemployed men between the ages of eighteen and twenty-five were permitted to choose between enlistment in the army and railway construction in the provinces. A deputation of the indignant proletariat waited on Marie to protest against the decree, and received a warning that if the workers did not obey it force would be employed. An insurrection was planned at once. Barricades were erected in the east-end working-class *faubourgs*, and before the Column of Liberty in the Place de la Bastille a great crowd demonstrated, shouting " Liberty or death ! " A young girl handed its leader, a workman named Pujol, a nosegay which he tied to the staff of the *drapeau rouge*, and behind the innocent emblem the demonstrators marched to the barricades to await attack (June 23). The government, faced with civil war, surrendered its powers to the Assembly (June 24), which proclaimed a state of siege and confided a military dictatorship to General Cavaignac, the Minister of War. He had at his disposal the western divisions of the National Guards, the *Garde Mobile*, some 20,000 regular troops, and eventually the National Guards of the neighbourhood, all eager to exterminate the Reds. Establishing himself at the Palais Bourbon, Cavaignac planned a systematic campaign against the insurgents in the central, northern, and eastern quarters of the city, and the Pantheon district across the river. For three days (June 24–26) Paris witnessed a continuous fight as bloody as the battles of the First Empire, the fiercest street-battle that France had experienced. On the 24th the Hôtel de Ville, the Pantheon quarter, and the central districts were recovered. Reinforcements of the National Guards were called up from the provinces. On the 25th the Place de la Bastille was carried and the insurgents were driven from the

northern *faubourgs*. The Faubourg Saint-Antoine, where barricades had been erected with great skill, still held out. Mgr. Affre, the Archbishop of Paris, who attempted to negotiate with the insurgents, was killed by a chance shot. On the 26th Cavaignac forced the Saint-Antoine quarter, and the rebellion was at an end. About 10,000 people had been killed or wounded, and the government held as many more prisoners. Over 3000 of them were transported to Algeria. The fourth attempt of Socialism to control the government had failed.

Cavaignac's dictatorship continued until October, 1848. While the *peur des rouges* continued, the Assembly debated the promised Republican Constitution. It was voted on November 4, and celebrated by a national *fête* a week later (November 12). The Constitution was based on two principles: the derivation of political authority from the Sovereign People and rejection of powers derived *héréditairement;* and the separation and balancing of the legislative and executive functions thus derived. The maxims of 1789 were reaffirmed; others suggested by recent experience were added. "Liberty, Equality, and Fraternity" were declared to be the principles, and "the family, work, property, and public order" the foundations of the democratic Republic, the latter details being included as an anti-Socialist pronouncement. The legislative power of the sovereign people was confided to a single-Chamber Assembly of 750 members elected by universal suffrage. A Second Chamber was discarded as an aristocratic excrescence. The executive was vested in a President chosen by the electorate. The Assembly was elected for a term of three years; the President for a period of four, probably in imitation of the United States of America. Legislature and Executive were mutually independent. The Assembly could be neither dissolved nor prorogued without its assent. The President, ineligible for re-election until four years from a previous term of office had elapsed, could be impeached for violation of the Constitution before a specially constituted Court of Justice. From each of these complementary authorities subsidiary institutions depended. A Council of State was established as the nominee of the Assembly for the preparation of its legislative measures. An executive Cabinet was chosen by the President. In fact, the Constitution represented an attempt to balance two co-equal powers. But

the *prestige* of the President, elected as he was by the whole of France, exceeded that of an Assembly whose members spoke only for their individual Departments. His control of the army put into his hands the means of coercion in the last resort. De Tocqueville, the historian of the American Constitution, pointed out, that in case of conflict between President and Assembly, the Constitution provided "neither an intermediary to bring them together nor an arbiter to hold them in check." The solution of such a crisis could only be a *coup d'état*, such as Louis Napoleon Bonaparte eventually engineered.

Since the Constitution endowed the President with the active functions of the Republic, the method by which he should be chosen demanded particular consideration. With a view to assuring the predominance of the Assembly, Jules Grévy proposed that the President should be merely the chief of the Cabinet, nominated by the Assembly, and removable by it. The motion, if carried, would have given the Presidency to Cavaignac. Thouret moved that members of the families that had ruled France—Bourbon, Orleans, and Bonaparte—should be ineligible for the Presidency. Louis Napoleon Bonaparte, who recently had returned to France, and had obtained election to the Assembly, spoke on the amendment with so little ability that Thouret withdrew his proposal, explaining, "I had supposed the last speaker to be a dangerous character. Now that I have heard him speak I see that I was mistaken." Lamartine, who hoped to be elected himself, urged that the President should be the chosen of the whole nation. "Let God and the people settle it," he said; "we must leave something to Providence." His motion was carried by a great majority, and the President of the French Republic, like the President of the United States, independent of the Legislature, was made the direct agent of the *pays légal*. His Ministers were chosen by himself, and like himself were answerable for breach of the Constitution to a High Court of Justice set up annually from the *Cour de Cassation*. The army was at his disposal, though not under his command. His Minister of the Interior (Home Office) controlled the civil servants of the State. In case of conflict with the Legislature there was no question as to which side exercised the greater influence.

The election of the President took place on December 10, 1848. The candidates were five in number: Cavaignac, who recently had laid down his dictatorship; Lamartine, the guiding spirit of the February Revolution and Provisional Government; Ledru-Rollin, his more Socialist colleague in that administration; Raspail, the Socialist-Democrat; and Louis Napoleon Bonaparte. The last had hastened from England to France on the morrow of Louis Philippe's abdication, and had been requested by the Provisional Government to leave the country. At the April (1848) elections for the Constituent Assembly, in which his cousins, the sons of Jerome and Lucien Bonaparte, found constituencies, he obtained no seat, though his partisans made him conspicuous in Paris by parading the streets and shouting the refrain "'Poleon, 'Poleon, we want 'Poleon!" Newspapers devoted to his interests, *Le petit caporal* and *La redingote grise*, were started, and at the June bye-elections he was elected for the Departments of Corsica, the Seine, and two other constituencies. The law (1832) exiling the Bonapartes was still in force, and Lamartine and Ledru-Rollin desired to apply it; for the cry "Vive l'Empereur!" was already being raised. Though the proposal was not carried, Louis Napoleon with an eye to effect resigned his seat, alleging his unwillingness to cause trouble. At the same time he declared himself at his country's disposal should she need him. In September he was re-elected for the same constituencies, and also for the Department of the Moselle, where his policy wounded France in a later year. The Presidential election afforded another opportunity to test his destiny. His candidature was popular. His pamphlet on "The Extinction of Poverty" threw out a bait to the working-class voters, who turned to him in repulsion from Lamartine and Ledru-Rollin. The peasantry were cajoled by his name. The *parti d'ordre* welcomed him as a valuable agent in the policy of reaction on which it was set. Others voted for the very vagueness of his political principles. "Cavaignac stands for the Republic," said Marshal Bugeaud; "Louis Napoleon stands for the unknown. I vote for the unknown!" But the Prince's chief asset was the fact that he was *le neveu du grand empereur*. The election gave him an overwhelming majority. Out of over seven million votes cast he obtained nearly five millions and a half. On December

20, 1848, the Prince President, as he was called thenceforth, took the oath of office before the Assembly: "In the sight of God, and in the presence of the French people, I swear to be faithful to the Democratic Republic and to defend the Constitution." He added spontaneously, "I shall hold as the enemy of the country any man who wrongfully attempts to change the established form of government."

Louis Napoleon's victory was a sign that the nation looked to him to formulate a policy of his own, which should be more Liberal than the July Monarchy and correct the February Republic's association with Red Socialism. The name Napoleon, the Prince President told the electors, was a programme in itself, and he had not been many months at the Elysée, the Presidential residence, before it became clear that he was astutely playing his own hand under guise of devotion to the Constitution which he had sworn to protect. His first object was to release himself from the Constituent Assembly's Republican majority, and he chose his first Cabinet from the Conservative minority in defiance of constitutional usage. Odilon Barrot and others whom he called to office (except two) had served under Louis Philippe. He appointed the Bonapartist Carlier Prefect of Police. His new Prefects in the Departments forthwith waged war upon Republican emblems, Trees of Liberty, erected to celebrate the founding of the Republic, and Phrygian Caps. The Prince President's Italian policy proved, indeed, so aloof from Republican traditions, that Ledru-Rollin actually demanded his impeachment before the High Court for violation of Article V of the Constitution: "The French Republic respects foreign nationalities and will never employ its forces against the liberties of another people." Little more than a month after his installation the Prince President attempted a *coup de main* to force the Constituent to give place to the Legislative Assembly provided by the Constitution. On January 29, 1849, General Changarnier, in command of the National Guards of the Seine and the Paris garrison, suddenly poured his troops into the streets of Paris. Louis Napoleon averred at a later time that Changarnier intended to proclaim him Emperor. The facts are obscure, but probably the dissolution of the Assembly alone was aimed at. The Constituent summoned Changarnier to explain his

action, but he evaded the order by alleging that duty detained him with the President. Barrot hinted at movements of the Reds or Socialists to justify the demonstration. Changarnier that evening again advocated a *coup de force ;* but Louis Napoleon, always timid in face of decisive action, resolved to delay action. " Did you notice the President's agitation ? " Changarnier remarked as he left the Elysée. " He's a poor thing, after all." By a narrow majority of five, however, the Constituent agreed to dissolve as soon as it had regulated the Council of State, the Executive, the franchise, and the Budget. It dispersed on May 27, 1849, after the elections for the Assembly had been held.

On the day following the dissolution of the Constituent the Assembly came together (May 28, 1849). The elections had taken place a fortnight before. The *Comité de la rue de Poitiers* had been careful to place the meaning of the June insurrection before the electors, and to associate Republicanism with Socialism in the credulous minds of the huge electorate on which the Second Republic rested. The result was an overwhelming victory for the *parti d'ordre*, which recruited Legitimists, Orleanists, and moderate Republicans whom the " Red " peril alarmed. Of the Assembly's 750 members the Conservative, and in large measure Monarchical, Right numbered about 500, two-thirds of the whole. In Paris the candidates of the *Comité Poitiers* won eighteen out of twenty-eight seats. The Republican majority of the Constituent dwindled to 250 Deputies, of whom about 180, drawn from eastern, midland, and Paris constituencies, formed a Radical-Socialist wing under Ledru-Rollin. Like the Jacobins of the Convention, Ledru-Rollin's following was called the " Mountain," from the lofty position it occupied in the Chamber. Excluding a few Bonapartist members, the Assembly therefore contained a strong Conservative majority, the *parti d'ordre*, confronted by a minority of Republican Democrats. Between them stood the Prince President, anxious neither to be identified with reactionary Conservatism, and so lose touch with the peasantry and army on whom he relied to fulfil his destiny, nor too patently to expose his aloofness from the Republicanism of the minority.

The motto of the Clerical *parti d'ordre*, in Thiers' phrase, was *la République sans les républicains*. It disliked

the anti-monarchical form which the Constitution had assumed under stress of the Revolution of 1848. It desired to abolish universal suffrage. To combat Socialism it was ready to destroy the State monopoly of education which the First Empire had created, and to restore to the Church its influence over the schools. It succeeded in 1850 in carrying its education policy, in restricting the suffrage, and in putting shackles upon the Press. In 1849 it destroyed the Republican minority and so promoted the Prince President's plans. In 1851 he used its insistent Conservatism to discredit it with the country and attain his destiny.

The Prince President's Italian policy led Ledru-Rollin on June 11, 1849, to demand his impeachment. The Conservative majority of the Assembly were more attached to the Holy See than to the Second Republic, and Ledru-Rollin played into their hands by his angry outburst: "The Constitution has been violated! We will defend it if need be with arms in our hands!" Unable to move the Assembly, he issued a proclamation denouncing the "monarchical conspiracy" which, he declared, confronted the Republic, and called for a popular demonstration against the Chamber. On the morning of June 13 a few hundred National Guards and *ouvriers* assembled at the Château d'Eau. Shouting *Vive la Constitution! Vive l'Italie!* they entered the Rue de la Paix. Changarnier dispersed them. Ledru-Rollin and his fellows were surrounded in the Conservatoire des Arts et Métiers, and were on the point of being shot when an order for their reprieve arrived. Ledru-Rollin escaped to London and disappears from public life. Others who took part in the *émeute* were condemned by the High Court at Versailles. The Clerical Conservatives and the Prince President seized the opportunity to destroy the extreme Republican Left. Nineteen Deputies of the "Mountain" were expelled from the Assembly. Power was conferred on the government to prohibit the public sale of newspapers, and heavy caution money was again imposed. Public banquets (by which Ledru-Rollin had organized his party for the May elections) were forbidden. Mutual benefit societies were suppressed. Teachers of Republican sympathies were dismissed from the schools. Public political meetings were proscribed for a year. Paris was placed under the discipline of Courts Martial

empowered to try offences " against the safety of the Republic, the Constitution, peace, and order." *C'est la dictature militaire*, said Grévy.

Strengthened by Ledru-Rollin's abortive attempt, the Conservative majority in the Assembly proceeded to carry out the " reaction " on which it was set. In March, 1850, the Legitimist Falloux, Minister of Education, carried a measure which fulfilled the Right's views regarding public education. Strongly supported by Thiers and Montalembert, and stoutly opposed by Victor Hugo, the measure, in the words of its author, was framed *pour consolider les bases de société contre les partageux*, in other words, to provide an antidote to Socialism by controlling the receptive minds of the young. The *loi Falloux* aimed at destroying the State monopoly of education which the First Empire and the more recent Education Act of Guizot had created. The lay teachers of the State schools were obnoxious to the Clericals and the Right. Falloux called them " regimental officers of the Democratic and Social Republic." Montalembert described them as " nasty little rhetoricians." The new Act, therefore, conferred on every Frenchman, of the age of twenty-one, provided with the necessary certificate or *brevet de capacité*, permission to open a school. In effect the concession meant that the Church and other religious bodies (*cultes*) were free to establish schools of their own in competition with those of the State. But the *cultes* were further privileged. In their elementary schools the teachers were exempt from the usual *brevet de capacité*. In their secondary schools no test was exacted. Every encouragement was given to the erection of such schools by exempting a local administrative authority which gave its premises to a Church or Congregationalist school from the obligation to provide education at the public expense. Thus, while " free " education was shared by all the *cultes*, Catholic, Protestant, and Jew, the *loi Falloux* practically made education the handmaid of the Catholic clergy in the schools founded by the Church and Congregation. In the schools maintained by the State the Church received important privileges. In the Departmental secondary schools hitherto controlled by the University the Church received representation on their governing bodies, while in her own schools government inspection was restricted to matters of " morality, hygiene,

and health." In the State elementary schools the teachers were under the surveillance of the *curé* and were obliged to teach the Catechism. The *cultes* founded colleges and primary schools all over the country. Almost all the girls' schools passed under the control of the religious Orders. Thus from the University itself, on whose Council the Church nominated four archbishops, down to the rural elementary schools, in which the local *curé* shared the supervision of the curriculum the Church controlled the State schools and held the State at bay in her own. "People," said Montalembert, "must choose between Catholicism and Socialism," and with the expedition to Italy which restored the Pope's authority in his mind, characterized the *loi Falloux* as *une expédition de Rome à l'intérieur.*

The Clerical plans revealed by the *loi Falloux* caused a revulsion of feeling in the country, which was intensified by a remarkable message communicated by the Prince President to the Assembly in October, 1849. Having, in his own words, resolved to secure "Ministers devoted to my own person," he dismissed Barrot and his colleagues, who disagreed with his Italian policy. In fact, now that the "Mountain" was crushed, a Napoleonic party began to detach itself from the *parti d'ordre,* and played the President's game by at once exaggerating and combating the "Red" peril. The new Cabinet in a message to the Chamber revealed the President's hopes. Referring to Ledru-Rollin's recent demonstration, the message declared: "No sooner were the dangers of mob rule surmounted than party strife again raised its voice, and alarmed the country by sowing broadcast the seeds of unrest. France suffers for lack of the guiding hand and mind of him whom she elected on December 10. In chosing him she prescribed a system; for the name Napoleon is a programme in itself. Let us therefore strengthen the hands of authority, though without detriment to liberty." The meaning of the message was obvious. Carlier, the Bonapartist Prefect of Police, founded the *Société du 10 Décembre* to advance the Prince President's interests and professedly to oppose "socialism, immorality, disorder, harmful publications, and faction."

In the spring of 1850 supplementary elections were held to fill the vacant seats in the Assembly. The *parti d'ordre* found their hold upon the electorate gravely weakened;

for the greater part of the "Mountain's" candidates were elected, and even in the constituencies least favourable to them the Opposition carried eighteen out of twenty-eight of its nominees. Much alarmed, the majority decided to make universal suffrage as innocuous as possible. In May, 1850, they passed a measure aimed at their Republican opponents, whose strength chiefly lay in the towns. The Act, professing to maintain universal suffrage, in fact re-established the electoral census in an indirect form. It raised the qualifying period of domicile required for exercise of the vote from six months to three years. The sole proof of domicile to be accepted was the enrolment of the voter's name upon the list of taxpayers. Not content with eliminating what Thiers called *la vile multitude*, the Act also disfranchised persons convicted of political offences. The electorate was purged in this manner of the poorest and most ignorant voters. About 3,000,000 persons were disfranchised, whose discontent with the Assembly deepened their trust in a Napoleonic programme. The anti-Republican campaign was pursued vigorously. The Press was muzzled by a law which doubled the caution-money and compelled all Press articles to be signed. Republican meetings were broken-up, houses were searched, partisans in the civil service were dismissed, the cry *Vive la République!* was treated as an act of sedition, and the wearing of red ties was made an actionable offence. A candid speaker warned the Chamber: "You are paving the way for an Empire, but an Empire shorn of its genius, its grandeur, and its glory." In August, 1850, the Assembly adjourned.

All parties were bringing themselves to regard a monarchical Constitution of some sort as inevitable. Louis Philippe died at Claremont soon after the Assembly adjourned, and Legitimists and Orleanists contemplated a fusion of their parties to counter the *coup d'état* which the Prince President obviously had in view. A deputation waited at Wiesbaden on the Bourbon Pretender, the Comte de Chambord, to suggest a *plébiscite* on the proposal to re-establish the Monarchy, a solution to which it was hoped to rally the Orleanists by recognizing Louis Philippe's grandson, the Comte de Paris, as Chambord's heir. The latter, however, refused to exchange his claims the heir of the *ancien régime* for a popular sovereignty, and

the proposed "fusion" came to nothing. Louis Napoleon organized in his own behalf the *plébiscite* which his Bourbon competitor rejected. His term of office expired in December, 1852. Under the Constitution he was ineligible for immediate re-election, but he hoped to win the electors to its revision or an alternative *coup d'état*. In the autumn of 1850 he made a Presidential tour of the provinces. His speeches, written for him by Mocquard, a shrewd politician, represented him as *l'homme du devoir*, a man who would accept a mandate should his countrymen lay it upon him. The revival of the Empire was hinted guardedly, and no opportunity was missed to engage the army in its behalf. At St. Maur, where the President reviewed the troops, champagne was served, and shouts of *Vive l'Empereur!* were raised. Changarnier, who was no longer friendly, bluntly told the President, who professed to deprecate them, that the acclamations had been not only encouraged but provoked. At Versailles the cavalry marched past shouting *Vive l'Empereur!* The infantry and the sappers were silent, and the Prince President showed his displeasure by dismissing their general, though Changarnier's representations procured his reinstatement. Creatures on whom he could depend were introduced to high command in the army, and Changarnier, who rejected the President's attempts to bribe him, was dismissed in January, 1851. His friends in the Chamber raised an outcry, and Thiers proposed a vote of censure on the Ministry. "If the Assembly submits to this," he warned the Deputies, "the Empire is already a fact." The motion passed by a large majority by means of a fusion of Monarchists and Republicans, but the Prince President, on the plea that neither of his opponents had a majority in the Chamber, reorganized the Ministry from among his most convinced partisans. "The Empire is already in existence," said Thiers. The moment clearly had arrived for the President to test his credit against that of the Chamber with the *pays légal* which had elected them both.

Excepting Republican stalwarts and uncompromising Orleanists like Thiers, who rejected Bonapartes and Bourbons alike, there was a consensus of opinion that in the circumstances a revision of the Constitution was inevitable. A Committee was organized among the President's friends to promote it, and the proposal received over 1,000,000 signatures

and the adherence of eighty of the eighty-five Departmental Councils. The alternative was a *coup d'état*, which all, including the President, were anxious to avoid. But the Constitution of 1848 made revision exceedingly difficult to compass. A proposal to that effect needed to be thrice voted in the Assembly by a three-fourths majority, the revision itself being effected ultimately by a Convention expressly elected for the purpose. But from the beginning of 1851 the state of parties in the Legislature made agreement impossible. Its members were divided between three factions: the President's party, the "fusionist" Monarchists (Legitimists and Orleanists), and the Republicans. None had an outright majority, but each was able in combination to counter the schemes of its opponents. A request for an increase of the President's salary was defeated by the joint opposition of the Monarchists and Republicans. The President's party and the Legitimists together threw out an Orleanist proposal to rescind the decree of exile against Louis Philippe's children. In July, 1851, the President submitted the proposal for revision to the Chamber. It was accepted by 446 deputies, about one hundred less than the number which the Constitution required. The improbability of a legal solution of the crisis was patent. "After Napoleon the Great are we to submit to Napoleon the Little?" asked Victor Hugo. The Assembly was indissoluble, and the elections were approaching—in terms of the Constitution the Legislative Assembly expired in May, 1852. Since the Chamber would not help him, it was the President's obvious course to discredit it with the electors. To that end he laid before it a proposal to annul the Electoral Law of May, 1850, and restore universal suffrage. The invitation was rejected, and a suggestion that the qualifying period of domicile should be reduced from three years to one met a similar fate. At the same time the Assembly contemplated with trepidation a struggle with one who had behind him the votes of five millions of his fellow-countrymen. In the last resort the situation depended on the disposition of the army, and a proposal to empower the President of the Assembly to requisition its assistance if necessary was only defeated because the Republicans and Bonapartists feared a Monarchist *coup d'état*.

Meanwhile the Prince President betook himself to Saint-Cloud, where his uncle had carried out the revolution of

19th Brumaire, 1799. As the moment for action approached he showed much vacillation, though, as de Tocqueville said, France had "chosen him to dare all things," and expected "valour, not discretion." In October, 1851, he formed a new ministry agreeable to a *coup d'état*. His unscrupulous half-brother Morny (Queen Hortense's son), Saint-Arnaud, whom he sent to the Ministry of War, General Magnan, who had been implicated in the Boulogne adventure, Maupas, the Prefect of the Haute Garonne, Carlier, the Prefect of Police, and others, planned the plot which rid him of the Assembly and paved the way for his Dictatorship. Troops on whom he could rely were drafted into Paris. In November (1851), when his relations with the Assembly were straining to the breaking-point, 600 officers waited on the Prince at the Elysée to assure him of their devotion. The Assembly's refusal to annul the Electoral Law of 1850 brought the President's courage to the sticking-place. He had proposed to strike when the Assembly rose for the recess in August, 1851, but held his hand to make a last effort to obtain a legal solution of the crisis. On its failure he fixed the *coup d'état* for December 2, 1851, the anniversary of the first Napoleon's coronation and victory at Austerlitz.

On the eve of the fateful day the Prince President held a *soirée* at the Elysée. His guests hardly had dispersed before proclamations, drawn up by his confederates and marked by himself with the significant word "Rubicon," were carried to the government printers. Gendarmes stood over the compositors as they set the type; any who approached the windows or attempted to leave the room were threatened with death. Maupas and Morny took their stations at the Home Office, the former to direct the police officials, the latter to guide the Departmental Prefects in the crisis. Early on the morning of December 2, Thiers, Cavaignac, Changarnier, and other opponents of the President were arrested at their homes, and troops occupied the Palais Bourbon. The walls of the city were placarded with Louis Napoleon's *Appel au Peuple!* "Since the men," it ran, "who already have destroyed two monarchies are seeking to tie my hands and drag down the Republic, my duty is to expose their perfidious designs, to uphold the Republic, and to save the country. I appeal against them to the solemn judgment of the only Sovereign

whom I recognize in France, The People." The proclamation directed the electors to vote on December 14 and following days for or against the continuance of Napoleon's Presidential authority, with power to him to remould the Constitution. The "bases" of the renovation, very reminiscent of the Consulate, were indicated—extension of the President's term for a period of ten years; an Executive released from dependence on the Legislature; a Council of State composed of experienced men of affairs; a Legislative Body elected by universal suffrage, but without *scrutin de liste;* and a "second Assembly" constituted from among the country's "most distinguished citizens." A second proclamation announced the dissolution of the Assembly and the restoration of universal suffrage. A third appealed to the army to respect the sovereignty of the people and "to vote freely as citizens." Every precaution had been taken to prevent effective opposition. The Republican newspaper offices were guarded, and Deputies, arriving at the Palais Bourbon, found it closed against them. A number of them met at Barrot's house and convoked the High Court to Versailles. It met and issued a futile summons to the President to appear before it. More than two hundred Deputies, chiefly Monarchists, assembled at the Mairie of the 10th (now the 6th) *arrondissement* in the Legitimist Saint-Germain quarter, voted the President's deposition, and nominated a commander of the army on whom they could rely. They were arrested at once and imprisoned by the watchful Maupas. Victor Hugo and other Republicans organized a popular rising for December 3, and answered the President's *Appel* by another: "Louis Napoleon Bonaparte is declared an outlaw. Universal suffrage is restored. *Vive la République!* To arms!" They posted up also the oath to the Constitution taken by the Prince President three years before. But their *Appel* kindled no enthusiasm. After Ledru-Rollin's attempt in 1849 the government had taken the precaution to call in the arms provided to its citizen soldiers. The *ouvriers* were disinclined to fall in behind the "25 *franc*-ers," as they called the paid Deputies. More conclusive, no popular leader presented himself. Paris was stupefied rather than stirred to enthusiasm by the events of the morning, and few indications reached the Elysée to show the President that popular

feeling was with him. Like Louis Philippe in 1830 he determined to show himself to the people. But a short progress from the Elysée to the Tuileries drew few cries in his favour. He therefore returned to the Elysée, and sat through the long hours, his chair drawn up to the winter fire, hardly speaking.

The night (December 2, 1851) passed with little disturbance. On the 3rd also the city remained calm, though the cavalry charged the crowd on the Place du Château d'Eau, and the Deputy Baudin was shot at a barricade in the Faubourg Saint-Antoine. At night disorder spread, and on the 4th, after an anxious morning, Saint-Arnaud ordered his men to clear the artisan districts. About mid-day the troops in the Rue Montmartre, provoked, it was alleged, by a shot from a window, opened fire with grape-shot. Resistance at once collapsed. In the provinces attempts were made by the Republicans to rouse the peasants against the President, and the government placed thirty-two Departments, more than one-third of France, under martial law. A Presidential decree assumed to the government the power to deport for from five to ten years members of secret and even of mutual benefit societies. Over eighty Deputies were exiled, some for a period, the greater number (66, all of whom belonged to the "Mountain") for life. In the following February (1852) the President, copying the *cours prévôtales* of the Restoration, created Mixed Commissions (*commissions mistes*) to deal with those who had been arrested on suspicion. In each Department a Prefect, commanding officer, and *procureur général* formed a Court which sat with closed doors, acted upon evidence supplied by the government, heard no witnesses, and denied accused persons legal aid. It was empowered to commit prisoners to a court martial or, for misdemeanours, to a *tribunal correctionnel* (police court), to pronounce sentences of deportation, or of relegation to places in the interior, or of police supervision. Over 26,000 persons were dealt with thus during the Presidential "Terror," of whom about 20,000 were sentenced to deportation or to the other punishments within the competence of the Commissions. The complete destruction of the Republican party was aimed at, and so far as severity could compass it, it was accomplished.

France was still under the influence of the events in Paris

when, in the third week of December, the electors pronounced an emphatic verdict on the Prince President's action. They were asked to vote, under the secrecy of the ballot, a direct *oui* or *non* on the reference: "The French people continues the authority entrusted to Louis Napoleon Bonaparte, and empowers him to frame a Constitution on the bases set forth in his Proclamation of December 2." Nearly 7,500,000 voters, over 2,000,000 more than voted for his Presidency, assented to Napoleon's proposals. Against it only about 650,000 persons voted. Baroche, who presided over the counting of the votes, thanked the Prince President for having "delivered France from men who are ready to murder and rob, who disgrace the civilization of the nineteenth century, and in the memories they evoke carry back the nation two centuries into its past." On New Year's Day, 1852, a *Te Deum* in Nôtre Dame and throughout France celebrated the Prince President's victory. To point his interpretation of it, he took up his residence at the Tuileries, where his uncle the First Consul had established himself almost exactly fifty-two years before. The symbolic Eagles also once more crowned the regimental standards. On January 14, the promised Constitution was issued. Napoleon's proclamation of December 2 had confessed its source: "The system created by the First Consul gave France peace and prosperity." The new one was based on the Consulate, the Constitution of the year VIII (1799), now described as "the only Constitution adapted to the social and administrative institutions of modern France, calculated to secure her adequate liberties, and to maintain Napoleonic principles." The President, however, took over universal suffrage from the Second Republic, and also admitted a representative body directly elected by the people. For the rest, he applied his uncle's remark: "The habit of democracy is to personify itself in one man."

Under the guise of a representative, democratic *régime* the Constitution of 1852, like that of 1799, established a personal Dictatorship. The President—the title was retained provisionally—was appointed for ten years, was the sole initiator of legislation, absolute master of the Executive, exercised the patronage of the entire civil service, declared war, and negotiated and ratified treaties.

The Council of State, a small body of from forty to fifty

members nominated by the President and removable by him, was charged with the duty of preparing legislative measures. An institution with similar powers formed part of the Constitution of 1799. Under the Constitution of 1852 the Council's duty was to introduce and expound its legislative proposals before the Legislative Body and Senate, and to decide beforehand the acceptance or rejection of amendments to its original draft.

The Legislative Body of 251 members, one-third of the number of the recently dissolved Assembly, also took its name from the Constitution of the Year VIII. It was elected by universal suffrage. But the elector's choice was restricted by the substitution of *scrutin d'arrondissement* or *scrutin uninominal* for *scrutin de liste*, while on the alleged necessity to " co-ordinate and direct universal suffrage," the President proposed to nominate " official candidates." Electors suspected of Republican sympathies were disfranchised expressly. Deputies were elected for six years, but, unlike the *Corps Législatif* of the Consulate and the recent legislative Assembly, received no pay, an innovation which eliminated professional candidates. The Legislative Body, as the President intended it to be, was dependent and feeble. Unlike the Council of State and Senate its meetings were public, but it was permitted to communicate only a *procès verbal* of its debates to the Press. Ministers had no seat in it and were not allowed to address it. Its President was appointed by the chief of the Republic, to whom it had no constitutional means of access by way of Address. It met, was prorogued, and dissolved at the will of the same authority. It passed laws but could not amend or initiate them. To approve or reject the Budget was its main duty.

The Senate, the " Second Assembly " promised in the proclamation of December 2, was modelled on a similar institution in the Constitution of 1799. The chief function of both was the protection of the Constitution (*gardien du pacte fondamental*). Like the Senate of the Consulate its members were paid, appointed for life, and irremovable. Cardinals, marshals, and admirals were *ex officio* members of it, and its other members were limited to 150. In the form of *Senatusconsulta* it was empowered to deal with matters omitted from or obscure in the Constitution. It was therefore at the President's

disposal to aid the careful retreading of his uncle's steps towards the throne.

Until March 29, 1852, Louis Napoleon exercised a veritable Dictatorship. His name replaced that of the Republic in the public prayers. The Press was submitted to the old *autorisation préalable*. *Cafés*, drinking-bars, and places of public meeting were kept under observation to prevent any focussing of public opinion. The National Guards were reorganized and ceased to exercise political influence. The elections to the Legislative Body were held in February under strong official pressure, and official candidates were elected almost invariably, Paris and Lyons returning the only three Deputies outside the recommended list. On March 29 the President installed the new bodies, and announced that "the Dictatorship entrusted to me by the people ends to-day." In fact, it was not interrupted. The whole public apparatus was at his disposal. The legislative and other bodies, the civil service, and the army were at his orders, and in the summer he set forth on a tour in the provinces to prepare the culminating step in his career of mounting ambition. Demonstrations in his favour were organized, and the cry *Vive l'Empereur!* was heard not infrequently. At Lyons a statue of Napoleon I was unveiled in his presence. At Bordeaux, throwing off his habitual reserve, he delivered a remarkable speech: "There is a feeling of alarm abroad," he said, "on which I must say a word. In a spirit of pure contradiction there are people who say 'The Empire means war.' On the contrary, I tell you, the Empire means peace. Glory is its natural heritage, if you like, but not war. At the same time I admit that, like the Empire, there are conquests to achieve. Wide tracts of territory await cultivation. There are roads to be opened, harbours to be dug, rivers to be made navigable, canals to be constructed, railways to be planned. Marseilles looks out upon an enormous realm [Algeria], which we must bring into close association with ourselves. We need to develop our means of communication in order to bring our fine seaports into touch with America. On every side there are ruins to build up, false idols to pull down, victories to win for the truth. That is my idea of what the Empire would do should it return, and those are the conquests that await it." In October he returned to Paris under triumphal arches which

bore the welcome, " Long live the Emperor ! Napoleon III, saviour of modern civilization ! Ave, Cæsar ! " On November 2, 1852, a *Senatusconsultum* proclaimed him Emperor of the French. A fortnight later a *plébiscite* was taken on the resolution to " restore the imperial dignity in the person of Louis Napoleon Bonaparte." About 2,000,000 electors abstained. Only 253,145 persons voted against the resolution. More than 7,750,000 were in its favour. On December 1, 1852, the Senate waited on the Prince President at Saint-Cloud to acquaint him with the result. On the following day, escorted by Saint-Arnaud and Magnan, Marshals of France, he returned to Paris, was proclaimed as Napoleon III (a recognition of the young cousin who died twenty years before), and took up his residence at the Tuileries.

CHAPTER X

SWITZERLAND

SWITZERLAND, like Belgium, was the political beneficiary of France and her Revolutions of 1798 and 1848. About half the size of Ireland, less than one-fifth of the area of the United Kingdom, and yet divided (1815) between twenty-two separate States, more than half of them smaller than the county of Bedford, Switzerland is situated in the mountainous heart of Europe, the meeting-place of three Powers, Germany, France, Italy. Its population is homogeneous neither in race, religion, nor language. Preponderantly German, it includes large numbers of French (*Suisse Romande*), Italian, and (in the Grisons, St. Gall, and Zürich) Romansch-speaking peoples. The Roman Catholic and Protestant Churches very equally divide its allegiance.

The political history of the Swiss Confederation opens in 1291, when the valleys of Uri, Schwyz (the eponymous Canton of the Confederation) and Unterwalden, the Forest or Mountain Cantons round the Lake of Lucerne, formed a Perpetual League "against every enemy whatever who shall attempt to molest us, singly or collectively." Until recently the whole country had formed part of the Duchy of Swabia, itself within the Middle or Burgundian Kingdom which passed to Germany in the reign of the Salian Emperor Conrad II (1024–39). Among its most powerful families were the Counts of Habsburg, who took their name from the fortress whose ruins are still to be seen in the Canton of Aargau, once their property and now a member of the Swiss Confederation. With constant care the Habsburgs aimed to restore under their rule the territorial unity of Swabia, whose duchy lapsed with the extinction of the Hohenstaufen. Rudolf I, the first of their house who obtained the Imperial dignity, was elected in 1273, eighteen years before the Perpetual League's

formation, and against the Habsburg Emperors and feudal lords of the territory that encircled them the early victories of the Swiss were won. Hence, in its origin Switzerland was a portion of the Holy Roman Empire, racially and linguistically German. It remained exclusively German for a little over 500 years, until the founding of the Helvetic Republic in 1798.

Twenty-five years after the formation of the Perpetual League the Swiss mountain peasantry proved their strength against the Habsburg enemy. The legendary William Tell belongs to the reign of the second Habsburg Emperor, Albert I (1298–1308), and a victory over Albert's son at Morgarten (1315) established the League's autonomy. Its success invited other adherents. Lucerne (1332), Zug (1352), and Glarus (1352) joined it and defied the Habsburgs. More important—for their attachment introduced an urban element —was the adherence of the Imperial cities Zürich (1351) and Berne (1353). At Sempach (1386) and Näfels (1388) the allies again held their own against Habsburg aggression, and by a Treaty of 1389 the whole League (excepting the two Imperial Cities, whose status the non-Imperial Habsburgs of the period 1308–1438 were not competent to regulate) obtained release from its feudal dependence upon that powerful family.

For nearly one hundred years after the battles of Sempach and Näfels the Swiss Confederation was restricted to the three associates of 1291 and the five new members who joined them in the course of the following sixty-two years. Together they formed the eight ancient *Orte* or Cantons. The brief but menacing career of Charles the Bold of Burgundy turned the Confederation's arms against another enemy. Its victories over him at Grandson (1476) and Morat (1476) encouraged the Swiss to adopt a mercenary career in arms, and the French invasion of Italy in 1494 created a situation there which permitted the pursuit of it with profit. Their military successes against Burgundy drew new members to the Confederation: Freiburg (1481), Solothurn (1481), both of them neighbours of the Free County of Burgundy, the Imperial city of Basle (1501), Schaffhausen (1501), and Appenzell (Inner and Outer Rhodes) (1513). The last three were encouraged by the defeat of the final Habsburg assault at Calven Gorge (1499). The Treaty of Basle (1499), conceded by the Emperor Maximilian I, virtually divorced the Confederation from the Empire;

no later attempt was made to subject it to the taxation, jurisdiction, and military service to which the Empire's subjects were liable. By 1513 the Confederation was virtually an independent State, having a membership of thirteen German-speaking Cantons. At that number it remained throughout the period of the Reformation and until the Revolutionary upheaval at the end of the eighteenth century.

The associated thirteen Cantons were admitted a member of the European family by the Treaty of Westphalia in 1648. But before obtaining recognition which sealed the efforts of three and a half centuries, the slender bonds which held the Confederation together were weakened by more than one cause. The geographical core of the Confederation (Uri, Schwyz, Unterwalden, Zug, Lucerne) and Freiburg (remote both from Zwingli at Zürich and Calvin at Geneva), rejected the Reformation and formed a "Christian Union" in defence of the Roman Church. Three hundred years later the same Cantons, with the addition of a newer recruit, the Valais, fought that Church's battles against the rest in their *Sonderbund* (1845) and endangered the solidarity of the Confederation. Moreover, early in the fifteenth century the Confederation ceased to be an exclusively German body. The period saw the Free County of Burgundy (Franche Comté) joined to the Counties of Flanders and Artois by the Valois Dukes of Burgundy, cadets of the royal House of France. Menaced from that new quarter, the eight ancient *Orte*, between the admission of the eighth of them in 1353 and the year 1481, began to receive on a less intimate relationship districts which desired protection and also shielded the territory of their protector. The new members were of two kinds. The first were termed either "Associates" (*Zugewandte Orte; Socii*), or more frequently, "Allies" (*Verbündete; Confœderati*), some of whom regularly, some occasionally, and some never, were admitted to the Federal Diet. In this category were the Abbey and town of St. Gall (1451–54), the Confederation of the Valais (1416), the League of the Grisons or Graubünden (1497–98) (itself a federation of three separate leagues: the "Upper League," the "League of God's House," and the "League of the Ten Jurisdictions"), Geneva (1526), and Neuchâtel (1529). The adjunction of the "Associates" and "Allies" gave the Confederation

protective cover against Franche Comté, Savoy, and German Tyrol. Other associated members were called "Subjects" or "Common Bailiwicks" (*Gemeine Vogteien*). They were the conquests of individual Cantons and without any status in the Confederation, except as attachments to the *Orte* to whom they belonged. Of this kind, in the north, were Aargau (1415) and Thurgau (1460), which were conquered from the Habsburgs by Berne and Zürich. In the south, the acquisition of the Val Levantina by Uri in 1441 was the beginning of the Confederation's expansion into Milanese Italy (Ticino). On the west, Berne, Freiburg, and the Valais acquired (1475–76), at the expense of Charles the Bold and Savoy, various localities on the north of Lake Geneva, in territory which became the Canton Vaud. In this manner the Confederation was brought into touch with French and Italian areas. Upon the establishment of the Helvetic Republic in 1798 these "associated," "allied," or "subject" units were raised from their subordinate positions, and in the settlement of 1815 provided the nine new *Orte* which increased the thirteen Cantons of the Middle Ages to the twenty-two of the present day. Simultaneously the Confederation lost a characteristic which it had preserved since its inception in the thirteenth century. In race and language it was no longer exclusively German, but, adding a slight Romansch element, Franco-Italo-Germanic.

Down to the establishment of the Helvetic Republic in 1798 the tie which united the members of the Confederation was slight. The Constitutions of each Canton presented bewildering variety, being similar only in the medieval character of all of them. The original League of 1291 established no federal Constitution. It provided that differences between the members should be decided by "our wisest men," and that any member refusing to abide by their award should be coerced by the others. Murder, theft, arson, and the harbouring of murderers and fire-raisers were specific offences in regard to which the allies entered into mutual extradition agreements. No provision was made for a Federal Diet, federal taxation, or a Federal Judicature. Subsequent agreements implied rather than defined the institutions which the Confederation required. Its Diet, like the ineffectual German *Bundestag* at Frankfort, was an assembly of delegates

representing their governments. Excepting over the Common Bailiwicks, its majority had no power to bind the minority. Nor was it comprehensive in its composition. Every one of the thirteen *Orte* was represented by two delegates. A few of the *Zugewandte*, for instance, the Abbey and town of St. Gall, regularly sent a single representative. Others of the same class, for instance, the Grisons and the Valais, occasionally were invited to do so. The rest, "Subjects" and others, had no place in the Diet.

Confusion was increased by the fact that the federal obligation was not uniform. Every member was bound to the original Forest Cantons of 1291, but not directly to the others. Thus, among the eight ancient *Orte*, Lucerne and Glarus, which entered the Confederation at about the same period, and Zürich and Berne, which became members almost in the same year, were linked to each other only through their common agreement with the Three. Moreover, in their internal Constitutions the Cantons presented no uniformity. Some, like the Forest Cantons, were democratic, possessing *Landesgemeinden*, popular assemblies of all the citizens, and a *Landammann* (chief magistrate). The rural and republican Cantons afforded a contrast to the urban members who joined them later—Zürich, Berne, Lucerne, Basle, Freiburg, Solothurn, Schaffhausen, and Geneva. Basle was under a Prince-Bishop. St. Gall obeyed its ruling Abbot. But Goethe's remark was very generally true of all the urban States: "Switzerland delivered herself from one tyrant [the Habsburg] and thought herself free. But the sun bred of the oppressor's carrion a swarm of petty tyrants." In Berne, Freiburg, Lucerne, and Solothurn, a small number of "patrician" families exploited the government in their own interests and disfranchised the "ordinary" citizens. The Grisons and the Valais were separate Leagues within the Confederation. From 1707 to 1857 Neuchâtel was incongruously under the sovereignty of the King of Prussia.

With these contradictions the French Directorate dealt drastically in 1798. The contagion of the Revolution hardly spread to the Swiss valleys. But a rising in the Pays de Vaud against the oligarchic government of Berne furnished a pretext to France, whose government combined Republican zeal

with eagerness to seize money for the great design against England. General Brune therefore was sent into Switzerland; a Constituent Assembly was summoned, and by it the "Helvetic Republic One and Indivisible" was proclaimed. On the model of her French, Batavian, and Cisalpine sisters, the new Republic was furnished with an executive Directorate and a bicameral Legislature. Distinctions between Cantons, Associates, Allies, and Subjects were abolished. Brune's first idea of forming three Republics, the "Rhodanic" for French or West Switzerland, the "Tell" for Central or Forest Switzerland, and the "Helvetic" for German (North and East) Switzerland, was disregarded. The Confederation was converted into a Republic of twenty-three Cantons—the word being used for the first time without distinction for every constituent member. France took the opportunity to detach from Switzerland the "allied" districts of Geneva and Mühlhausen, the latter permanently. The old Constitutions of the Cantons were superseded. Throughout the Republic uniform citizenship, suffrage, and eligibility for public offices were established. A common judicature, coinage, executive, postal service, and penal code were set up. Laws restricting free intercourse of trade and residence were withdrawn. Liberty was conferred upon the Press, and the Roman and Protestant Churches were placed upon an equality.

For the first time in her history Switzerland was a single political unit. The result was achieved at the expense of the Cantonal governments, a circumstance which produced the two parties whose differences called in France five years later and disturbed the Confederation for a period of its subsequent history. Both parties regarded the feudal era of privilege as closed by the Revolution. But while the Liberal "Unitary" party desired to preserve Republican unity, the Conservative "Federals" resented the sacrifice of Cantonal independence. Their quarrels kept the Republic in perpetual disorder; in five years it experienced as many revolutions or *coups d'état*. In September, 1802, the Federals drove the government from Berne, and the Republic seemed about to dissolve before Bonaparte intervened. France's interests required that Switzerland, lying on the flanks of Italy and Germany, should be her satellite. The First Consul therefore summoned to Paris all who had served in the Swiss Senate and Executive

during the last three years. About sixty persons obeyed the invitation, the greater number of them being members of the Unitary party, which imagined that France would maintain her own handiwork. In fact, Bonaparte was regardless of any interests but those of the moment. He obtained from the Swiss delegates a committee of ten persons drawn equally from both parties, added four French members to it, and early in 1803 communicated to it a scheme of which he was the author. Accepted by the committee on behalf of the Swiss nation, Bonaparte's "Act of Mediation" was promulgated on February 19, 1803. Discarding the unitary Republic established in 1798, Bonaparte as "Mediator" reconstituted Switzerland (called so officially now for the first time) as a Federal State. The annexation of Geneva and Mühlhausen and detachment of Neuchâtel in 1798 had been followed in 1802 by the erection of the Valais into a separate Republic—a preliminary to its absorption (1810) into France. The residue of the Helvetic Republic, the thirteen old Cantons and six new ones, constituted the new Federal State. Two of the new Cantons were former "Allies"; namely, St. Gall, which was formed out of districts belonging to Appenzell, Glarus, and Schwyz; and the Grisons, which hitherto had been a separate league. The other new Cantons were old "Subjects." They were Aargau and Vaud, both of which were released from dependence upon Berne; Thurgau, which was separated from Schaffhausen; and Ticino, which was detached from Uri and Unterwalden. The nineteen Cantons of 1803 fall into three categories. Central or Rural Switzerland (Uri, Schwyz, Unterwalden, Appenzell, Glarus, and Zug) and the Grisons resumed the democratic government of former times, with *Landesgemeinden* and executive Councils presided over by a *Landammann*. The second group consisted of the urban Cantons (Basle, Berne, Freiburg, Lucerne, Schaffhausen, Solothurn, and Zürich), which resumed their former "patrician" and oligarchical governments under burgomasters and *avoyers*, with representative bodies elected upon a somewhat restricted franchise. The third group consisted of the old "Subjects," now elevated to the dignity of *Orte*. They received representative institutions and a democratic suffrage. Each of the nineteen Cantons was a sovereign State, having its own laws and system of taxation, though each was bound

by the federal pact and was prohibited from entering into alliance with other Cantons or with foreign Powers. The feeble federal institutions created by the Act of 1803 were a Federal Diet and a Federal Executive. The Diet met annually in the summer at the capital of the presiding Canton for the year (the *Vorort*). It consisted of twenty-five members : one deputy from each Canton and an extra one from the six (Aargau, Berne, Grisons, St. Gall, Vaud, Zürich) whose populations exceeded 100,000. The Diet was less helpless than the old one ; the power to make war and to conclude treaties was withdrawn from the Cantonal governments ; the majority was no longer unable to bind the minority. The Diet also superintended the raising of the Cantonal contingents to the Federal army, which was restricted expressly to 15,000 men, and appointed the commander-in-chief. The entire Executive consisted of the Federal *Landammann* (who was the *Landammann* of the *Vorort* of the year), his *aide-de-camp*, the Chancellor, and a clerk. The seat of the Diet and the Federal Executive passed in annual rotation round the capitals of the urban Cantons already mentioned (except Schaffhausen), the *Vorort* for the year paying the expenses of the Executive. Strict neutrality was imposed upon the Federal State, and it was not represented diplomatically at foreign capitals. From its foundation in 1803 to the fall of its inventor in 1814, it fulfilled the purpose of its creation. It gave Switzerland internal peace and made her subservient to his ambition.

Bonaparte kept Switzerland closely under his tutelage. In September, 1803, and again in March, 1812, he signed military capitulations with her government which enabled him to take Swiss troops into his pay. By the first, which was accompanied by a defensive (and not, as in 1798, an offensive) treaty, he took into his service four Swiss regiments. Spain was authorised (1804) to maintain five more. Switzerland, in fact, furnished a recruiting-ground not only for France, but for her enemies, and a second capitulation in 1812, on the eve of the Russian campaign, bound the Federal State to recall its troops from the colours of the Allies. Napoleon, while requiring Switzerland to protect her neutrality, paid little heed to it himself, and in the War of Liberation the Austrians retaliated by occupying Geneva (December, 1813).

Their arrival was hailed by the Federalist party as an act of deliverance. Zürich, the *Vorort* of the year, immediately summoned an extraordinary session of the Diet (*Tagsatzung*), which did not end until August, 1815—the "Long Diet." It recalled the Swiss troops in the service of France, abolished the Act of Mediation (December, 1813), and signed a Convention for the renewal of a federal Constitution, to which it proposed to admit the new Cantons created in 1803. Berne refused to sign the Convention. Her oligarchic government had not ceased to resent the detachment of Aargau and Vaud, and had taken advantage of the Austrian intrusion to intrigue for the restoration of the *status quo ante* 1798. In March, 1814, therefore, while the Allies were round Paris, Berne summoned the thirteen old Cantons to a "legitimate" Diet at Lucerne, which, in view of the Allies' refusal to recognize it, came to an end in April. Solothurn, Freiburg, Zug, Uri, Unterwalden, and Lucerne followed Berne's example and restored their old Constitutions. Uri advanced her pretensions to the Val Levantina, and Berne, in alliance with Freiburg and Solothurn, attempted to draw back Aargau and Vaud to their former dependency.

The territorial settlement of Switzerland was reserved for the consideration of the Powers at Vienna. Leaving Switzerland herself to construct a Federal Constitution to replace that of 1803, the Congress addressed itself mainly to the question of geographical boundaries. It required the Zürich Diet to accept its arbitration, and withheld the international guarantee of her neutrality, which Switzerland much desired, until she agreed. Berne failed to carry her wishes at Vienna regarding Aargau and Vaud, and received compensation in the bishopric of Basle, of which she received the greater part, and in Biel (Bienne), a former "Ally" of the Confederation annexed by France in 1798. In other directions also the Congress upheld the Act of 1803: the six Cantons created by it were continued, and three new ones were added at the expense of France with a view to strengthening the frontier against her. The new Cantons were Geneva, which France had seized in 1798; Neuchâtel, also detached then, now reunited to the Swiss Confederation under the King of Prussia's sovereignty; and Valais, which France had annexed in 1810. Thus the Swiss Cantons reached their

final and complete number, twenty-two. The arrangements of the Congress were accepted by the Zürich Diet, and on November 20, 1815, the neutrality which Switzerland enjoys received the guarantee of the Great Powers.

On August 7, 1815, the "Long Diet" promulgated a new Federal Constitution which remained in force until the reforms of 1848. It constituted a federative alliance or *Staatenbund* of twenty-two sovereign Cantons. The Directorate of the Confederation was restricted to three Cantons, Berne, Lucerne, and Zürich, acting in rotation for periods of two years. The Executive remained a skeleton and impermanent, as under the Act of 1803. The six most populous Cantons no longer exercised a preponderant influence in the Diet; for all were represented in it by a single delegate apiece. The subjects reserved for its consideration were: determination of war and peace, diplomatic relations with foreign powers, the organization of the Federal army (70,000 strong), and the management of the inconsiderable Federal treasury. But the Cantonal delegates were strictly tied to their instructions, and their assent to measures was provisional pending a reference to (*ad referendum*), the instructions of (*ad instruendum*), or the ratification of (*ad ratificandum*) their governments. The Diet's sessions were not public. The Cantons were permitted to make alliances with each other (hence the *Sonderbund* of 1845), subject to the general interests of the Confederation. The prohibition of 1798 against inter-Cantonal Customs regulations was withdrawn. Generally, the new Constitution represented a significant reaction against the Unitary principle which the Helvetic Republic had introduced. In their internal Constitutions the Cantons experienced a similar reaction. In Berne, Lucerne, Solothurn, Freiburg, the capitals of the agricultural Cantons, the "patricians" recovered their influence, and the dependent rural districts received mediocre representation on their Councils. In the industrial and commercial cities, Zürich, Basle, and Schaffhausen, the merchant aristocracy and their *avoyers* again monopolized the government and disregarded the rural populations of the Canton. In Neuchâtel, excepting the Governor (who represented the Prussian sovereign), the Executive and Councils were drawn exclusively from the "patrician" party. Geneva maintained an aristocratic *régime*, like the other cities. The

new Cantons of 1803, though in form they remained representative democracies, raised the property qualification for the suffrage, and adjusted the electoral system, to the consequent increase of "patrician" influence. Thus the Federal Pact of 1815 represented a loose alliance between twenty-two sovereign members, enjoying a variety of political systems, in all of which in greater or less degree the influence of the democracy was curbed. The next half-century, as in Italy and Germany, presents a successful effort to make Switzerland a nation and to Liberalize and harmonize her Cantonal Constitutions.

For fifteen years (1815–30) after the conclusion of the Federal Pact a reaction towards the *ante*-1798 looser federal union and aristocratic *régime* maintained itself. In the next ten years, 1830–40, Switzerland, responsive to the July Revolution in France, passed in large measure from aristocratic to *bourgeois* control. After 1840 she led Europe towards the greater upheaval of 1848. As in Germany, Swiss Liberalism had a double outlook. Within the Cantons it aimed to submit the Executive to popular control, to throw open the franchise, and to raise the rural to an equality with the urban voters. It pursued a wider patriotism in the endeavour to convert the *Staatenbund* of 1815 into a veritable *Bundesstaat*. Literature and art stimulated the movement, and Thorwaldsen's famous sculptured "Lion of Lucerne," which commemorates the Swiss Guards' defence of the Tuileries in 1792, was itself a sign of developing national spirit seeking inspiration in the past.

Influenced by the Greek national struggle, and still more by the French Revolution of July, 1830, a Liberal movement spread through the Cantons for the revision of their Constitutions. The agitation—the "Regeneration" period—lasted until 1847, and in the course of it the Swiss, who so far had received their political impulses from abroad, placed themselves by virtue of their innovations in the van of Democratic progress. Early in 1830 Ticino amended its aristocratic Constitution, and in November (1830) an imposing demonstration at Zürich, the headquarters of the agitation, initiated a general campaign in behalf of reform. Almost universally new Cantonal Constitutions were submitted for popular approval, the sovereignty of the people was recognized, and urban centres surrendered the monopoly which they

had enjoyed so long. The three *Vororte*, Zürich, Berne, and Lucerne, followed Ticino's example, and hitherto oligarchic Cantons passed very generally under democratic control. Only in three Cantons did the Liberal movement result in disturbance. In Basle, after nearly two years of civil war caused by the city's refusal to concede to its rural communes adequate representation in its Legislature, the Federal Diet sanctioned (1832) the division (which is still maintained) of the Canton into two half-Cantons, Urban Basle (*Stadt Basel* or *Bâle Ville*) and Rural Basle (*Basel-Land* or *Bâle Campagne*), each with a legislature and executive. The two half-Cantons count as one in the Federal Diet, and their vote is effective only if they agree. In Schwyz similar reasons led the " outer " or rural districts to secede (1832) as a separate half-Canton, though Schwyz's concession of political equality prevented the separation from becoming permanent. In Neuchâtel the movement was Liberal and anti-Prussian, and for the moment was suppressed.

Cantonal reform was the preliminary to Federal reform; for the Cantons were masters of the Diet, whose delegates expressed the views they were instructed to put forward. The Liberal triumph in the Cantons therefore was followed by an attempt, which proved premature, in the direction of Unitary reform. The unsatisfactory character of the Federal Pact had been patent for some time. Individual Cantons had taken advantage of its permission to sign " Concordats " on matters of such general or Federal import as free domicile throughout Switzerland, the marriage laws, postal arrangements (Geneva was the first town in Europe to use postage stamps), a uniform coinage (which did not come into existence until 1850), and the organization, discipline, and control of the Federal forces. With a view to the revision of the Federal Pact, the German Cantons (the three *Vororte*, Solothurn, St. Gall, Aargau, and Thurgau) formed (March, 1832) the " Concordat of Seven " (*Siebnerkonkordat*), and obtained a majority in the Diet. The scheme, presented by the Committee appointed to draft one, corrected the most obvious defects of the 1815 Constitution. The Diet recorded the votes of twenty-two sovereign members, and anything short of a bare majority (12 votes) barred progress altogether. The Executive was neither Federal nor permanent, and a settled

and continuous national policy was difficult. Even on such matters as the Customs, coinage, postal service, residence, legal practice, and jurisdiction, each Canton was a law to itself. The "Seven" proposed to form a distinct Federal Executive of five members, with Lucerne as the permanent capital, and to invest it with the direction of those concerns. They proposed to institute a Federal Court of Justice, and to allow the delegates to the Federal Diet to express their own views on matters other than those of fundamental policy and the Constitution.

The programme of the "Seven" conserved the Federal basis of the 1815 Constitution without trespassing unduly upon the sovereignty of the Cantons. But it encountered strong opposition from the persistent Federalist interests. In the autumn of 1832 the Forest Cantons (Uri, Schwyz, and Unterwalden) and Neuchâtel held a conference at Sarnen, protested against the division of Basle Canton as a breach of the Federal Pact, and refused to take part in any Diet in which Rural Basle and Outer Schwyz were represented. In the following spring they declined to attend a Diet at Zürich summoned to consider Federal reform, and, joined by four more Cantons (Zug, Appenzell, Ticino, the Valais), contended that no change in the Federal Pact was competent excepting with the approval of all the twenty-two Cantons. Metternich was ready to intervene in aid of the *Sarnenbund's* challenge to Swiss Liberalism, whose appearance was very unwelcome in Central Europe. But the Swiss had not submitted the Federal Pact to Europe's approval in 1815, and neither Metternich nor the Great Powers had *locus standi* in the matter. The defeat of the Federal reform programme in Lucerne, whose electors, under the influence of the priests, voted against their Legislature's approval of the scheme, deprived the reformers of a bare majority in the Diet and shelved Federal reform for fifteen years. After a frustrated effort to coerce Rural Basle and Outer Schwyz, the Sarnen League was broken up by Federal action as being contrary to the conditions of the Pact.

The period that followed the French Revolution (1830) was an agitated one in Switzerland. Her neutrality, her geographical position, and the multiplicity of her semi-sovereign States made her the asylum of political refugees from

Poland, Italy, and France. Mazzini had his headquarters there in 1834. Louis Napoleon found a home in Thurgau, of which he was a naturalized citizen, with a captain's commission in the Swiss artillery, until Louis Philippe demanded his expulsion in 1838. Intimately in touch with Republican movements among their neighbours, the Swiss governments underwent further Radical reform. Religious differences also entered the arena. The Ultramontane or Roman Catholic party attacked Protestant Liberalism. The Protestant Nationalists assailed the Swiss bishoprics and the Papal influence which radiated from them. In January, 1834, a few Protestant Cantons concluded the " Articles of Baden " to counteract Ultramontane ideas. In 1841 the Aargau Liberals, denouncing them as active anti-Liberal centres, seized the Benedictine Abbey of Muri and its revenues and suppressed the conventual establishments of the Canton. The act was unconstitutional; for the existing monastic establishments were guaranteed by the Federal Pact. In 1843, after strong protests and threats by the Roman Catholic Cantons, Aargau reinstated four nunneries, and the Federal Diet declared the matter closed. But the Roman Catholic Cantons Lucerne, Uri, Schwyz, Unterwalden, Zug, the Valais, and Freiburg protested against the condonation of a breach of the Federal Pact. At a conference at Lucerne attended by all except the Valais (September, 1843) their separation from the Confederation was discussed. The Valais joined them, after putting down its " Young Swiss " party. In the Diet of 1844 the seven Cantons repeated their demand for the complete re-establishment of the Aargau monasteries. Aargau retaliated by demanding the expulsion of the Jesuits from Switzerland. After its restoration by Pius VII in 1814, the Order made its reappearance and resumed its influence in Freiburg, the Valais, and Schwyz. Its return to Lucerne was being proposed by the Canton's extreme Roman Catholic party. Upon the Federal Diet impartially refusing to order the re-establishment of the Aargau monasteries or to support the demand for the expulsion of the Jesuits, Lucerne handed over the control of her higher educational establishments to the Order. The Lucerne Liberals armed, and the Canton was plunged into civil war (1845). In December, 1845, the seven Roman Catholic Cantons formed

an armed Separatist League (*bewaffneter Sonderbund*) to resist " illegal Federal resolutions," defeat the revision of the Federal Pact, restore the Aargau monasteries, and support the Jesuits. It represented about one-fifth of the population of the Confederation. The issue between Swiss Radicalism and Conservatism was joined, and by its defeat of the *Sonderbund* the former gained an advantage which it never has lost.

The crisis in Switzerland was viewed with alarm by the Continental Powers. Metternich hoped to unite Europe in an effort to " rescue " Switzerland from " social dissolution." Her king's hatred of Radicalism and her interests in Neuchâtel made Prussia favour the idea of intervention. Guizot and Louis Philippe trimmed their policy between regard for Swiss Nationalism and the interests of the Holy See. While Metternich argued that the existence of the *Sonderbund* by implication dissolved the Confederation and justified European intervention, Guizot proposed to refer the religious question to the Pope and to offer Switzerland Europe's mediation in affairs of general policy only, delaying the conclusion that the Confederation no longer existed until the proferred mediation had been rejected. In England, where public opinion was guided by George Grote's letters to the *Spectator* from Switzerland, there was neither sympathy with the *Sonderbund* nor desire to support European intervention. Palmerston was careful not to sever himself openly from the Concert, but adroitly so delayed its action that, in spite of the appearance of a considerable Austrian force on the frontier, the *Sonderbund* was extinguished by Switzerland herself before Europe had made up its mind how to act.

The programme of the *Sonderbund* was not known until six months (June, 1846) after its formation. Zürich immediately moved the Diet for its dissolution. Only ten votes were given for that course, the two halves of Basle and Appenzell standing neutral by cross-voting. In the following October Geneva was captured by the Radicals, who (May, 1847) also won St. Gall. Having now a majority in the Diet the reformers carried resolutions (1847) for the dissolution of the *Sonderbund,* the amendment of the Federal Pact, and the expulsion of the Jesuits. While the Great Powers were considering how to act, and Palmerston, very willing to pay off scores against France over the Spanish marriages, and

against Austria for her recent annexation of Cracow, was successfully delaying their action, the Diet (October, 1847) placed the Federal forces under the command of William Henry Dufour of Geneva, who had gained experience and distinction in Napoleon's service. Of the anti-*Sonderbund* Cantons only the Inner Rhodes of Appenzell and Neuchâtel (which professed neutrality) did not furnish contingents. Dufour acted with promptness and ability. The territory of the insurgents lay in three isolated patches—Freiburg, the Valais, and the Forest Cantons (with Zug and Lucerne). Freiburg capitulated on November 14, Lucerne and her neighbours by a fortnight later, and the surrender of the Valais on the 29th concluded a brief campaign (1847) which cost the Federals less than one hundred lives and the insurgents still smaller loss. The Great Powers (Great Britain excepted) presented an Identical Note on the day after the *Sonderbund* ceased to exist, offering mediation on their own terms. The Diet rejected the right of the Powers to intervene in Switzerland's domestic concerns, and the dissolved *Sonderbund* was required to pay the costs of the war it had provoked.

The French Revolution of February, 1848, intervened between European threats of intervention and the Swiss Diet's determination to revise the Federal Pact. The monarchical Constitution of Neuchâtel was replaced in March (1848) by a Republic, and in September (1848) a popular vote in fifteen and a half against six and a half Cantons approved a reformed Federal Constitution. Its effect—it is still in operation—was to convert a Confederation of States into a Federal State, reserving exclusively to its central authority the making of war, peace, treaties, alliances, the control of the army, Customs, weights and measures, coinage, and postal arrangements. Complete civil equality, uniform rights of residence throughout Switzerland to members of both Churches (and to the Jews in 1866), liberty of religious belief, freedom for the Press, and the right of public political association, were confirmed. The guarantee accorded to the monastic establishments in 1815 was withdrawn and the Jesuit Order was banished. Military capitulations with the foreigner were forbidden. The Swiss Guard in French service had been dismissed after the 1830 Revolution; Holland and Spain already had disbanded their Swiss mercenaries; and after 1848 the Papal

and Neapolitan Courts alone maintained them, the latter until 1859. The new Constitution guaranteed the Cantonal Constitutions only in so far as they were of a representative, democratic, or Republican complexion. Agreements of a political character, such as the *Sonderbund* had been, were expressly forbidden. As to the legislative and executive machinery of the Federal State, the Diet was constituted (and remains) a bicameral Legislature whose members express their considered opinions and are not merely the automatic envoys of their governments. The Senate (*Ständerath* or *Conseil des États*) is a body of forty-four members, two being chosen by each Canton to represent it. The National Council (*Nationalrath* or *Conseil national*) is a body of from 140-150 members elected for three years on the basis of one delegate for each 20,000 of each Canton's population. The shifting and haphazard Directorate of the old Federal Pact made way for a permanent Federal Executive (*Bundesrath* or *Conseil fédéral*) which consists of seven members elected jointly for three years by the Senate and National Council. Its chairman, who is also President of the Federation (*Bundespräsident*), is jointly elected for one year (and is not immediately re-eligible) by the two Legislative bodies from among the members of the Federal Executive. A Federal Court of Justice was set up, and the Constitution was declared amendable by the vote of a majority of the Cantons and citizens. By a special law Berne was constituted the permanent Federal capital. Prussia's surrender of her rights in Neuchâtel in 1857 removed the last blemish on the full sovereignty of the Federal State.

The Constitution of 1848 made Switzerland a nation. The unity it established has not been disturbed by any *Sonderbund*. It encouraged also a process of democratic evolution which has carried Switzerland beyond her contemporaries. After 1848 great progress was made towards uniformity in such matters as the postal service, the abolition of internal Customs, the coinage (based on the French), and weights and measures. The Austro-Prussian War of 1866 and the Franco-German War of 1870–71, particularly the French crossing of the Swiss frontier in the course of the latter, suggested that the Federal army of Cantonal contingents was not adequate to modern warfare. Increasing facilities for travel owing to the growth of the railway system made the multiplicity of

Cantonal legal Codes inconvenient. From 1867, another wave of Democratic reform almost completely swept the Cantons and resulted in the establishment of the *Referendum* and *Initiative* in the Cantonal Constitutions. The effect of these innovations in European democracy was to place political power and responsibility directly in the hands of the people, who by those devices are able to submit measures proposed by their Legislature to a direct *ad hoc* vote (*Referendum*) of the citizens, and themselves as a democracy to introduce (*Initiative*) to their Cantonal Legislatures the measures which they desire. The principle of the Referendum was derived from the French *plébiscite* of ratification through the Helvetic Republic of 1798. The right of initiation is its natural corollary. The Swiss Constitution of 1848 itself was submitted to a popular vote. As had happened before, the reformation of the Cantonal Constitutions reacted on Federal reform. The Federal Assembly in 1870–71 revised the Constitution in order to unify the military and legal systems. But the change alarmed the champions of Cantonal rights, who (now as in the past) for the most part were found among the French and Roman Catholic Cantons. On a vote of the populations of the Cantons, as the Constitution of 1848 required, the innovation was rejected (1872), only nine Cantons voting in its favour. But the Papal claims raised by Pius IX in the Vatican Council summoned in 1869 roused in Switzerland, as in Germany, a *Kulturkampf* (Struggle for intellectual freedom), and called for the strengthening of the State's supremacy over the Church. In 1873, the Federal Constitution was revised to forbid the erection of new bishoprics without the State's assent and of new monastic establishments altogether. With a view to protect the State's authority, civil marriages were made obligatory. But the increase of central Federal authority strengthened the demand that it should be submitted more completely to popular control. Therefore in 1874, with the approval of $14\frac{1}{2}$ to $7\frac{1}{2}$ Cantons, the Constitution was farther amended, to the effect that a *Referendum* on all resolutions of the Federal Legislature may be taken to the people upon the demand of 30,000 citizens or of eight Cantons. On the demand of 50,000 the people may actually propose, absolve, and amend legislative measures themselves.

By adopting the *Referendum* and *Initiative* Swiss democracy

has established direct government of the people by themselves. For, while leaving to the Legislature and Executive their constitutional tasks, the nation can at any moment resume the active exercise of its sovereignty. Other democracies have regarded Switzerland's innovations timidly: But the Referendum is being viewed with increasing favour, as a means whereby the people's voice may be heard amid the welter of party cries and interests. Ticino's adoption of Proportional Representation for the protection of minorities has set the example in another device which makes directly for the reality and efficiency of democratic government.

CHAPTER XI

1848

Significant facts in the history of nineteenth century Europe are the conversion of absolute Monarchies to Liberalism and the awakening of latent nationalities to consciousness and unity. In that process the years 1848–1870 hold an important place, and in the number and magnitude of their events are comparable to the period 1789–1815. In 1848, as in 1830, France was an accurate thermometer of the political temperature of Europe. The *année folle* witnessed an explosion of feeling pent-up since 1815. Its result was the destruction of what Napoleon III called "the odious Treaties of Vienna." Western Europe had secured release in 1830 from the shackles which Metternich's inveterate Toryism riveted upon her. In 1848 Liberalism challenged Metternich in his strongholds, in Italy, within the German *Bund*, in Austria herself. In England an echo of the fray was heard in the Chartist agitation. Holland, Switzerland, where the settlement of 1815 was superseded (1848) by a new Federal Constitution, and Belgium were washed by a rising flood of Liberalism. In France, Italy, Austria, and Germany it became a raging and destructive torrent.

Excepting Russia, whose "transformation" was still to come, it was in the countries where the principles of the Holy Alliance survived the Liberal attack of 1830 that 1848 worked its havoc. In January the Sicilians raised the Tricolour and proclaimed the Constitution of 1812. In February, Ferdinand II of the Two Sicilies, soon to earn the unenvied name "King Bomba," accorded a Constitution to Naples, and the Austrian Grand-Duke of Tuscany followed his example. The Orleans Monarchy in France fell in the same month. In March, Pope Pius IX and Charles Albert of Sardinia accorded Constitutions

to their States; Sardinia's in its main features being the Constitution which Italy now enjoys. In March also Vienna rose, Metternich joined Guizot's exile in London, and the Emperor promised a Constitution to Austria and a responsible Ministry to Hungary. Within the Germanic *Bund* the month was marked by profound unrest. Barricades and street fighting disturbed Berlin. Frederick William IV summoned a Liberal Ministry. Lewis I (Ludwig I) of Bavaria abdicated, and the Liberal era in that kingdom began. The Grand-Duke of Baden freed the Press and sanctioned a National Guard. The King of Saxony summoned a Liberal Ministry. In April, O'Connor's Chartist demonstration ended tamely in London. Austria and Germany discussed Constitutions. In May, a German *Nationalparlament* met at Frankfort; the Emperor Ferdinand I fled from Vienna; and a Constituent Assembly met at Berlin. In June a Slav National Congress assembled at Prague, and Cavaignac stamped out Socialism in Paris. In October barricades were raised in Vienna and the Emperor again took flight. In November the Pope was a fugitive and Rome a Republic, under Mazzini and Garibaldi. In December the Emperor Ferdinand abdicated, and a Prussian Constitution was promulgated. That in outline is the record of the *annus mirabilis* in the three areas which most felt its explosive energy.

Italy

Since the abortive movements of 1831 little change had taken place in the political conditions of Italy. On the death of the ex-Empress Marie-Louise in 1847 the Duchy of Parma reverted to Charles II, the son of Napoleon's King of Etruria. In accordance with the settlement of 1815, he abandoned Lucca to Tuscany, reducing the Italian Octarchy to seven States. With the farther exception of Pius IX and Francis V of Modena, the Italian Sovereigns in 1848 had weathered the storms of 1831. The conditions that faced them were the same as then: enthusiasm for the cause of independence, for the expulsion of Austria, for the realization of Italian unity, and for extending to Italy the constitutional government which France and Great Britain enjoyed. But the *Risorgimento* found the Italians unanimous upon neither the means nor the

goal of their aspirations. Mazzini and Young Italy combined intense zeal for Italian unity with convinced attachment to Republican ideals and insurrectionary methods. The Moderates preferred Constitutions to Republics and a confederation of Italian States to such an Italian Kingdom as Cavour achieved. Their views were represented by Mazzini's friend Vincenzo Gioberti, whose *Primato morale e civile degli Italiani*, published in 1843, and by Massimo d'Azeglio, whose *Ultimi Casi di Romagna* (On recent events in Romagna), published in 1846, either expounded Federalist and Neo-Guelf views—in other words, looked to Germany for the model of an Italian State, and were ready to place the *Präsidium* in the Papacy—or put their hopes in the King of Sardinia.

For the first time since 1815 the Italian Sovereigns answered the call of constitutional reform. Even the Pope seemed to lend the authority of the Papacy to that cause. With equal unanimity Italy demanded war against Austria and Charles Albert of Sardinia led it. But the campaigns of 1848–49 did not dislodge Austria. Italy only partially and temporarily achieved political union, and Charles Albert made way (1849) for his abler son Victor Emanuel II, *il re galantuomo, padre della patria*. He completed his father's unfinished work, made Rome the capital of Italy, and installed himself in the Pope's summer palace, the Quirinal; while Pius IX in the Vatican, as a counter-blast, clothed his spiritual office with the vesture of Infallibility. Victor Emmanuel's achievement was accomplished in stages. The Franco-Austrian War of 1859 and the victories of Magenta and Solferino procured Lombardy for the Italian kingdom. In 1860 Garibaldi expelled the Bourbons from the Kingdom of the Two Sicilies; Parma, Modena, Tuscany, and the States of the Church (except the Patrimony of St. Peter) declared for union with Sardinia. In 1861 the Kingdom of Italy was proclaimed at Turin, and Victor Emmanuel moved his capital thence to Florence (1865). In 1866 an Italo-Prussian alliance drove Austria out of Italy and enlarged the Italian kingdom by the acquisition of Venetia. The occupation of Rome in 1870 crowned the king's work. To the rapid events of 1859–70 the movements of 1848–49 form the prologue.

Before the election of Pius IX in June, 1846, there was little to indicate a period so fraught with promise for Italy's

future. In Lombardy-Venetia the Austrians were established, though brooding discontent underlay the calm. A strong Conservative, Gregory XVI, occupied the Chair of St. Peter. Tuscany, Parma, Modena, Lucca, and the Two Sicilies were more or less under Austria's control. In Sardinia alone were found the conditions which the cause of Italian unity and independence required. Charles Albert long since had repaired a reputation which his conduct in the crisis of 1821 laid under suspicion. From his accession in 1831 he had worked consistently for a cause which he was fated never to lead to victory. He enlarged the material resources of his kingdom by encouraging agriculture and schemes of railway construction, engaged Austria in a tariff war, and made Customs agreements with the Pope and Tuscany in the interest of Italian industry. He allowed Genoa to celebrate the centenary (1846) of Austria's expulsion. In 1847 he communicated a remarkable letter at a public banquet, in which he declared: "If God should permit me some day to see a war of Independence, I shall take my place at the head of the army. A glorious day it will be when we can raise the cry of national deliverance." The opportunity arrived a few months later. Charles Albert, the "Sword of Italy," fulfilled his promise, but again showed himself lacking in decision at a crisis. His countrymen have called him *Rè Tentenna* (the Wobbler).

Pope Gregory XVI, who died in June, 1846, was succeeded by Giovanni Mastai-Ferretti, Bishop of Imola, the son of a noble family of Sinigaglia. He was known as a Liberal sympathizer, *persona ingrata* therefore to Austria, and acceptable to France, whose envoy, Pellegrino Rossi, supported his election. Within a month of his elevation, Pius IX proclaimed an amnesty to all persons imprisoned for or suspected of political offences. The event made an extraordinary stir throughout Italy and Europe. "We were prepared for everything except a Liberal Pope," said Metternich; "and now that we have one who can tell what may happen!" The circumstance, he wrote to the Austrian Ambassador at the Vatican, threatened "a new era." Pius, in fact, was thinking more of the Holy See than of Italy. "They want to make me out to be a Napoleon," he complained, "I who am only a poor priest." But for the moment Liberalism recognized such a Pope as Gioberti dreamed of. The Swiss Guard,

with which his predecessor controlled the Roman populace, was dismissed and a Civil Guard was enrolled. A Senate was conferred on the city. A measure of liberty was conceded to the Press. A Commission was appointed to revise the civil and penal Codes. A Council (*Consulta di Stato*) was set up to advise the Sovereign, to which, breaking clerical monopoly, laymen were nominated. A Liberal, Cardinal Gizzi, was appointed Secretary of State. But the *Consulta di Stato*, advocated by Gioberti in his *Primato* as a step towards constitutionalism, represented the limit of the Pope's concessions to Liberalism. In Tuscany, where a vigorous agitation had been carried on for some time, the effect of the Pope's innovations was seen first. In 1847 the Grand Duke reorganized his Council on the Roman model, conferred freedom on the Press, and allowed the enrolment of National Guards. Sardinia, hesitating at first, fell into line with Tuscany and Rome. Modena and Parma were too closely under the observation of Austria for their rulers to satisfy the hopes of their subjects. Liberal movements in Messina and Reggio were easily repressed (September, 1847) by Ferdinand of Naples, and the University of Naples was closed. But in Central and Northern Italy, within the States of the Church, Tuscany, and Sardinia, the cause of reform was carried to encouraging results. No Constitution had been conferred as yet, but their governments were no longer rigidly autocratic; their Press was open for the ventilation of hopes and grievances; their populations were permitted to enrol themselves in National or Civil Guards for the conquest and defence of their liberties. In an atmosphere of promise the *annus mirabilis* 1848 opened.

The first days of 1848 revealed its character. In Venice and Milan statements of grievances were drawn up and presented. At Milan the populace adopted a self-denying agreement to abstain from tobacco in order to deplete the Austrian treasury, and an attempt was made to enforce it upon the Austrian garrison. A *fracas* was the result and many lives were lost (January 3). The Milanese were ripe for revolution, and events elsewhere announced the hour. In the early days of January placards in Palermo threatened insurrection, "with the punctuality of a promissory note," unless reforms were granted by the 12th of the month. On the 12th the populace rose under the Tricolour in the name of

Santa Rosalia, patron saint of Palermo, demanding Sicily's old administrative autonomy and the Constitution of 1812. Palermo was bombarded by the Neapolitan fleet, but the whole island, except the citadel of Messina, which the patriots failed to carry, was soon free. The revolt spread to Naples, where cries for a Constitution were raised (January 27). Remembering how his grandfather had surmounted a similar crisis, and willing to alarm his Papal neighbour, the originating cause of the pother, Ferdinand on February 10 promulgated a Constitution of the French (1830) type—a bicameral Legislature with elected and nominated Chambers, and National Guards to replace the Swiss mercenaries. On the same day Pius IX delivered an allocution which contained the words " God bless Italy ! " an appeal to patriotism which was not the less stirring because the Pope was far from associating himself with the national cause. A week later (February 17) Tuscany followed Naples in the gift of a Constitution. On March 5 Charles Albert promulgated for Sardinia a *Statuto* of the 1830 type which is still in force for the Kingdom of Italy. His action was due to the influence of Cavour, upon whose advice the municipal Council of Turin had urged the king to follow the example of Naples. His assent, guided largely by the need to enlist popular enthusiasm in a war with Austria, made it impossible for the other Italian Sovereigns to withhold an equal boon. The Dukes of Parma and Modena solved their difficulty by flight. The Pope reluctantly accorded (March 15) a *Statuto* based on the French Constitution of 1830, which Paris was destroying at the moment when Italy eagerly was adopting it.

The cause of Liberalism was triumphant in Italy outside the districts administered by Austria. Lombardy and Venetia faced a more difficult task. But they were encouraged by the Paris revolution of February, 1848, and especially by the news of the insurrection at Vienna on March 13 and Metternich's flight on the following day. Upon the receipt of it, the Viceroy fled from Milan, and the populace demanded from his deputy permission to enrol National Guards. A shot fired by a sentry put the mob in an angry mood, and to the cry " Long live Pius IX " the *Cinque Giornate* (Five Days) (March 18–22) of Milan began. Concessions were placarded. Some one wrote over them,

"Too late." On the 22nd Count Radetzky, in command of the troops in Lombardy-Venetia since 1833, who had declared that three days of bloodshed would yield thirty years of peace, evacuated the city. Venice rose simultaneously, led by a young Jew, Daniel Manin, namesake of the Doge of Venice who fell senseless with shame when he took the oath to the Austrians in 1798. Civil Guards were enrolled. The Arsenal was occupied on the 22nd, and the Austrian garrison capitulated. On the 23rd, to the old cry, *Viva San Marco!* the Venetian Republic was restored and a provisional government was appointed. Austrian rule in Italy was restricted to the Mincio-Adige Quadrilateral formed by the cities Peschiera, Mantua, Legnago, and Verona, commanding the Brenner Pass and the military route to Vienna. Within it Radetzky established himself to await events.

A chorus of invitation from Milan, Turin, Genoa, and throughout Italy, urged Charles Albert to seize the occasion and strike for independence. "The supreme moment," wrote Cavour in his paper, *Il Risorgimento*, "has struck for the Sardinian monarchy. In face of what is happening in Lombardy and Vienna further hesitation is impossible. Accustomed as we are to defer to the dictates of logic rather than the counsels of sentiment, we assert roundly that no other course than immediate war is open to the government, the nation, and the king." On the day that Radetzky marched out of Milan and the Austrian garrison capitulated at Venice, Charles Albert decided on war. On March 25 his army crossed the Ticino into Lombardy. The short campaign—it ended in August—presents three phases. The first promised to justify the king's action; for all Italy flocked to destroy Radetzky in the Quadrilateral. The second was marked by the defection of the Pope and Ferdinand of Naples, a blow which partially was relieved by the fall of Peschiera, one of the angles of the Quadrilateral, on May 30. The third phase, one of persistent gloom, ended with the armistice of August 9.

The war opened in March amid great enthusiasm. Volunteers flocked to the war from all Italy. Popular demonstrations took place in Rome, where the Pope blessed the flags, but enjoined his troops to defend their frontier only if attacked. Early in April, Leopold of Tuscany, unable to restrain his subjects, sent a contingent of regulars and volunteers

to the front. Ferdinand of Naples professed enthusiasm for a war which, he declared, appealed to every Italian prince and people for help and promised "independence, liberty, and glory." He undertook to provide a considerable force under the veteran Pepe, and dispatched the Neapolitan fleet to the Adriatic. Parma and Modena, whose dukes fled, made common cause with Sardinia. United Italy faced the Austrians. Garibaldi, a man with "a heart of gold and the brains of an ox," d'Azeglio called him, took part in a war in which he was to figure more prominently later. Charles Albert forced the Mincio at Goito on April 8, anticipating that Verona, commanding the highway to Tyrol, would yield to him. He obtained Pastrengo, but his assault upon Santa Lucia, an outpost of Verona, was repulsed (May 6). Abandoning Verona he turned against Peschiera, another corner of the Quadrilateral, while his Lombard allies watched the Upper Adige against the passage of Austrian reinforcements. The Papal, Neapolitan, and Venetian volunteers drew round the Quadrilateral in which Radetzky stood at bay.

On April 29 the Pope in effect deserted the cause of Italy. In an allocution, drawn by threats of schism on the part of the German bishops, he announced categorically: "We assert clearly and openly that war with Austria is far from our thoughts, seeing that we, however unworthy, are the Vicar of Him who is the Author of peace and the Essence of love." Naples also deserted the national cause. The Assembly promised by the Constitution had been summoned to meet on May 15. The Deputies, anxious not to commit themselves to a Constitution which they hoped to amend, resisted the king's demand that they, like himself, should take an oath of allegiance to it. He refused to permit the forts of Naples to be garrisoned by the National Guards. Barricades were raised, and a conflict between the populace and the Swiss mercenaries ended in a massacre. The Chambers were prorogued and dissolved. The National Guards were disbanded. The Constitution vanished. The main body of troops destined for Lombardy was held back, and the Neapolitan fleet was recalled from the Adriatic. Pepe and a few volunteers, declining to obey orders, betook themselves to Venice, along with the Papal volunteers, who also disregarded their sovereign. These defections were relieved to some degree by the fact that

outside the Papal States and Naples the progress towards fusion was satisfactory. Parma and Modena declared for union under the crown of Sardinia. Milan came to the same resolution in June. Venice, whose Republican Constitution jeopardised a Pan-Italian Monarchy, followed that course a month later. Meanwhile, after his repulse at Santa Lucia on May 6, Charles Albert turned to the siege of Peschiera. The place fell on May 30, and on the same day Radetzky's attempt to pierce the long-extended Italian line on the Mincio was defeated at Goito. With those successes the second period of the war came to an end. The last victory had been won.

The king remained passive after Goito. But Radetzky acted with vigour. Reinforcements reached him from Austria and he was in superior strength. Towards the middle of July Charles Albert, to complete his success at Peschiera, gave siege to Mantua. But Radetzky's superiority and the extended front of the Piedmontese army made the enterprise dangerous. He attacked its left about Rivoli and drove it in. Then he turned against its centre. Charles Albert, who hurried up from Mantua, was thrown across the Mincio after a severe battle (July 24–25) at Custozza, and fell back upon Milan with Radetzky close on his rear. Defeated again outside the city, and unable to hold it, the king marched out of Milan on August 6 and recrossed the Ticino into Piedmont. On the same day Radetzky occupied Milan, whence he had retreated more than four months before. On August 9 Charles Albert concluded an armistice at Vigevano (known as the Salasco Armistice, after its negotiator), which restored the *status quo ante bellum*. Venice, abjuring her recent vote of union with Sardinia, prolonged her resistance for a whole year.

The Salasco armistice did more than end an unsuccessful war. It opened a new chapter in the difficult progress of Italy towards union and freedom. The "Albertist" party had planned to achieve union under the House of Savoy, whose chief, leagued with the princes of the peninsula, had conducted a war of deliverance, a "royal war," against the national foe. But the task proved beyond the ability of Charles Albert, whose allies, the Pope and the King of Naples, had deserted the national cause. At the beginning of the war Cavour announced the hour of the Sardinian monarchy to have arrived. D'Azeglio at the end of it declared, "the

war of the princes is over, that of the people is beginning." The Armistice of Salasco gravely discredited the Moderates and encouraged the hopes of the Democrats, who were less anxious to force a reckoning with Austria until Italy had achieved Republican unity. That result was to be accomplished by a Pan-Italian Constituent Assembly (*Assemblea Costituente*) charged by the electors to frame the Constitution of the Italian Republic. "Whoever continues to cherish dynastic illusions," said Mazzini, "has neither intelligence, heart, genuine love for Italy, nor confidence in her future." Reaction towards the Democrats showed itself immediately upon Charles Albert's reverse. The Commissioners whom he had sent to Venice in accordance with the resolution of union were driven from the city when news of the armistice arrived, and Manin resumed the direction of Venice's fight with Austria. Similar reaction showed itself in Tuscany. A Democratic Ministry was forced upon the grand-duke, whose leader proclaimed a Constituent Assembly to be the hope of all good patriots. In Sicily, on the other hand, Ferdinand profited by the defeat of Charles Albert to crush the revolution. The Sicilian insurrectionaries had offered the island's crown to the second son of Charles Albert. They now experienced Ferdinand's vengeance. Messina was devastated (September) by a bombardment which gained *Rè Bomba* his nickname. In the following May, 1849, Palermo was captured and the Sicilian rebellion was at an end.

The Pope could bring himself to accept neither Constitutional Government nor the national principle. He required an obsequious Minister and found one in Rossi, a reformer and nationalist, but a convinced Moderate. A friend of Guizot, he had no confidence in democracy. He was suspicious of Piedmont and "Albertism," and, regarding the Papacy as "the one great thing left in Italy," rejected any diminution of the Temporal Power of the Holy See. He threatened Rome with martial law, and contemptuous of sentimentalism and demagogism, and a master of biting sarcasm, was hated on all sides. He was assassinated the very day that Parliament assembled. On the following day (November 16) the Pope was besieged in the Quirinal with demands for a Democratic Ministry, for a declaration of war against Austria (whose troops had violated Papal territory after Charles Albert's retreat from Lombardy), and for the summoning of an Italian *Costituente*. A

bishop was shot by the angry mob, and Pius, "to prevent worse crimes," he declared, summoned a Ministry among whose members was an instigator of Rossi's assassination. A few days later the Pope fled to Gaeta, and claimed the hospitality of Ferdinand of Naples. Thence he sent to Rome a Commission of Regency. The Chambers replied by appointing a "Supreme Committee of State," which forthwith summoned the people to elect by universal suffrage a Constituent Assembly to determine the Roman Constitution. It met in February, 1849, and consisted almost entirely of Mazzinists. On February 9 it voted the abolition of the Pope's temporal authority, and proclaimed the Roman Republic. A few days later Leopold of Tuscany followed the Pope to Gaeta, and a Provisional Government for Tuscany was formed. Mazzini returned from England, and the whole of Central Italy seemed won to the Democratic cause.

Piedmont looked suspiciously upon the Democratic movement in Central Italy, and regarded it as weakening the national cause in face of the common enemy. With the proposed Italian *Costituente* it would have nothing to do. Popular opinion clamoured for resumption of the war against Austria, and the renewed outbreak at Vienna (October, 1848) stimulated the desire. Neither France nor Great Britain would help, though Palmerston warned Austria that if a Bonaparte came to power in France he was likely to take a hand in the Italian situation. But British mediation failed, and the proclamation of the Roman Republic in February, 1849, with the certainty of Austrian intervention, fired Charles to renew the war. On March 12, 1849, he denounced the Salasco armistice. On March 20 his army crossed the Ticino and advanced upon Milan. Only Brescia among the Lombard cities rose in sympathy, and Radetzky ended the war at a blow. Crossing the Ticino at Pavia he placed himself between Charles Albert and his base in Piedmont. At Novara (March 23) the single battle of the "Three Days' War" was fought. Charles Albert was decisively beaten, and on the evening of his defeat, rejecting the terms offered him for the conclusion of peace, abdicated in favour of his son Victor Emmanuel II. He died at Oporto in the following July. Three days (March 26) after Novara the new Sovereign signed an agreement with Austria which committed him to the payment of a large indemnity, to be rescinded if he denounced

the *Statuto* of 1848, a condition of which he refused to take advantage. Genoa, which was anxious to continue the war, was coerced into acceptance of the agreement. Brescia, abandoned to the Austrians, was so rigorously treated by General Haynau that he earned, by an easy transformation, the nickname " General Hyena."

The Austrian victory at Novara was followed by general reaction throughout Italy, except in Piedmont. In May, 1849, the Sicilian rebellion was crushed by Ferdinand. Gladstone, who visited the south of Italy at that time, found the prisons choked with political prisoners. Parma and Modena were restored to their dukes under Austrian protection. Leopold of Tuscany returned under similar protection, and withdrew the *Statuto* he had conceded. Austrian troops occupied Papal Romagna (Legations of Ravenna, Ferrara, Bologna) until 1850. Fearful lest Austria should establish herself in Rome, Louis Napoleon, who was courting the French Clericals, offered Pius France's intervention, provided she was permitted to deal with the situation single-handed. Late in April, General Oudinot and a French force of 7000 men landed at Civita Vecchia and marched upon Rome, where, after the battle of Novara, a Triumvirate had been formed, of which Mazzini was the most prominent member and Garibaldi the commander of the Republic's forces. Oudinot professedly came in the " interests of Liberty and French influence." He was suspect on the latter count; for nothing less than the extinction of the Roman Republic and the restoration of the Pope could assist France to keep Austria out of Central Italy. Upon his arrival before Rome on April 30, 1849, therefore, Oudinot was attacked and repulsed. He accepted a suspension of hostilities and fell back to the coast to await reinforcements. Three weeks later Garibaldi repelled with equal ease a Neapolitan raid in the Pope's behalf. After receiving reinforcements, Oudinot resumed hostilities early in June. By the end of the month a vigorous bombardment rendered defence of the city impossible. Garibaldi marched out with three thousand volunteers, disdaining to make terms with the enemies of Italy. Mazzini resigned in order to leave the municipality free to make terms with the enemy. The French thereupon occupied Rome, and on July 14 Oudinot proclaimed the restoration of the Pope's temporal authority.

In April, 1850, Pius returned to Rome, bringing with him the "Gaeta policy" of illiberal reaction. He granted an amnesty clogged with wholesale exceptions; rejected France's proposals for the institution of Liberal reforms in return for her intervention; and re-established the old government of the Cardinals.

On August 27 the Austrian flag flew above San Marco in Venice, whose resistance was beaten by famine and cholera. Italy was beaten. Indecision and poor generalship in Sardinia, the unforeseen treachery of the French Republic, a Pope who put Italy below his own sovereignty, and in Naples an unprincipled tyrant, were the patent causes of failure to win independence. Unity hardly had been aimed at. Mazzini's national *Costituente* was frustrated. The Albertists looked no farther than the Po valley, turned their backs on Central Italy, and rejected the opportunity to supplant the Bourbons in Sicily. Still, the House of Savoy twice had carried on its shoulders the hopes of Italian patriots, and alone maintained the constitutional *régime* of 1848. Piedmont therefore became the Mecca of those whose motto was d'Azeglio's: "We shall try again." The rise of Louis Napoleon Bonaparte introduced a new factor into Italian politics, as Palmerston had prophesied, and when Italy again challenged Austria in 1859 the Eagles of France once more campaigned on Italian soil.

Germany

In Germany, as in Italy, a *Risorgimento* of patriotic fervour burst in 1848, partially successful in its effort to Liberalize the Constitutions of the German States, cheated of its hope to crown the War of Liberation and make of Germany a nation. Liberalism signally failed in both Germany and Austria to win the complete victory which it gained elsewhere. Both Empires clung to the bureaucratic and military characteristics with which the eighteenth century invested them. But the victory of German unity was more completely won. Frederick William IV's successor, William I, aided by his Minister-President, Otto von Bismarck, and the sacrifices of a people whose national industry is arms, won it for Prussia in three wars, against

Denmark in 1864, against Austria in 1866, against France in 1870–71. Königgrätz (Sadowa) (1866) restored the traditions of Prussian prowess under Frederick the Great, and brought the *Bund* created by the Treaty of 1815 to an end. The North German Confederation took its place, and from it Austria, the heir of medieval Germany, was excluded. The third war, provoked in confident reliance upon Moltke and the army, transformed, as Bismarck anticipated, the North German Confederation into the German Empire.

The Germanic Confederation (*Deutscher Bund*) created by the Powers in 1815 comprised thirty-nine States. Throughout its existence of half a century it remained a *Staatenbund* rather than a *Bundesstaat*. Its *Bundestag*, established at Frankfort, was a diplomatic court of plenipotentiaries, in no sense a popular and representative Assembly. Article XIII of the Federal Act of 1815, which promised Constitutions to the German States, had been rendered inoperative by Metternich's influence in the Final Act of 1820. Prussia and Austria remained absolute monarchies. The South German States, Bavaria, Würtemberg, and Baden stood almost alone as recipients of tentative Constitutions from their rulers. The French Revolution of July, 1830, however, left its mark upon Germany. The Liberals attacked the small States, and a few North German princes conferred a measure of the Constitutional privileges which the three southern States already had received. The Duke of Brunswick abdicated (1830) after conceding a Constitution to his people. Hesse-Cassel gained a Constitution (1831) at the same time. In Saxony Liberal reforms were introduced. In Hanover William IV, on succeeding his brother George IV, conferred a Constitution (1833) of an aristocratic type. But the current of Liberalism affected neither Prussia nor Austria, whose rulers, in conjunction with Russia, reaffirmed the principles of the Holy Alliance at Münchengrätz and in the Treaty of Berlin (1833).

The interval between the French Revolutions of 1830 and 1848 showed little progress in Germany towards the unity or the Constitutionalism promised in 1815. The *Bundestag*, alarmed by the Liberal movements of 1830, and by a Liberal Festival at Hambach Castle (May 27, 1832), was induced by Metternich to vote a group of reactionary decrees in 1832.

They forbade the formation of political societies, the holding of political meetings, the wearing of cockades and other emblems of Liberalism. They annulled the Liberal Press laws in Baden and elsewhere as being contrary to Federal decisions. They voided Constitutions which threatened Absolutist principles. They promised Federal assistance to any State whose subjects refused to pay taxes. Consequently the Würtemberg, Hesse, and Nassau Chambers were dissolved. The Diet also appointed a central Committee, which lasted until 1842, to watch the revolutionaries and to direct proceedings against them. The decrees were effective, but killed the *Bundestag* in the eyes of Liberals. Nor did the death of the Sovereigns of the Holy Alliance accelerate, as might have been expected, Germany's obstinate Conservatism. In 1835 Francis I, the last Roman and first Austrian Emperor, died. He had been a reigning Sovereign throughout his son-in-law Napoleon's aggressive career, and had shared the relief of Europe at his downfall. Francis' successor, Ferdinand I, was weak in mind and body, and continued to Metternich the favour which his father had shown to that ultra-Conservative statesman. In 1840 Frederick William III of Prussia's reign ended. His career as Sovereign went back to the closing years of the eighteenth century, and with the new ambitions which the nineteenth was calling into activity he had little sympathy. Like other German rulers, he had promised a Constitution to his people. He travelled so far towards it as to establish Diets in the eight provinces of his scattered kingdom, and to make an Order (1820) conditioning public loans upon the sanction of the Prussian Estates. His death promised to release Prussia from the atmosphere of the eighteenth century. But the anticipation was fulfilled imperfectly. His son Frederick William IV inherited the Hohenzollern predilection for benevolent despotism. Sovereignty of the people, universal suffrage, social equality, and other shibboleths of 1848 were uncongenial to him. Passionately Prussian, he was also passionately German, though an ambition to secure for Germany the unity she desired conflicted with sincere regard for the Habsburg, his country's rival.

As the year 1848 approached, Germany showed increasing signs of political unrest. The suspected Jesuit tendencies

of a member of the reigning House of Saxony led to street riots in Leipzig in 1845. In Hanover Ernest Augustus' withdrawal (1837) of his brother's Constitution deeply stirred Germany. In Hesse the new Elector was hardly restrained from rescinding the Constitution of 1831. Baden, whose geographical position rendered her sensitive to movements in Switzerland and France, gave a victory to the Liberals at the election of 1846. In Bavaria the infatuation of the romantic Lewis I for the Spanish dancer Lola Montez involved him in a struggle with his people. In Würtemberg the king engaged in disputes with the Liberals in the Diet, and street riots took place at Stuttgart in 1847. A meeting of advanced Baden Liberals at Offenburg in the autumn of 1847 approved proposals for a German Parliament; the enrolment of popular militias in place of standing armies; the abolition of class privileges; the removal of restrictions upon public meeting; the institution of trial by jury; and the abolition of bureaucratic government. Some active Liberals looked forward to a Republican Constitution for federated Germany and its individual States. But Liberals of every shade of opinion had brought themselves to regard the summoning of a representative national Parliament or Constituent as the paramount need of the moment. Its activity is the chief fact in the history of Germany in 1848–49. Closely bound up with it are the revolutionary movements which simultaneously involved Prussia and Austria, rivals for the headship of the German world. The three episodes together constitute the history of Germany's revolutionary period.

Without real sympathy for the ideals of Liberalism, Frederick William IV of Prussia was moved in its direction partly to satisfy his father's promise of a Constitution, partly in the desire to instruct Germany by conferring a Constitution free from popular blemish, partly because his father's Order of 1820 clogged financial operations at a time when Prussia's industrial development required constant and generous nurture. His ideal was the German State of the Middle Ages. "I hold my Crown in fee from God and owe Him a reckoning for every minute of my reign," he told his people at his coronation. He hated France, her revolutions, her rationalistic philosophy, her popular sovereignty. He ridiculed the notion of a written Constitution, and admitted the need of nothing more directive

and controlling than his own benevolent paternalism. Early in February, 1847, he so far met the aspirations of Prussian Liberalism as to summon the eight provincial Diets to meet at Berlin as a Combined Parliament (*Vereinigter Landtag*). It met in the White Hall on April 11, 1847, and Frederick William, whose personality strikingly anticipated that of his great-nephew William II, addressed the members in a characteristic speech. It was not their duty, he told them, to represent to him or to carry out their own ideas on public affairs. Such a course conflicted with the prerogative of the Sovereign, who, "in accordance with the law of God and of the land, governs in obedience to his own decisions freely made, and not at the prompting of majorities." As to a Constitution in the popular sense, "never," he said with emphasis, "will I permit a written document to interpose between God in heaven and this kingdom of mine." "As for me and my house," he concluded, "we will serve the Lord." He restricted the Combined Parliament's powers to the presentation of petitions and voting of new taxation. He refused to make it a permanent institution. So strong was the disappointment at the king's attitude, that the two financial measures laid before Parliament were rejected rather than condone his neglect to fulfil his father's promise (1815) to confer a genuine Constitution. But Frederick William had no intention of creating a Parliament of the Western type. He invited the *Landtag* to appoint an *interim* Committee of eight with whom he could annually and more easily discuss public loans and finance. He advocated also the appointment of provincial Committees to meet once in four years, with advisory powers upon legislative proposals. The Committees, financial and advisory, were elected, and after a session of less than three months' duration the *Vereinigte Landtag* dispersed.

Liberalism, on the whole, was inclined to take encouragement from Frederick William's timid experiment. But in February, 1848, the French Revolution stirred deeper waters. On all sides demands were raised for the enrolling of National Guards, for liberty of the Press, the right of free public meeting, trial by jury, equality of religions, abolition of autocratic and police methods of government, appointment of responsible Ministers, and, above all, the summoning of a National Parliament to

give the Fatherland unity. Fear was entertained at first that the establishment of the Second Republic would revive in France the combative spirit of the Convention, or more recently, of the crisis of 1840, when patriots on both sides of it were toasting the Rhine. But apprehensions were dispelled by a reassuring despatch sent out by Lamartine to the Powers from the French Foreign Office, and German Liberalism concentrated absorbingly on its domestic campaign. Baden led the way in the early days of March ; the Grand-Duke conceding freedom to the Press and the enrolment of National Guards. In Hesse-Darmstadt, Heinrich von Gagern, a prominent Liberal, was called to power. In Bavaria the mad King Lewis I conferred a Constitution, the prelude to his abdication. In Würtemberg the king yielded to the Liberals. In Hesse-Cassel popular demonstrations forced the Elector to confirm the Constitution of 1831. The Free Towns and minor States swung with the political pendulum. Hanover and Saxony followed more leisurely in the same direction. Even the moribund *Bundestag* at Frankfort displayed the red-gold-and-black Tricolour of German unity.

Prussia

The movements in Prussia and Austria transcended others in Germany. They broke out in the middle of March, after the news of the Paris revolution arrived. Barricades were raised in Berlin on the 15th by the proletariat—the middle class held aloof. On the following day the troops were ordered to open fire to clear the streets. Frederick William is said to have thought of sending a force into South-West Germany to repress the Liberal movements there. But the Vienna rising on March 13 roused his anxiety. On March 18 he signed a Patent summoning the *Vereinigte Landtag* to meet on April 2, gave his approval to the Liberal scheme of a German *Bundesstaat* with a representative Assembly, and signed an Ordinance removing restrictions on the Press. News of the king's concessions drew the populace in great numbers to the Schlossplatz before the Castle, and a squadron of dragoons and two companies of infantry were ordered to clear the space in front of it. The accidental discharge of a couple of muskets alarmed the crowd.

Shouting "Murder! Treason! Vengeance!" it swept back to the barricades, leaving the Castle isolated from an angry city by a protecting circle of troops. Distracted by the fears of his household and the torture of his own mind as the sound of firing reached the Castle, Frederick William late at night issued a Proclamation *An meine lieben Berliner*, bidding them abandon the barricades on his promise to withdraw the troops. Through the night, however, the conflict continued. Over 200 defenders of the barricades, and about 20 soldiers, were killed. Early next morning (March 19) deputations arrived at the Castle to beg the unconditional withdrawal of the troops. To the alarm of his household the king gave way. The mob's demand for arms was also granted; the contents of the Zeughaus (Arsenal) were served out; and a general amnesty was proclaimed. In the evening the troops, who meanwhile had been confined to barracks, were sent away to Potsdam. Had it intended to inflict upon him the fate of Louis Philippe a few weeks earlier, the king was at the mercy of the populace. But to destroy the dynasty was no part of its programme. On the 19th a procession filed past the undefended Castle, escorting the bodies of those who had fallen at the barricades. Frederick William appeared on the balcony and, obedient to the cry "Hats off!" saluted the dead as they were borne past him. His surrender was complete. On the 21st he issued a second Proclamation, addressed "To my people and the German Nation," declaring his intention to place himself at the head of the German national movement. "At this moment of supreme danger," he said, "I assume complete responsibility. My people will not fail me, and Germany will give me her fullest confidence." He professed attachment to "a true constitutional system," ministerial responsibility, and equality of civil and political rights. He endorsed the proposal for a German *National-parlament* and the principle of universal suffrage. "From this day forth," he added in a famous phrase, *Preussen geht in Deutschland auf* (Prussia is merged in Germany). On the same day he rode through the streets of the capital displaying the red-black-gold Tricolour of united Germany. On the following day he again paid respect to the victims of the barricades as their bodies were carried to their burying, and Berlin's "March Days," humiliating to the Hohenzollern,

and temporarily damaging to their ambitions in the wider area of German unity, came to an end.

On April 2 the second Combined Parliament (*Vereinigter Landtag*), the gift of Frederick William's panic, assembled at Berlin. It resolved upon the convocation of a Constituent Assembly or "National Assembly" to aid the Sovereign in drafting a Constitution for the kingdom, and after a week's session dissolved. The elections for the Constituent Assembly took place forthwith. Its members were chosen by indirect election. The whole body of voters over twenty-four years of age chose one elector for every five hundred voters in each electoral "Circle." The electors made choice of the delegates for each "Circle," to the total number of 402. The delegates consisted chiefly of lawyers, Professors, clergy, with a few peasants and artisans. Its Liberal Left, drawn principally from Rhenish Prussia and the big cities, desired the Assembly boldly to assert the sovereignty of the people. The Conservative Right consisted chiefly of the squires and nobles (*Junker*), the so-called "Feudal" or *Kreuz Zeitung* (the name of its recently founded journal) party. The Centre, men of moderate views, controlled the situation and prescribed the terms of the new Constitution. Its preparation was entrusted to a Committee, and its model was that of Belgium—a bicameral Legislature, and ministerial responsibility. Universal suffrage and indirect election replaced the Belgian property qualification and direct vote. But Frederick William's fundamental views underwent no change, and the "Old Prussian," Conservative, or *Junker* party, in which Bismarck was already an influence, recovered its control. Its members assembled in Berlin, a *Junkerparlament*, to watch over the interests of "property." The anti-civilian bias of the army was another menace. Hence the Assembly moved more and more towards the Liberal Left for support. In June it called for the resignation of army officers who refused to undertake not to support reactionary measures. The game laws were attacked. The words "By the grace of God" in the king's royal style were challenged. Frederick William's patience was exhausted, and the fall of Vienna to the Imperial troops on October 31 encouraged him to attempt a *coup de main*. He appointed as Minister-President his kinsman Count Brandenburg, a son of Frederick William II, with a view to the dispersal of the

inconvenient Assembly. On November 9, the anniversary of *Brumaire*, the *Landtag* was ordered to betake itself to Brandenburg. It retaliated by withdrawing the taxes already granted. The troops were recalled to Berlin, the Civil Guards were disarmed, and at Brandenburg on December 5, 1848, the Assembly was dissolved.

With the *Landtag* vanished the so-called "Waldeck Constitution" (named after the Liberal Leo Waldeck) upon which it had been engaged. Like Louis XVIII, Frederick William was induced by Brandenburg to confer on his people what their representatives had failed to complete. On December 6, following the dissolution of the Assembly at Brandenburg, the royal Prussian Constitution was promulgated, subject to revision by legislative process. It was accepted by a "docile" *Landtag* in 1850, and is the Constitution which Prussia still (1915) enjoys. Its characteristics are, a two-Chambered *Landtag*—Frederick William persisted in continuing the old name—consisting of a House of Deputies (*Haus der Abgeordneten*) elected in theory by universal suffrage, and a House of Lords (*Herrenhaus*) of (since 1854) hereditary and nominated life members, including representatives of the Universities and municipalities. The Houses together share the legislative power with the Crown. The executive is vested in the Sovereign. The franchise is exercised by all males of thirty years of age and upwards not in receipt of parochial relief and with a six months' domicile in their communities. But the mode of electing the House of Deputies was shrewdly devised to render universal suffrage innocuous. On the plea, in Frederick William's words, that "a man ought to have the courage of his opinions," the electors were refused the safeguard of a secret ballot. Voting also is indirect. The whole body of primary electors, arranged in three "classes" in each community according to their direct tax-paying value—rich, well-to-do, poor—is charged to elect an equal number of secondary electors by whom the Deputies are chosen, an arrangement which gives to the wealthy and well-to-do a numerical force of which universal suffrage directly applied would deprive them. The Prussian "Law of Three Classes" still holds, and is typical of a Constitution devised to clash as little as possible with the principle which Frederick William enunciated when he took the oath to observe

it: "In Prussia the king must rule, and I rule because it is God's will that I should do so." Indeed, so incongruous was the Constitution to the Divine Right which he asserted, that he left a Testament urging his successors to reverse it, a document which his great-nephew William II revealed to the world on the occasion of his semi-Jubilee in 1913, adding that, regarding it as "a barrel of gunpowder" in the basement of a Constitutional edifice, he had caused it to be destroyed.

Austria

Unlike her western neighbours, Austria was little affected by the French Revolution of 1789. Nor was her system disturbed, as were the other German States, by Napoleon's colossal experiments in kingdom-making. At the price of her outlying provinces (Belgium and Vorderösterreich), she emerged from the war with an increase of her main territory (Salzburg, the Innviertel, and the whole of the domains of Venice). By her ruler's assumption of the title "Hereditary Emperor of Austria" in 1804 she united for the first time all his dominions under a collective name and title. For the first time in history "Austria" meant more than the archduchy. But in the name were included a congeries of peoples who only artificially formed a nation. They spoke many languages and were ruled under differing administrative systems. Historically they fall into five groups: (1) the hereditary possessions of the Habsburg in and about the Archduchy of Austria (eleven provinces, held by different titles); (2) the territories of the Crown of Bohemia (Bohemia, Moravia, and the Silesian region round Troppau, being the residue of Silesia remaining in Austria's hands); (3) the Polish Kingdom of Galicia, with its annexe Bukovina (a Roumanian district taken from Moldavia); (4) the territories of the Hungarian Crown of St. Stephen, which comprised four areas: the Kingdom of Hungary, the Croat Kingdom of Croatia-Slavonia, the Principality of Transylvania, and the province of Serbia (much of which was held by Turkey); (5) the sub-Alpine provinces, consisting of the Kingdom of Lombardy-Venetia and the Kingdom of Illyria, the latter belonging ethnically to the Croatian group. Of the five groups (1) was mainly German, (2) mainly Slavonic (Czechs),

(3) Slavonic (Poles and Ruthenes, and in Bukovina and Transylvania, Roumanians), (4) Magyar, Germanic, Slavonic, and (5) Italian and Slavonic.

For Austria the crisis of 1848 was complicated by the fact that her subjects formed the most diverse population of any European State. Its constituents were Slavonic and non-Slavonic. Within the non-Slavonic category were four nationalities: German, Italian, Roumanian, and Hungarian or Magyar. The Slavonic element, more homogeneous, was also more sub-divided. It contained the Bohemian and Moravian Slavs (known collectively as Czechs), Slovaks, Poles, Ruthenes, Slovenes, Serbs, and Croats. The German population for the most part lay in the Alpine provinces between the Danube and the Drave, in Tyrol, Salzburg, Carinthia, Styria, Lower and Upper Austria, and on the fringes of Bohemia and Silesia. The Italians were mainly in Lombardy-Venetia, north of the Po. The Roumanians (Vlachs or Wallachians) bordered the Carpathians, neighbouring their kinsmen in the Kingdom of Roumania, which came into existence in 1881. The Magyars, the only non-Aryan race among the populations of the Austrian Empire, occupied the lowlands of Hungary, and swamped the comparatively small number of German inhabitants. From Alpine Tyrol in the west to the Carpathians in the east non-Slavonic Austria-Hungary drove a broad wedge between Slavonic populations north and south of it. Hence, while their ambitions were the same, their activities were distinct in the crisis of 1848. A North Slavonic group was formed by the Czechs of Bohemia and Moravia, their neighbours the Slovaks, and the Ruthenes and Poles in Galicia. A South Slavonic group consisted of the Slovenes in Carniola, their neighbours the Croats in Croatia-Slavonia, and the Serbs, reaching eastward to Belgrade, the capital of the then Principality of Serbia, which secured release from Turkish suzerainty in 1878.

The unrest throughout the Austrian dominions in 1848 was partly Liberal or constitutional, partly national. In the German provinces the movement was Liberal and aimed to secure a constitutional system and Press liberty. In the Magyar and Slav provinces of the Empire, under the stimulus of the French revolution of February, 1848, it was national

and constitutional. Each Slavonic group, the North Slavs, whose headquarters were Prague, and the South Slavs, whose headquarters were Agram in Croatia, had its peculiar problem. The Poles' quarrel was rather with Austria and Prussia. But Austria's absorption of the Republic of Cracow in 1846 drew their anger upon her also. Bohemia and her dependencies, Moravia and Silesia, had passed into the possession of the Habsburg with the Crown of St. Wenceslas in 1526. Her Diet, a landlord's Parliament, restive under Austrian neglect of its constitutional right to vote taxes, resented Vienna's wish to elbow out the Czech language from the Diet and the University (Prague). One of its own poets expressed the Czech outlook: "Were our Slav folk gold, silver, and copper. I would make of them a single statue. Russia should be its hands, Poland the bust, Czechs the arms and head, and Serbs the feet. The remoter peoples, Wends of Lusatia, Silesians, Croats, and Slovaks should be its raiment and its weapons. Europe should bend the knee before it. Its head should tower above the clouds. Its feet should stride the earth."

In the South Slavonic group the position was more acute owing to the ambitions of Magyar Hungary. The latter's Crown, with its dependencies Transylvania and Croatia, had come to the Habsburg at the moment of its humiliation by the Turks at Mohacs in 1526. After two centuries of effort, Hungary and the neighbouring lands were recovered from the Turk, and the Treaty of Belgrade in 1739 established the Save and Danube as the boundary between the Austrian and Ottoman Empires, a demarcation which was not disturbed until the Treaty of Berlin a century later (1878). Freed from Turkish menace, "the blood of Attila" stirred the Magyars to challenge German Austria. Their society was organized as in the Middle Ages. Only the nobles were full citizens. They were exempt from taxation, and from military service except upon a general call to arms (*insurrectio*). There was no middle class. The peasantry, burdened by taxes and feudal *corvées*, had no political rights at all. After 1830 a Liberal and National movement was set on foot in Hungary. It demanded an Hungarian administration; more frequent Imperial visits to Hungary; the transference of the Diet from the German frontier town Pressburg to the Magyar capital Pest; and the

use of the Magyar tongue in place of German or Latin as the official language. The issue was joined at once on the language question, and over it a young lawyer, Louis Kossuth, a member of the Diet, particularly distinguished himself. Magyar became the language of legislation in 1836, of administration in 1840, and of the debates of the Diet in 1843. On the Constitution Hungarian opinion was not agreed. But Kossuth organized a Democratic and advanced party to push for drastic reform; the abolition of seignorial rights; the reform of the unfair and partial system of taxation; the strengthening of the Diet's financial control; the creation of an Hungarian Executive, and of a representative system. The problem was complicated by Hungary's relations with her neighbours. In Croatia, a dependency of the Hungarian crown, Imperial authority was represented by a *Banus* or Governor. Fear of the Magyars quickened hopes of a confederation of Croats, Slovenes, Serbs of Slavonia, Dalmatia, and other Slav lands which might be (as Bosnia and Herzegovina were in 1878) wrested from the Turks. The peasant Vlachs of Transylvania, whose Diet sat at Klausenburg, also were alarmed at the prospect of administrative subordination to a Hungarian Ministry. Austria found herself in a difficulty. Hungary stood alone racially; neither within nor without the bounds of Austrian rule could she invoke the sentiment which drew Slav to Slav. On the other hand, her material and military resources were considerable, and her tax-voting Diet could not be treated with indifference.

Austria has been called "a monarchical machine and nothing more," a "jealous congery of intriguing disaffected nationalities." Her position as a German State she had sacrificed to the consolidation of her territories in Italy and South-East Europe, a fact due in considerable measure to the circumstance that from the fifteenth century danger faced her most persistently from that quarter. She had failed to provide an efficient nexus between provinces of which her Sovereign was archduke and king. Maria Theresa's son Joseph II (1765–90) expended much energy upon an attempt to centralize the administration of the Empire, and the provincial Estates were reduced to impotence. In Maria Theresa's reign they had come together once in ten years. It was Joseph's

intention to assemble them only when specifically summoned by himself. But the French Revolution, of which he lived to see the beginning, and Metternich's subsequent preoccupation in foreign affairs, precluded farther attempts at domestic reform. Austria's government continued to be what it had been before the French Revolution. The Emperor's authority was absolute. He ruled with the aid of Ministers and Councils, a medley of governing Boards, some having Imperial and others provincial authority. Foreign affairs, police, and finance were in the hands of the Council of State (*Staatsrath*). Special Chancelleries administered Bohemia and Galicia, Austria and Illyria, and Lombardy-Venetia. Hungary and Transylvania had distinctive Court Offices (*Hofstellen*). There was a general Aulic Council of War, Board of Audit, and the so-called Aulic Chamber (*Reichshofrath*). To bring this cumbrous machinery into co-ordination, conferences were instituted (1814) between heads of Departments and others. Ferdinand I instituted the State Conference (*Staatskonferenz*, or *Geheime Konferenz*). But Metternich frankly called the Austrian system a "mouldering edifice" which would succumb to any effort to repair it. No Cabinet or Ministerial Council co-ordinated the various Departments, and there was no Minister charged with the general supervision of the provinces. Metternich, indeed, suggested, but without effect, that there should be added to the Departments organized by Maria Theresa—Chancery (*Hofkanzlei*), Exchequer (*Hofkammer*), War (*Hofkriegsrath*), and Justice (*Hofrath*)—a Minister responsible for the administration of all the provinces excepting Hungary and Transylvania. But the accession of the mentally weak Emperor Ferdinand I in 1835 added to the existing confusion. His functions as autocrat of a complex State were not delegated to a Regency, but were exercised by the State Conference (*Staatskonferenz*), whose regular members were two archdukes, the head of the *Hofkammer*, and Metternich himself as Chancellor. Thus, while all were subject to the same Sovereign, no apparatus bound the provinces of the Empire together. Its four groups, the German (Austria, Styria, Carinthia, Carniola, Tyrol), the Bohemian (including Moravia and Austrian Silesia), the Hungarian (including Transylvania and Croatia-Slavonia), and the Italian were not even a federal union, and formed separate executive systems.

News of Louis Philippe's abdication and the proclamation of the French Republic on February 24, 1848, reached Vienna five days later. Liberalism was not organized, but the malcontents hastened to approach the government with petitions for reform. The Politico-Juridical Reading Club of Vienna, of which the lawyer Alexander Bach was a prominent member, demanded freedom for the Press, publicity of judicial procedure, a public Budget, and the convocation of a representative Assembly. Other public bodies urged similar views. In the first alarm the Court showed an inclination to sacrifice Metternich. But after the first excitement, the government convinced itself that the ebullition of Liberalism was transitory, and Metternich countered a petition in behalf of Press freedom by declaring that he could not attend immediately to it. On March 12, however, the students of the University, who throughout the revolution played a particularly prominent part, entrusted a petition of the usual type to two Liberal Professors, by whom it was submitted to the Emperor. On the following day (March 13), the *Landtag* of Lower Austria met at Vienna. For that reason probably, a rumour had circulated, "The Revolution is fixed for March 13." On the 13th, a young doctor of medicine, Adolf Fischhof, at the head of a band of demonstrators, broke into the Landhaus and carried off the Deputies to the Imperial Castle, the Hofburg, where the *Staatskonferenz* was confronted by representatives of the University, the *Landtag*, the municipality, and other public interests. Meanwhile, a *fracas* between the troops and the people who thronged the streets resulted in the death of five persons. Thereupon the angry mob set fire to buildings in the suburbs and showed a demeanour so menacing that Metternich tendered his resignation. On the following day (March 14), concealed in a laundry cart, he escaped from Vienna. On March 15, the very day that barricades were being raised in Berlin, an Imperial Manifesto conceded the demands of the demonstrators. A Constitution was promised, Press censorship was abolished, National Guards were to be enrolled, and a joint session of the provincial Estates was announced for July 3 to discuss a Constitution.

Simultaneously with Vienna, the two principal non-German provinces—Bohemia and Hungary—also responded to the call of Paris. Two days (March 11) before Metternich's fall a

popular meeting at Prague, guided by a general "Committee of St. Wenceslas," dispatched to Vienna a petition demanding the right of free public meeting, National Guards, the abolition of feudal servitudes which oppressed the peasantry, and a closer administrative association of Bohemia, Moravia, and Silesia. Hardly had these demands been accorded before the Vienna events on the 13th encouraged the Czechs to press for more concessions—a Bohemian Executive responsible to the Bohemian *Landtag;* a considerable measure of administrative and legislative autonomy; the placing of the Czech language on a footing of equality with German; and an undertaking that the Bohemian *Landtag* should be allowed to examine the promised Constitution in the light of Bohemian interests. To all of these requests a favourable reply was returned from Vienna (April 8). The Czechs at once began to form a Slav militia and to wear the national dress. And under the pretext that the Bohemian Chancellery at Vienna was coerced by revolutionaries, the Czech leaders formed a provisional government (May) and convoked a Pan-Slav Congress, which opened at Prague on June 2.

In Hungary the *Landtag* had been sitting at Pressburg since November, 1847. It was the last that met there. The youthful Palatine, Archduke Stephen, the Emperor's first cousin, was more sympathetic to Hungarian nationalism than his father, and for the first time the Speech from the throne was delivered in the Magyar language. After the news of the Paris revolution arrived, Louis Kossuth and the Magyar party demanded insistently (March 14) the creation of a Hungarian Ministry, to be appointed by the Palatine and responsible to the Hungarian *Landtag*. The Palatine himself carried the petition to Vienna. On the 17th it was granted, and on his return to Pressburg the Palatine nominated Count Batthyany as President of the first responsible Hungarian Ministry. But during his short absence in Vienna a popular demonstration in Pest, following Bohemia's example, put forward other demands in a "People's Charter," and when the *Landtag* rose (April 11) it had wrung from the King-Emperor constitutional, national, and social reforms of the first importance. In the first category: the *Landtag* henceforth was to be summoned annually, the political suffrage, so far exercised exclusively by the nobles, being extended to all

Hungarians owning property equivalent in value to £30; liberty to the Press and trial by jury were conceded. The Magyar language was recognized as the official medium, and the seat of government was transferred to Pest, the Magyar capital. Not less important were the social reforms which the *Landtag* forced from the King-Emperor. The Feudal servitudes of the peasantry were abolished and the immunity from taxation of privileged interests ceased. The Hungarian Executive moved to Pest on June 26, and an Assembly elected under a reformed electoral law met there in July. The Palatine was conceded from Vienna quasi-sovereign powers. The government forbade its officials to take orders from Vienna. It flew the national flag and organized an army. It established a paper currency, negotiated a public loan, and even sent out diplomatic representatives. Saving its liabilities to the Imperial Exchequer and Army, Hungary was autonomous. In regard to its neighbours—Transylvania and the Slavs of Croatia and Slavonia—it at once disclosed its ambitions. The King-Emperor was requested to summon the Transylvanian *Landtag* to Klausenburg to conclude a union with Hungary, while a Slav deputation, which visited Pressburg to congratulate the *Landtag*, was told bluntly by Kossuth that nothing but force could gain for their race equality of treatment with the Magyars.

Thus, within little more than a month after the French revolution of February, 1848, the Austrian Empire was in dissolution. Milan and Venice for the moment were lost. Hungary and Bohemia had broken free from Vienna's control. The German provinces were eagerly awaiting a Liberal Constitution. The South Slavs, under their *Banus* Jelláchich, were ready to dare Magyar and Vienna alike by forming a Slav kingdom of Croatia-Slavonia-Dalmatia. The Serbs, organized in a national committee, were ready to join them. In Transylvania the peasantry revolted against their Magyar and German (Saxon) landlords, whose *Landtag* voted (May) the union of Transylvania and Hungary. In the neighbour kingdoms of Prussia, Saxony, and Bavaria, Liberalism, aided by events in Vienna, also triumphed. Two days after Metternich's flight from Vienna, Frederick Augustus II of Saxony appointed a Liberal ministry. A week later Lewis I of Bavaria abdicated and the Liberal

régime in that kingdom began. The King of Hanover appointed a Liberal Cabinet on the same day. Frederick William of Prussia had taken the same course the day before. Early in April the black-red-and-gold Tricolour of New Germany replaced the flag (black-yellow) of the Habsburg on St. Stephen's Cathedral. The Vienna government resolved to proceed forthwith with the promised Constitution. It had been intended to entrust it to a joint session of the provincial Estates. Instead, the Emperor submitted to some thirty persons drawn from all parts of the Empire, and also to the provincial Estates, the draft of a Constitution based on that of Belgium. It satisfied the German provinces, encountered opposition in Bohemia, Hungary, and Galicia, and was *octroyée*, like Louis XVIII's Charter, as a completed instrument conferred by the Emperor's grace.

The first Austrian Constitution was promulgated on April 25, 1848. It constituted in an indissoluble Monarchy all the provinces of the Crown excepting Lombardy-Venetia and the Trans-Leithanian districts (*i.e.* those to the east of the river Leitha, one of the boundaries of Lower Austria), namely, Hungary, Croatia-Slavonia, and Transylvania. Bohemia, by virtue of the Imperial concession of April 8, and Galicia in the name of the national recognition which she claimed, withheld assent to the document. Within the bounds of the Monarchy constituted by it the Constitution conferred upon all citizens civil rights and religious liberty. It instituted a General Diet (*Reichstag*) of two Chambers; the Upper, consisting of the princes of the dynasty and magnates; the Lower, of 383 members, chosen by tax-paying electors exercising indirect universal suffrage as in Prussia. Ministers were made responsible to the *Reichstag*, though the provincial Estates were allowed to continue. National Guards were to be instituted. The Hungarian problem was not touched.

Compelled to confer a Constitution, it was natural that the Emperor should prefer the Liberalism of 1830 to that of 1848. It was equally natural that the standards of the earlier and less violent revolution in Europe should fail to satisfy the public demands to which the Emperor had been forced to bow. The Constitution was too remotely democratic to be agreeable to the enthusiasts of the University *Aula* and National Guards. The committees of those bodies therefore formed a

Central Political Committee, which conducted peremptory negotiations with the government. An order to dissolve it brought further humiliation on authority; for a demonstration of students and workmen at the Hofburg (May 15) obtained the reinstatement of the Central Political Committee and a promise that the Constitution should be submitted to a single-Chamber Constituent Assembly for adjustment to Democratic standards. Two days later (May 17), to the dismay and astonishment of the capital, the Emperor and the Imperial Court left Schönbrunn, the royal palace in the suburbs of Vienna, and betook themselves to Innsbruck in Tyrol for nearly four months. Considerations of health were said to have prompted a journey whose political significance was quite obvious. It placed the Court among devoted adherents and in a position of retirement, whence it was able to watch events in Vienna and maintain a convenient aloofness from the difficult situation which was about to arise between Vienna, Prague, and Pest.

With the Court at a distance, and an unpopular Ministry in office, Vienna remained in a chronic condition of unrest. One of the Emperor's last acts before leaving Schönbrunn had been to concede, along with the reinstatement of the Central Political Committee and the promise of a Constituent Assembly to revise the Constitution, that the army should not be called out except on the demand of the National Guards. The annual vacation of the University began on May 26, a circumstance which afforded opportunity to dissolve the Academic Legion, whose activities provoked disturbance—the Emperor made its dispersal a condition of his return to Vienna. Relying on the National Guards and some regular troops, the government ordered the dissolution of the Legion. The students showed fight, the unemployed workmen joined them, and when, with a view to pacifying them, the regular troops were withdrawn, barricades were erected. The government capitulated. The order regarding the Academic Legion was withdrawn; the students and their allies remained masters of the situation. They forced a promise from the Ministers not to follow the Court's example, but to remain in Vienna, and to procure either the Emperor's return or the nomination of a Regent. They set up (May 26) a new Committee of Safety, with Fischhof as its leading spirit. To its one hundred members

the municipality, National Guards, and *Aula* each contributed a quota.

The paralysis of the government and the Prague crisis in June strengthened the reactionary Court *Camarilla*, of which the Emperor's sister-in-law, the Archduchess Sophia, wife of his brother and heir, was the leader. But in the meantime the Committee of Safety ruled the situation. Early in June the Emperor was advised to express his " ardent wish " for the immediate summons of the Constituent, and to confirm the concessions he made before leaving Vienna. On June 25 his uncle, Archduke John, the most popular member of the Imperial House and a man of Liberal sympathies, consented to act as Regent, and yielded to the Committee of Safety's demand for the dismissal of the Ministry. It fell on July 8 and was replaced by one avowedly of Liberal sympathies, Alexander Bach taking the portfolio of Justice. On July 22 the Archduke opened the long-promised Constituent. It had been elected by universal suffrage and represented all but the Trans-Leithanian and Italian provinces. To the dismay of the German population, more than half of the 383 Deputies were non-Germans—Czechs for the most part. The nobles were hardly represented, and the bulk of the members were of the *bourgeois* class. About one-quarter (ninety-two) of the total membership were peasants, who had come to Vienna to secure the abolition of peasant servitudes and tithes, especially the *robot* or *corvée*, which was general throughout the Empire except in Tyrol, where serfdom did not exist—it allowed the feudal proprietor about one hundred days of his tenant's labour in the year. A Czech and a Pole were appointed Vice-Presidents of the Constituent, though a Viennese was elected President. The monopoly of German as the language of debate necessarily was not insisted on. The Right consisted mainly of Czechs, whose object was to protect the interests of nationalities and to combat Viennese Centralism. The Left was composed of German Democrats, who were both Centralist and Radical upon the Constitutional settlement which the Constituent had in hand. The Centre, the " Black-and-Yellow " party, Clerical and Conservative, was anxious to maintain the *status quo* in the provinces and to support the government against disorder.

At its third meeting the Constituent, on the motion of

Hans Kudlich, a Czech peasant Deputy, voted the abolition of serfdom throughout the Empire. But the question of compensation caused division. In the result it was determined that no compensation should be given for forfeited feudal rights involving merely jurisdiction or privilege, but that the loss of labour or tithes should be compensated by provincial funds raised for the purpose. After a month's discussion the Assembly voted the abolition of the *robot* and suppressed distinctions between nobles and peasants. This was the permanent result of the revolution of 1848 in Austria. In regard to the constitutional settlement, turning its back on the Constitution of April 25, the Assembly, which possessed Constituent and not legislative powers, appointed a Committee to consider the whole matter *de novo*. The Emperor, on its invitation, returned to Vienna on August 12, but, like his neighbour in Prussia at about the same time, was denied the style *von Gottes Gnaden* (" by the grace of God ") as being in conflict with popular sovereignty. With the Court once more resident in the capital, the Constituent devoted itself to the task of framing a Constitution, whose fortunes were determined by events elsewhere.

It has been pointed out that in Austria's non-German provinces the Liberal movement was both constitutional and national. In Bohemia the " Committee of St. Wenceslas " was formed to promote the interests of Czech nationalism at the moment when Vienna was endeavouring to force Liberal concessions from its Sovereign. The Emperor's rescript of April 8 returned a sympathetic answer to the Committee's demands, and his failure to fulfil his promises in the Constitution promulgated on April 25 caused the greater disappointment. Slav nationalism also was concerned in the wider question of German union, and was anxious to prevent the absorption of Austria and her Slav provinces into the State that German Liberals had in view. Palacký, the historian and leader of the Czech party, refused to act as one of the six Austrian members of the Committee of Fifty nominated by the Frankfort *Vorparlament* to watch events pending the assembling of the impending National Parliament. In a published letter, which greatly moved the entire Slav world, he vindicated his refusal to do so. Bohemia, he contended, formed no part of Germany ; for the union of Bohemia and

Austria was dynastic and could not obliterate the claim of the Czechs to be treated as a separate people. He denounced German unity as threatening to weaken Austria relatively to Russia, her powerful neighbour. A federal union of Austria's own provinces, he held, was a goal to be striven for. His fellow-countrymen followed his lead in boycotting the *Nationalparlament* which opened at Frankfort in May. Two-thirds of the Bohemian constituencies refused to elect representatives to it.

Events in Vienna, and especially the surrender of the Ministry to the Committee of Safety (May 26), increased Czech disinclination to follow Austrian policy tamely. The Governor, Count Leo Thun, refused to obey the orders of mob-rule from Vienna, and formed a provisional Bohemian administration. As a counterblast to the German Parliament recently assembled at Frankfort, a Slav Congress was convened at Prague, and opened on June 2 under the presidency of Palacky. Primarily a Parliament of the Slavs within the Austrian Empire, it opened its doors also to Prussian and Russian Poles, invited its members to consider Slav interests within and without the Empire, and to discuss the general relations of the Slavs with non-Slav nationalities. The influence of the Polish deputies carried a wider programme, and Palacky was instructed to draw up a manifesto to Europe demanding a general Congress of Nations. Meanwhile the members proclaimed their loyalty to the Habsburg, provided the Austrian Empire was reorganized as a Federal State, of which Bohemia and her Slav dependents would form a constituent part. But the Congress excited classes of the population which were impatient of deliberative courses. The Prague students, eager to play the part of their Vienna brethren, demanded arms and ammunition. Upon the refusal of the Austrian Marshal von Windischgrätz to gratify them, an attack was made upon his palace (June 13), and his wife was shot dead at one of its windows. The city broke into revolt, barricades were raised, and Windischgrätz, in spite of the provocation he had received, agreed to an exchange of prisoners and an armistice. On the 15th he withdrew his troops from the city to the heights commanding it.

But Prague was evacuated with a clear purpose. The

Marshal's demand for unconditional surrender was refused, and after twenty-four hours' bombardment he was completely master of the city. His victory extinguished Bohemian ambitions; the Bohemian Diet already summoned by Thun never met. Slav aspirations were smothered, and Europe made no response to Palacky's appeal. In the result the labours of the Austrian Constituent also were rendered abortive by it. The army in Vienna had played an undistinguished part since the opening disturbances in March. But Windischgrätz's victory at Prague restored its *prestige*, and Radetzky's reoccupation of Milan a few weeks later (August 6) clinched the resolution of the Court *Camarilla* to conduct a policy of repression.

While the Czech programme in Bohemia was easily suppressed, a Slav national movement developed in the south. It was complicated by the resolution of Hungary to control Transylvania and Croatia-Slavonia within her administrative system. The Roumanians of Transylvania formally repudiated union with Hungary, and demanded distinctive recognition for their nationality. But Magyar interests in Transylvania were more powerful, and a resolution of the Klausenburg *Landtag* in favour of union was accepted by the Emperor-King (June 18). In Croatia-Slavonia the Imperial grant of administrative autonomy to Hungary, together with the anti-Slav demeanour of Kossuth, caused the greatest anxiety. In the early days of April, while the Pressburg *Landtag* was concluding its session, a Croat deputation visited Vienna to request the recognition of Croatia-Dalmatia-Slavonia as a tripartite Illyrian kingdom with its autonomy secured against Austria and Hungary alike—a South Slav State in a federated Austria such as Palacky and the North Slavs advocated at Prague a few weeks later. Hopes of royal support for the Slav cause were heightened by the Crown's appointment of a new *Banus* of Croatia, Count Jelláchich, a Croatian noble, colonel in Austrian service, and devoted to Habsburg interests. It is probable that he desired to promote the latter rather than to advance the programme of the " Illyrian " party which secured and rejoiced at his appointment. But he was at one with them in rejecting the Hungarian claim to administer the Slav provinces, and he gave orders that no authority but his own should be

obeyed. He replaced Magyar officials by "Illyrian" separatists and summoned the Croatian-Slavonic Diet to Agram on June 5, three days after the assembling of the Slav Congress at Prague. Like the Prague meeting, the Agram Diet represented more interests than those immediately concerned. Slovenes from Styria, Slovaks from northern Hungary, and Czechs were present, and the peoples of the Military Frontier along the line of the Save and Danube also were represented. The Dalmatians refused to attend. The Diet was unanimous in voting the separation of the "Triune Kingdom" from Hungary. But its adoption of a scheme for the federal union of the Austrian provinces, in which a South Slav State should take its place, autonomous save in matters affecting war, finance, and foreign policy, roused Austria's fear. It was a proposal of which more was to be heard in the future. Jelláchich's attitude towards the Slav movement was suspected, and on June 16, the day on which Prague provoked Windischgrätz, the *Banus* arrived at Innsbruck in disgrace, and temporarily was deprived of his functions. An appeal by him to the Croat soldiery in Lombardy to remain with the colours commended him to the Court's favour, the more so because the Hungarian Minister of War, in view of the projected chastisement of the Croats, was condoning the desertion of Magyar soldiers in the same area as an "excess of patriotism." Jelláchich, though not yet fully restored to favour, was permitted to return to Agram, and induced the Diet to dissolve on July 9.

It rested with Hungary either to abandon her pretensions to Croatia or to plunge the Empire into war. The deposition of Jelláchich, and the coincident rejection of the Roumanian protest by the Emperor-King, seemed to indicate a favourable attitude towards Magyar policy. But the situation was altered upon the assembling of the Hungarian *Landtag* at Pest in the first week of July. While Batthyany and the more Conservative members of the Ministry were satisfied with the work accomplished by the recent Diet at Pressburg, Kossuth, its most powerful member, aimed at nothing less than complete autonomy for the Hungarian system. To coerce the Croats was therefore imperative, and since most of the great landowners, fearing revolution, had left the country, the Lower House of Deputies the more easily responded to

Kossuth's call upon its patriotism. On July 11, alleging an alliance between Austria and the Croats, Kossuth obtained a vote of 2,000,000 florins and 42,000 men. As Minister of Finance he caused the issue of a quantity of paper money (which the Vienna government soon forbade currency in Austria), and refused to redeem the notes of the Vienna Bank in circulation in Hungary. In other and more alarming ways he brought home to Austria the fact that her interests and those of Hungary were no longer identical. She was informed that Hungary could only continue to support her in Lombardy provided the just demands of her Italian subjects were listened to, and if she exerted pressure upon the Croats to procure their submission to Magyar rule. In regard to German unity, towards which Austria was in a difficult position, Kossuth bluntly declared that his policy favoured it, since Austria's attachment to Germany on the conditions favoured by the majority at Frankfort would damage the *prestige* and promote the disintegration of the Habsburg Monarchy. He supported a motion in the Diet informing Austria that should she be involved in war in Germany, Hungary would not assist her.

Provocative as were the proceedings of the Hungarian Diet, the situation in Lombardy throughout June and the greater part of July was too critical to allow Austria to take sides openly between Magyar and Slav. But on July 25 Radetzky was victorious at Custozza, and Radetzky's reoccupation of Milan on August 6 enabled Ferdinand to take an independent and decided course. Hungarian separatism and Magyar coercion of the Slavs alike were intolerable, and Austria was not yet reduced to the *Ausgleich* of 1867. On August 12, after nearly four months' absence, the Court returned to Schönbrunn, and the extent to which the Italian victories had changed the situation at once was made obvious. On August 22 the quasi-regal powers of the Palatine of Hungary were cancelled. The newly raised Hungarian National Militia, the *Honveds*, and the financial measures which Kossuth had induced the *Landtag* to take, were refused the Crown's sanction. The validity of the royal concessions in March and April was challenged, and a deputation from the *Landtag* asking for a definite pronouncement against the Croats, and for the removal of the Imperial Court to Pest, received an evasive reply (September 9).

The Emperor-King had issued already (September 4) a rescript reinstating Jelláchich as *Banus*. He forthwith crossed the Drave and invaded Hungarian territory. Archduke Stephen, the Palatine, fled to Vienna and resigned his functions. Marshal Lamberg, commanding at Pressburg, proceeded to Pest to take over the command of the Hungarian troops. Kossuth procured from the *Landtag* a resolution forbidding the army to receive him as its chief. On the following day (September 28) Lamberg was dragged from a hackney-coach on the bridge between Buda and Pest and was assassinated by a mob armed with scythes. A week later (October 3) an Imperial manifesto dissolved the *Landtag*, annulled its recent resolutions, proclaimed martial law throughout Hungary, and appointed Jelláchich Viceroy. But before the order came for the Diet's dissolution, Kossuth procured the appointment of a Committee of six persons, of whom he was one, to assist the Ministry, whence developed the Committee of National Defence which conducted the Revolution. Thus the situation had passed to the decision of war, and on the issue of it hung not only Hungarian independence, but the success of the Constitution in debate at Vienna.

Jelláchich entered Hungary on September 11. At the outset Vienna offered him no material assistance. "The King of Hungary makes war," it was said, "while the Emperor of Austria remains neutral." On the other side, Kossuth dispatched a deputation to Vienna to enlist the sympathy of the Constituent. Though its Slav majority supported the Ministry's refusal to receive it, a welcome greeted it from the Democrats. For the Court's return from Innsbruck, and Jelláchich's march across the Hungarian frontier, roused widespread suspicion that a *coup de main* was contemplated by the *Camarilla*. Liberal opinion in Vienna therefore was with the Magyars. Riots followed the Emperor's return to Schönbrunn, and the Committee of Safety dissolved itself in view of its inability to control the population. But after farther disturbances (September 13), in which the students were opposed by the National Guards and the regular troops, a new Central Committee was formed from among the most prominent members of the Democratic Clubs. Any signs of the government's intention openly to support Jelláchich were

certain to provoke disorder. On October 3, however, the Austrian government proclaimed Hungary under martial law, and Latour, the Austrian Minister of War, began to push troops across the Leitha. His intention actually to dispatch part of the Vienna garrison into Hungary provoked the final outbreak of revolutionary violence in the capital.

On the morning of October 6 a battalion of Viennese grenadiers was ordered to proceed by railway to Pressburg. The mob determined to prevent their departure. A bridge was demolished, a field-officer who intervened was shot, and a mutinous crowd marched back into the city amid great excitement. Latour was seized, done to death, and his body was strung-up on a lamp-post. Church bells rang the alarm. Barricades were raised and manned, and the Emperor was forced to withdraw his rescript of October 3. On the 7th the Zeughaus was stormed and rifled. But the moment had arrived to dragoon the rebellious city to obedience. As a preliminary to the discipline, Ferdinand a second time fled from Schönbrunn and made his residence at Olmütz in Moravia. The Slav majority of the *Reichstag* followed his example. On the same day the situation in Hungary changed for the worse. Jelláchich, having advanced from the Drave as far as Velencze, some fifty miles from Buda, found the Hungarians in strength there. Forced to conclude an armistice he retired into Styria, but lost his following reserves (October 7). He was preparing to resume the campaign when the Vienna riot imposed upon him a more immediate duty. He set out thither forthwith. On October 13 his headquarters were at Schönbrunn, and the city was closely girt by his troops, whom the Vienna garrison managed to join. But the city was a prize reserved for other hands. On October 16, Windischgrätz, with whom the Court for some time had been in communication, was appointed Generalissimo of all the Austrian forces excepting Radetzky's command in Lombardy. Advancing leisurely from Prague, he established his quarters near Schönbrunn on October 24. He refused to negotiate either with the Ministry or the Constituent, demanded the city's unconditional surrender within forty-eight hours, the dissolution of the Academic Legion and other armed bodies, and the closing of all Democratic Clubs. But the latter controlled the situation in Vienna. Their nominee, Wenzel Messenhauser,

was appointed commander of the National Guards, and the Pole Joseph Bem, one of Napoleon's veterans in the Moscow campaign, organized a stout defence. On the 26th the bombardment of Vienna began. Two days later the fortifications of the Inner Town, which now form the Ringstrasse, were occupied. On the 30th a Hungarian army, attempting to divert the besiegers, was defeated by Jelláchich at Schwechat, within sight of the city. Bem already had escaped into Hungary, and on October 31, after a brief cannonade, Vienna surrendered.

The fall of Vienna annihilated Slav ambition to reorganize the Austrian Empire as a federation of National States. Of those arrested for participation in the Vienna disturbances twenty-four were executed. The temper of the government was indicated clearly by its choice of Windischgrätz's brother-in-law, Prince Felix Schwarzenberg, to form a new Ministry. He had no sympathy either with constitutional Liberalism, or with that expression of it which was ready to sacrifice Austria on the altar of German unity, still less with that local form of it which would dismember her Empire in behalf of the principle of nationality. The Constituent, which had been transferred from Vienna to Kremsier near Olmütz, was allowed to pursue its labours on the Constitution, and Schwarzenberg assured it of his attachment to a "constitutional monarchy." But in fact reaction was imminent. On December 2 the Emperor Ferdinand abdicated. His mental condition demanded that step, but he took it on the public plea that "younger faculties were required to carry out the reforms already begun." His brother and heir, Archduke Francis Charles, was induced somewhat reluctantly to waive his rights in favour of his son Francis Joseph, who was eighteen years old. He had been brought up by his mother, Archduchess Sophia, in the atmosphere of the *Camarilla*, but actually was pledged to none of the interests which were contesting the control of the Empire: Slav, German, Magyar; Liberal, reactionary; Pan-German, Austrian. His first message to his people promised "to unite them into a single political whole," a promise which remains unfulfilled after more than sixty years. It was, however, a clear indication of the attitude of the new reign towards Magyar separatist aspirations.

Three months after the new Emperor's accession, and following the Hungarian defeat at Kápolna, a *coup d'état* terminated the career of the Constituent at Kremsier. On March 2, 1849, the Committee it had charged with the drafting of the Constitution concluded its labours. Taking a middle path between extreme Centralism and Federalism, it proposed the creation of a National Parliament composed of two Chambers, the one (a sop to the Federalists) representative of the provinces, the other of their populations; equal rights to all nationalities; and a large measure of autonomy to provincial Circles, which were to conform closely to the racial distribution of the Empire. For the State thus reorganized a white-red-and-gold Tricolour was suggested. A week later (March 7) the Schwarzenberg Ministry carried its *coup d'état*. The walls of Kremsier were placarded on that day with two manifestos, the first dissolving the Constituent, the second announcing a Constitution already conferred (March 4) by the Emperor.

The Imperial Constitution declared Austria, German and non-German, an Empire one and indivisible. A central administration was to control both the Cis-Leithanian and Trans-Leithanian provinces. For a Legislature it was promised a bicameral Parliament; the Lower Chamber to be elected by tax-paying citizens, the Upper to be reserved for the landowning nobility as to three-quarters of its membership. The Constitution fulfilled the young Emperor's promise of Centralism. And it served Schwarzenberg to counter the Frankfort Parliament's resolve that the constituent States of New Germany should be entirely German in composition. For though Bohemia and Lombardy were virtually under martial law, and Hungary was in open rebellion, Schwarzenberg was able to point to the Constitution of March 4 as constituting the Austrian Empire one and indivisible, and to use it to support his demand for admission to the reformed Confederation. In answer the Frankfort Parliament offered the dignity of German Emperor to the King of Prussia. On April 5 the Austrian delegates were recalled from Frankfort, and the Parliament's German programme came to nothing. The Austrian Constitution of 1849 had served its turn. Two years later (1851) it was withdrawn.

The new Emperor Francis Joseph had a personal incentive to coerce Hungary, whose *Landtag* refused to recognize him, on the ground that his uncle's abdication had not received its assent. On December 15, 1848, Jelláchich led the van of the Austrian army across the Leitha. Unable to put into the field the numbers opposed to him, Kossuth abandoned Western Hungary for the moment and hoped to draw the invader into the interior. On January 5, 1849, the Austrians occupied Pest after a single engagement at Móor. The property of rebels in arms was confiscated, and Batthyany, among others, was made prisoner. The Polish veteran Henry Dembinski, whom Kossuth, in spite of the grumbling of native officers, appointed Commander-in-Chief, advancing on Pest from the Upper Theiss, was defeated at Kápolna on February 26. Excepting the fortress of Komorn the whole of Western Hungary was in Austria's hands. The Vienna journals announced "the glorious termination of the campaign," and the moment was chosen to promulgate the Imperial Constitution of March 4. But from that moment the Austrian cause collapsed. In Transylvania, where Bem was in command, Klausenburg was captured, and the Austrians and a hastily summoned Russian contingent were driven across the frontier into Wallachia. In the Banat of Temesvar and in Slavonia also the Hungarian generals were successful. Croatia was not invaded. Early in April, 1849, the main Hungarian army under Arthur von Görgei, a German Protestant who had seen service in the Austrian army and now succeeded Dembinski as Commander-in-Chief, challenged the Austrian position in West Hungary. On April 6, Windischgrätz, quite outclassed by his opponent, was driven back from Gödöllo upon Pest. A fortnight later Görgei relieved the fortress of Komorn, which the Austrians for long had been besieging. In the interval Windischgrätz, who had failed to maintain the reputation which his reduction of Prague and Vienna gave him, was recalled to Olmütz, and before the end of May the Hungarians were again in possession of their capital. Kossuth re-entered Pest on June 6. Already on April 14 the Hungarian Diet at Debreczen had declared the forfeiture of the House of Habsburg-Lorraine's regal rights over Hungary. A Republic was proclaimed, and Kossuth was appointed "Responsible Governor-President of the State."

Hungary's action was a challenge to the Habsburg and every other legitimate monarchy in Europe. The situation alarmed the Tsar, who regarded Francis Joseph as his heir in the headship of the Conservative triad of Eastern Powers. Hence, Russia agreed to lend her aid. In June her army under Field-Marshal Paskievich entered Eastern Hungary. Haynau, the "Hyena of Brescia," whose appointment to the command-in-chief displayed unmistakably the temper of the Austrian government, operated between the Leitha and the Danube. In July, displaying great vigour and ability, he drove Görgei eastward across the Theiss. Pest was recovered, and Kossuth and his government retired to Szegedin on the lower Theiss and thence farther east to Arad. On August 9 the Hungarian army in that region, with which the retreating Görgei intended to co-operate, was defeated by Haynau at Temesvar, on the very day of Görgei's arrival at Arad, some fifty miles distant. The position was critical, and on August 11, at Arad, Kossuth abdicated, Görgei, a soldier, taking his place as Dictator. Görgei had little sympathy with Kossuth's Republicanism. Before the engagement at Temesvar he had declared that if Haynau were victorious he would surrender. Proposals already had reached him from the advancing Russians, from whom more consideration was to be expected than from Haynau and the Austrians. On August 13 Görgei and his army surrendered to the Russian General Rüdiger at Világos, an act execrated thenceforth by Hungarian patriots. The Hungarian garrison in Komorn held out for more than a month longer. Venice fell in the interval, and the revolutionary period within the Austrian Empire was at an end.

Hungary, like Lombardy, relapsed to her former state. Thirteen of her generals who had thrown up Austrian commissions for her service were shot or hanged at Arad—the "Arad Martyrs." Nearly four hundred junior officers suffered varying terms of imprisonment. All who had sat in the Hungarian Diet since its dissolution was ordered on October 3, 1848, members of the revolutionary government and its tribunals, and other persons active in the rebellion, were proscribed. More than one hundred civilians suffered death, Batthyany among them. Nearly 2000 persons were sent to prison. Kossuth escaped, and survived until 1895.

Within the Austrian Empire Centralism, with Bach as its director, triumphed, and after the defeat of the Frankfort scheme for reorganizing Germany assured to Austria her traditional hegemony, her old political order was quietly restored. In September civil servants were relieved, as the army already had been, of the obligation to swear fidelity to the Constitution of 1849. On December 31, 1851, the Constitution itself was abolished. The reconstruction of the Austrian Empire awaited the issue of the Austro-Prussian War of 1866.

CHAPTER XII

THE GERMAN *NATIONALPARLAMENT*

Faced in 1848 with the dissolution of her Empire, Austria concurrently was fighting, and with temporary success, for the retention of her place in the German *Bund*. She had held it since the election of Albert II to the Crown of the Holy Roman Empire in 1438, except for the reigns of the Bavarian Charles VII (1742–45) and his successor, Maria Theresa's husband, Francis I (1745–65), the latter of whom united the Houses of Lorraine and Habsburg for the last sixty years of the Empire's existence. Nowhere else was Napoleon's destructive hand more active than in Germany. He imposed his Protectorship upon the artificial Confederation of the Rhine (1806), and excluded from it Austria and Prussia, the chief Powers of the German world. At his bidding the Holy Roman Empire, the institution of a thousand years, came to an end (1806). Two years (1804) before that event Francis II, last of the Holy Roman Emperors, proclaimed himself Francis I "Hereditary Emperor of Austria." Their older dignity passed with the Germany of the Middle Ages, but the Habsburg still held a title which postulated their superiority over other German rulers. After Napoleon's fall they were the only Imperial dynasty in the new Europe which rose upon his ruins. The settlement of 1815 accordingly restored Austria's hegemony of the Germanic *Bund*, though the *Deutsche Reich* was not revived. The rivalry between Prussia and Austria and the self-interested outlook of other German States made a closer union impracticable. But if Germany was to exercise the influence her interests required, she needed to secure genuine political unity. However unconvincing Austria in 1815 might be as the standard-bearer of German nationalism, no other State could make a more compelling appeal to German patriotism. Prussia had the material

resources to support the responsibility of chiefship. But her policy throughout the Napoleonic crisis had been cynically selfish until 1813, destructive of the confidence and attachment of her fellow-members. Hence, although the French Revolution and Empire gave great encouragement to the cult of Nationalism and Constitutionalism, the *Bundesakte* of 1815 paid little regard to either, and the constitutional weakness of the older *Deutsche Reich* was repeated in the *Deutsche Bund,* in which Austria resumed her old hegemony.

Before the upheaval of 1848 the settlement of 1815 remained for the most part intact. Legitimism was banished from France in 1830. Belgium at the same time shook herself free from Holland. Greece gained her freedom against the Turk. But that was the sum of revolt. Italy and Poland remained as Metternich had fashioned them. Except in her Diet and *Zollverein* Germany had no federal institutions. But concurrently with the movements in Austria and Prussia, she vainly pursued the achievement of political unity. The movement originated in South-West Germany, in the angle formed by the Rhine's sudden change of direction at Basle, where, diverted by the Vosges, it travels northward, skirting Alsace, Louis XIV's *beau jardin,* to its outflow in the North Sea. Within the angle lie the Grand-Duchy of Baden, the Kingdom of Würtemberg, and to the north of the former, the Grand-Duchy of Hesse-Darmstadt. In a soil contiguous to France and Switzerland the endeavour to give Germany a national form took shape. In September, 1847, on the eve of the establishment of the Second French Republic, the Baden Radicals met at Offenburg. Their party eventually formed the Extreme Left of the Frankfort Parliament, and like the Italian Democrats they hoped to see Germany a Republic. For the moment they advocated the adjunction of a popular Assembly to the *Bundestag* at Frankfort, liberty of the Press and of public meeting, jury trial, and National Guards. A month later (October 10) a more important meeting, since it was more representative, took place at Heppenheim in Hesse-Darmstadt. Moderate Liberals attended from Baden, Würtemberg, Darmstadt, and Rhenish Prussia. The simpler suggestion, which found favour with some, of giving the *Zollverein* a political organization (possibly as a Federal State under Prussian hegemony) was

rejected. It was resolved instead to submit motions in favour of a *Nationalparlament* to the Chambers of individual States. Supporting motions were introduced in the Baden and Hesse-Darmstadt Chambers, and the convening of a National Parliament to reform the *Bund* became the first object of Liberals throughout Germany.

Frederick William IV of Prussia, moved by experience of the Prussian *Vereinigte Landtag*, and alarmed at the probable activities of Nationalism in a larger area, met the Heppenheim programme with a more conservative one of his own. He proposed a Congress of German princes at Dresden with a view to the adaptation of the *Bundestag* to the purposes which German Nationalism required. But the French Revolution in February, 1848, strengthened German Liberalism and brought its scheme to the stage of experiment. It failed, partly because Austria, under the leadership of Schwarzenberg, made the fullest use of her domestic triumph to impose the *status quo ante* on Germany. But it failed chiefly because Prussia, Austria's only rival, lacked the courage to direct it. The situation, as Frederick William said, needed a Frederick the Great, intent upon Prussian interests only, or, like his successor's great Chancellor, without consideration for Austria and her position in Germany. Frederick William, on the other hand, held the Habsburg tradition almost sacred. "May God save me from any attempt to drive Austria out of the Confederation" he prayed in 1847. Wavering between duty to his House and reverence for the tradition which his nephew of Austria represented, Frederick William followed an irresolute policy which disgusted those who hoped to see Germany a Hereditary Empire under the Hohenzollern. Schwarzenberg easily triumphed over a statesman who did not know his own mind. Under him Austria never wavered in her policy. Either the *Deutsche Bund* was to include restored Austria "one and indivisible," with a consequent increase of Habsburg influence in the *Bund*, or the Liberal experiment of 1848 must be crushed. Force alone could move Austria from that position, and until Bismarck took the direction of Prussian policy, Prussia would not exert it. Germany therefore awaited the wars of 1864, 1866, and 1870 to bring about what the *Nationalparlament* of 1848 failed to achieve.

The Paris revolution was followed by movements in the

Grand-Duchies of Baden and Hesse-Darmstadt. On March 5, 1848, about fifty Liberals, chiefly from the West and South-West of Germany, assembled at Heidelberg, where their organ, "The German Gazette" (*Deutsche Zeitung*), had its editorial offices. The delegates charged a Committee of Seven to convene a "preparatory Parliament," or *Vorparlament*, to take measures for summoning a *Nationalparlament* to frame a Constitution. The situation did not permit the Federal governments actively to thwart the proposal. Vienna was in revolt a week later (March 13). Berlin immediately caught the contagion (March 18). Frederick William's Congress of princes was abandoned. The threatened *Bundestag* actually roused itself to nominate (March 8) a Committee of Seventeen, among whom was the Holsteiner Friedrich Dahlmann, to discuss the reorganization of the *Bund*. Its Committee set to work early in April, and all but the Bavarian member of the Seventeen accepted a scheme drafted by Dahlmann, called after him "Dahlmann's Constitution." It forestalled the *Nationalparlament's* recommendation of a Hereditary Empire, a bicameral Parliament, and the exclusion of Austria's Trans-Leithanian provinces. Frederick William, whose scheme contemplated the Emperor of Austria as "Hereditary Roman Emperor," and the King of Prussia as "German King," refused to accept it, and of Dahlmann's Constitution no more was heard.

Meanwhile, the Heidelberg Committee of Seven invited those members of the *Bund* who had Chambers to send Deputies to Frankfort. On March 31 nearly six hundred (576) delegates assembled and sat for four days. Frankfort's nearness to her Rhenish provinces enabled Prussia to be strongly represented (141 delegates). Baden, Hesse-Darmstadt, and Prussia accounted for more than half the total number (297 delegates). Austria was represented by only two delegates. The *Vorparlament*, or as some called it, "The Wild Parliament," showed divergent views as to the Constitution of the reorganized *Bund*, and the Republican minority proposed the United States of North America as the most fitting model. But the form of the Constitution was a matter for the approaching Parliament. Therefore, sanctioned by the *Bundestag*, the *Vorparlament* recommended elections for a Constituent Parliament to be held in all the States of the Confederation. To

watch the situation meanwhile, the *Vorparlament* appointed a Committee of Fifty, on which not a single Democrat was chosen. The elections were delayed, partly by disturbances in the Grand-Duchy of Baden fomented by the disappointed Republicans, partly through the indifference of certain State governments, Bohemia, in particular. By the middle of May, however, a large number of delegates assembled at Frankfort, and on the 18th of the month the first session of the German Parliament (*Nationalparlament*) was held in the Church of St. Paul (Paulskirche) there.

Starting with a membership of nearly 400 out of the possible 605, the Frankfort Parliament eventually totalled about 550. It continued in session until its Republican Rump migrated to Stuttgart in May, 1849, where it was finally extinguished on June 18 of that year. In spite of its name, which English practice suggested, the *Nationalparlament* was a Constituent single-Chamber Assembly, like its contemporary in France, summoned to give Germany a Constitution. It was elected by universal suffrage on the basis of one Deputy to each 50,000 of the population throughout the States forming the *Bund*. It contained a large number of men who were prominent leaders of Liberal movements within their respective States. Many of them were University Professors and journalists. All were without experience of free political life, theorizers and unpractical.

After the model of the French Assembly the members divided themselves Right, Left, and Centre in the Paulskirche. They formed eleven distinct groups distinguished by the name of the Frankfort hostelry which they frequented for discussion. The three groups of the Right viewed with varying suspicion any attempt to encroach upon the sovereignty of individual States in reorganizing the *Bund*. Its Protestant and North German group met at the *Milan Kaffeehaus ;* the South German Catholics at the *Stone House ;* the Austrians formed the third group. The Left, which numbered about two hundred members, was divided into a Moderate and a Radical section. The former consisted of the *Westendhall* and *Nürnberger Hof* groups ; the latter of the *Teutsche Hof* and *Donnersberg* groups. The Centre formed the largest party in the Parliament, and with the unclassified members (*Wilde*) commanded a small but clear majority over

the other groups. It was divided into two sections ; the Right Centre, the more Conservative, included about 120 members, chiefly North Germans, meeting at the *Casino* and *Landsberg ;* the Left Centre, formed chiefly of South Germans, frequenting the *Würtemberger Hof* and *Augsburger Hof*. Differing upon the degree to which the Central Power could be allowed to encroach upon the Federal governments, the Centre as a whole aimed at an Empire. The Right was more jealous for State interests than the Republican Left, which was determined that the Constitution should rest upon popular sanction and the National Parliament be a national organ. The success of the *Teutsche Hof* and *Donnersberg* party in carrying their views went far to influence Frederick William to reject the Imperial title offered to him in April, 1849.

The task of drafting a Constitution, which Dahlmann accomplished in a single week, was not completed by the *Nationalparlament* until March, 1849. The Deputies chose as their President Heinrich von Gagern, a founder of the *Burschenschaften* and a participator in the Wartburg Festival of 1817. "Germany wishes to be one," he addressed his fellow-members ; "she desires to be a great Empire directed by the will of the people, supported by every class and by all the State governments. It is our business to give her a Constitution. Our right and power to do so come from the people." The Parliament's authority, however, was moral merely. It could propose a Constitution ; the State governments alone could commit their people to it. Without delay a Committee of Thirty (of which Dahlmann was one) was appointed to draft a Constitution. A second Committee of Fifteen was directed to discuss a provisional Executive to replace the *Bundestag*. Opinion had inclined to confer the interim Directorate on Prussia. But Frederick William had not lived down Berlin's March Days, and the partisans of Prussian hegemony were silent for the moment. The Left proposed, without success, that Parliament should elect an Executive. The Committee favoured a provisional Directorate of three persons appointed by Austria, Prussia, and the lesser States. Gagern carried a bolder plan. The executive *Bundestag* hitherto had been nominated by the individual governments of the Confederation. Ignoring

them altogether, Gagern proposed that Parliament should, as an *interim* Government, create the office of Imperial Vicar (*Reichsverweser*) and confer it upon Archduke John of Austria, whose Liberal sympathies, character, and Habsburg birth commended him to all except the Republicans and those who saw in the proposal opposition to Prussian claims and violation of the rights of the Federal governments. In spite of Dahlmann's protest, the Imperial Vicariate was established without a division. On June 29 the Archduke was elected *Reichsverweser*, with power to appoint a Ministry (*Reichsministerium*), by 436 out of 548 votes. The enthusiasm attending his election was great. The Prussian plenipotentiary to the *Bundestag* did not venture to record his government's objection. No protest was raised by the Federal governments; though the Prussian army indefinitely evaded Parliament's order to mount the distinctive National Tricolour and to take the oath of fidelity to the Imperial Vicar. On July 12, the Archduke, who a fortnight earlier had accepted the Regency of the Austrian Empire, was invested as *Reichsverweser* at Frankfort. On the same day the *Bundestag*, quartered in the Thurn-und-Taxis Palace there, having been since 1815 the cumbrous Executive of the Confederation, transferred its powers to the Imperial Vicar. It separated voluntarily and for a brief recess. The Archduke thereupon appointed his *Reichsministerium*, with Portfolios of Commerce, Justice, Finance, War, Home Affairs, and Foreign Affairs. An Austrian took the Home Department and a Prussian General the War Office.

In drafting a Constitution Parliament faced three difficulties: (1) the form of the Constitution; (2) the geographical area to be embraced by it; (3) the prince on whom the sovereignty should be conferred. In regard to the first, the Liberal Left secured the adoption of the principles of the Belgian Constitution; freedom of association, education, religion, and the Press; popular representation in the Chambers of each State; legal equality, and the independence of the judicial bench. These *Grundrechte* (Fundamental Rights) were carried after three months' debate in October, 1848. The question of area bristled with difficulty. Neither Prussia nor Austria was exclusively a German State. Both included territories which were outside the *Bund*. Austria's German

population, in fact, formed the minority in her Empire. She was not prepared to qualify for the retention of her position within the *Bund* by jettisoning her Slav, Magyar, and Italian provinces. Prussia's spoils at Poland's expense in East, West, and South Prussia (Posnania) also lay outside the *Bund*. The question sorely divided the Centre, which was more compact on the Constitutional question, and a new grouping of members took place over it. The Big Germany (*Grossdeutsche*) party, showing an omnivorous appetite for territory, appeared to follow Hegel's conclusion that it was impossible to say precisely where Germany ended. A speaker who found her frontier on the Italian Mincio was applauded. On the other hand, the Little Germany (*Kleindeutsche*) party desired to see Germany racially homogeneous and insisted that Austria should not be admitted to the new State as the indivisible Monarchy constituted in 1804. The third question, the prince on whom the sovereignty should be conferred, depended closely upon the victory of the Big or Little Germany party. If the non-German provinces of Austria's Empire were included, she was bound to be head of the new Germany, in virtue of her Imperial title, her traditional position, and the extent of her possessions. Hence, in the main, the Big Germans were Austrians, and the Little Germans Prussians. The South Catholics, who disliked the idea of Prussian hegemony, supported Austria and the Big Germans.

A crisis in the Danish Duchies of Schleswig and Holstein brought Parliament into serious conflict with Prussia. The House of Oldenburg had been in possession of the Duchy of Schleswig (a fief of the Kingdom of Denmark) and the County of Holstein (a fief of the Empire, raised to the rank of a duchy in 1474) since 1460, in which year the two provinces concluded an indissoluble union. Holstein's population was German. Schleswig's was partly so. In 1815 Holstein (with Lauenburg), being a fief of the Empire, was included in the Germanic *Bund*. Both Schleswig and Holstein unflinchingly held themselves (1) independent, (2) inseparable, (3) subject to the Salic Law. But Denmark aimed at incorporating Denmark to the Eider, and Germany claimed its German-speaking (south) region. While a Royal Law (*Kongelov*) of 1665 permitted female succession in the kingdom, it did not

operate in the duchies. Hence in 1846 Christian VIII of Denmark, who had one childless son, afterwards Frederick VII, and a niece heir-presumptive, issued an *Offene Briefe* (Open Letter) which declared all the Danish territories indivisible and inheritable by females. The case of Holstein was reserved.

Frederick VII succeeded in January, 1848, and summoned a joint *Rigsdag* for kingdom and duchies. The latter then demanded joint admission to the Germanic *Bund*, and formed a Provisional Government, which the *Bundestag* recognized. In answer the *Eyderdansk* party insisted that Schleswig, retaining its provisional *Landtag*, should have "a common free constitution" with Denmark. Open rebellion broke out in the duchies, and Christian of Augustenburg, whose rights of succession the *Offene Briefe* barred, begged help from the Prussian Court. The Prussians overran Schleswig, while the Danish fleet retaliated effectively upon Germany's Baltic coast. At Denmark's invitation the Powers intervened. Sweden and Russia had no desire to see an increase of German sea-power on the Baltic. Great Britain, applying the test of language, supported Denmark's claim to Schleswig, though Palmerston at a later stage of it declared that only three persons understood the Schleswig-Holstein problem, of whom one (the Prince Consort) was dead, another was mad, and the third (himself) had forgotten it! At Malmoe on August 26 Prussia concluded a seven months' truce with Denmark, which provided for their mutual evacuation of the duchies and the constitution of a "Conjoint Government" for Schleswig and Holstein nominated equally by them both. The terms defeated a cause which had captured the sympathy of Germany, and the duchies appealed to the *Reichsverweser*. By a narrow majority Parliament refused to ratify the truce, and impliedly censured the action of Prussia. The *Reichsministerium* in consequence resigned. But no other would take its place; for the Executive dared not quarrel with the principal German military Power, and Prussia, then as always, was impervious to any interests but her own. Later, the truce was carried (September 16) by a majority of twenty-one. The decision roused extraordinary excitement in Frankfort, the Democrat sympathies of whose populace had been stimulated by the residence of the Deputies in the

city. Demonstrations on the 16th led to open rioting on the 17th. Peace was only restored on the 18th by Prussian and Austrian troops drafted into the city, after two Prussian Deputies had been murdered brutally. But the riot destroyed Parliament's *prestige*. It had assembled in the name of the German people, and had abdicated before the Prussian sword. Reaction also was encouraged ; moderate men were thoroughly alarmed by Democratic violence.

Parliament came to an important resolution on October 27 regarding the area of the new Germany. Prussia could not tolerate a revival of the Holy Roman Empire ; for Austria, if her many nationalities were included in the new German State, would dwarf it to insignificance. On the other hand, to exclude Austria would not merely make a serious breach with the past, but would defeat the intention to gather all German-speaking populations into the new *Bund*. Austria also had nearly fifty years behind her as a separate Empire. Her Trans-Leithanian provinces formed no part of the old *Reich*, but it was her intention to take them with her into the new one if it was created. Thus, there were three courses open to Parliament, each of which presented difficulties. The first was to admit the entire Austrian Empire with its non-German elements, an impossible alternative from the standpoint of German Nationalism, especially at a time when the Cis-Leithanian was at war with the Trans-Leithanian half. The second course was to exclude the Austrian Empire altogether. That solution was adopted eighteen years later, and involved an unnatural divorce of part of Germany from the rest. The third course was to admit Cis-Leithanian Austria and to exclude the rest, a severance which Austria would not permit. Gagern and the Right Centre favoured the exclusion of Austria altogether, proposing at the same time to bind her to Germany by a special act of union. That solution still left Austria outside Germany, though the Parliamentary Committee proposed a paragraph in the Constitution which gave her the alternative of dismemberment : " No part of the German Empire may form part of a State containing non-German territories." On October 27 Parliament voted the exclusion of non-German lands and practically severed the Habsburg Monarchy.

Parliament completed another stage of its progress on

December 27, when the Imperial Vicar proclaimed the *Grundrechte* (Fundamental Rights) of the new *Bund*. They postulated the right of every German to citizenship and the rights of citizenship in the new State, a free Press, protection from arbitrary arrest, freedom to petition, free public assembly, social and religious equality, and trial by jury. Every German government was required to provide for its subjects a Constitution affording popular representation and a responsible Ministry. The *Grundrechte* were incorporated (March 28, 1849) into the Constitution and were accepted by the minor States. Prussia, Austria, and the larger ones paid no heed to them.

In January, 1849, Parliament, by a narrow majority, followed up its resolution of October 27 by instructing the *Reichsministerium* to enter into diplomatic communication with Austria regarding her relations with the German State. Austria insisted on the admission of her undivided Empire, but was prepared to exercise the *Präsidium* alternately with Prussia. In reply, Parliament by three resolutions on March 27 and 28, 1849, determined by narrow majorities that the headship of Germany should be vested in a single German Prince, with the title "Hereditary Emperor of the Germans," and that the dignity should be offered to Frederick William IV of Prussia. The latter resolution received 290 votes; a large number of Austrian and other Deputies took no part in the division.

The Constitution thus completed offered Germany union in a federal form. The *Deutsche Bund*, the creation of the European diplomacy of 1815, was transformed into a Federal Empire. Against the convictions of the Extreme Left, who desired the Central Power to be vested in a Republican President; of the Extreme Right, who preferred the restoration of the *Bundestag*; and of Austria, who was denied even an alternating Directorate with Prussia, the Executive was settled in a Hereditary Emperor with a responsible Ministry.

The person and the functions of the Emperor gave the Empire political unity. As a concession to the Left he was restricted to a suspensive in place of an absolute veto. He was empowered to declare war, make treaties, and control an army which henceforth would be the German nation in arms.

The German Parliament (*Reichstag*) was to be bicameral. The Upper Chamber (*Staatenhaus*), a Federal Chamber, represented the associated governments. Its membership was fixed at 192, half nominated by the Federal States, and half by their representative bodies. The Lower Chamber (*Volkshaus*), the representative of the united German nation, received 1 Deputy for each 100,000 of the population (as against 1 in 50,000 in the *Nationalparlament*). Both Chambers had power to initiate legislation and to impeach the Imperial Ministers. The *Volkshaus* alone was competent to control the annual Imperial Budget. As in order to carry the Constitution it had been necessary to make concessions to the Left, conditions were imposed which were unpalatable to Prussia: the franchise was conferred on every male German citizen over twenty-four years of age; the secrecy of the ballot was established; and the Imperial veto upon acts of the Legislature was made suspensive.

It rested with Prussia to crown or destroy the Parliament's work. On January 23, 1849, moved by Austria's overbearing attitude, Frederick William abandoned his subservient attitude towards her and intimated to the Frankfort Parliament his approval of its proceedings. But when on April 3 its deputation offered him the Imperial crown his resolution failed him. The divided vote by which the offer was carried emphasized the certainty that his acceptance of it would range Austria and the four kingdoms against Prussia and her well-wishers among the popular party. He questioned also whether Imperial responsibilities would promote Prussian interests. Nor could the Tsar's support of the Constitution of 1815 be disregarded. Also the brand of the *Teutsche Hof* was stamped upon the Constitution. It offered him, said Frederick William, not an Imperial diadem, but a "crown of dust," a "necklet of slavery." "There is no need for me to say 'yes' or 'no,'" he replied when urged to accept it; "the matter is one which concerns only myself and my equals. To Democrats the only answer is—bullets."

Before deciding Frederick William declared that he must receive the free assent of the kings, princes, and Free Cities of the *Bund*. But Austria recalled her Deputies from Frankfort two days after the offer to Frederick William, and the Kings of Hanover, Saxony, Bavaria, and Würtemberg

joined her in refusing to recognize the Constitution. Still, only three of the thirty-one smaller States (Hesse-Homburg, Dutch Luxemburg, and Liechtenstein) rejected it. Hence (May 4) the Parliament manfully declared its resolution to stick to its guns, called upon the Federal governments to enforce the Constitution, summoned the first *Reichstag* for August 15, and threatened to confer the headship of the Empire on the next most powerful prince if Frederick William remained obdurate. But alarmed by Austria's action, Frederick William definitely refused the crown (April 28) and recalled his Deputies from Frankfort. The members there fell to less than one hundred and fifty, belonging to the Left wing, and on May 25 the Rump determined by a narrow majority to transfer itself to Stuttgart, the Würtemberg capital. There it set up a Regency of the Empire, declared the *Reichsverweser* a usurper, and on June 18 was forcibly dissolved by the Würtemberg government. Disturbances fomented by the Democrats in Baden, Dresden, and the Bavarian Palatinate, an attempt to intimidate the German governments into acceptance of the Constitution, were quelled by Prussian troops. The Republican party in Germany did not survive the Prussian discipline. The *Reichsministerium* had resigned already, and in August Archduke John surrendered his post as Imperial Vicar on the understanding that Austria and Prussia jointly exercised interim control of the now headless *Bund* until May 1, 1850. Under the mediation of Bavaria and Würtemberg Frederick William and his nephew Francis Joseph met at Teplitz, and on September 30, 1849, their governments made the "Compact of the Interim." After transferring his powers to them the Archduke quitted the scene of a sincere but hapless experiment (January 1, 1850). In political capabilities the Germans never have excelled. Bismarck, who corrected the failure of 1848, relied frankly and successfully on the fighting qualities of the Prussians, their strong point, to achieve union.

Frederick William's rejection of the Frankfort Parliament's overture was not due to lack of ambition for himself or his kingdom. At the hands of his peers he was prepared to accept a Crown which he rejected as the gift of a quasi-Revolutionary Assembly. Three weeks after his interview with the Parliament's deputation he invited the German governments

to meet at Berlin to discuss the Frankfort Constitution with a view to the elimination of its objectionable features. All but three of the smaller States (Hesse-Homburg, Liechtenstein, and Dutch Luxemburg) had accepted the Frankfort Constitution and approved the offer of the Imperial crown to the Hohenzollern. The only opponents of Federal reform, besides Austria, were the Kingdoms of Bavaria, Hanover, Würtemberg, and the King (but not the Chambers) of Saxony. The rigour with which Prussia repressed the revolutionary movements which attended the last moments of the *Nationalparlament* established a claim upon two of them. On May 17, 1849, the representatives of Austria, Bavaria, Saxony, and Hanover assembled at Berlin. Austria's delegate attended the opening meeting, but withdrew when it appeared that Prussia contemplated her exclusion from the German system. The Bavarian delegate received no instructions from his government, but was understood to be opposed to the elevation of any one State to the sole Directorate of the *Bund*. Not enthusiastically, the North German kingdoms Saxony and Hanover accepted (May 26) a revised Constitution prepared by Frederick William, and with Prussia formed for one year the *Dreikönigsbündnis* (The Three Kings' League) to establish it. The new scheme conferred on Prussia the Presidency of a College of Princes (the five royal States), with the exclusive direction of the diplomatic and military interests of the Union. It proposed a bicameral Assembly, a *Staatenhaus* of one hundred and sixty members delegated by the German governments, and a *Volkshaus* less democratic in its mode of election than that provided by the Frankfort proposal. The Legislature was subject to the veto of Prussia as President of the Union. Until the Constitution was launched, an Administrative Council was to act under Prussia's presidency.

Seventeen of the smaller States accepted Frederick William's Constitution. South German Bavaria and Würtemberg held aloof. To aid Prussia to put out of sight the Frankfort Constitution, Gagern and about one hundred and fifty members of the Right Centre of the *Nationalparlament* assembled at Gotha in the so-called *Nachparlament*, on June 28, 1849. Defending the Frankfort Constitution of March 28 as "consonant with the situation then existing in Germany," the Gotha meeting asserted the impossibility of putting it

into force, and declared itself ready to support any well-considered scheme having German unity in view. It approved the Prussian plan and influenced the smaller governments in the same direction. Frederick William therefore determined to organize a union with the small States. Early in October he obtained from his Administrative Council a resolution to convene another *Nationalparlament*, the elections for which took place within the adhering States in January, 1850. Hanover and Saxony, encouraged by Austria, then withdrew from the Administrative Council. Both had made their adherence dependent upon the Prussian scheme being accepted by the other governments. Neither took part in the elections for the forthcoming Parliament, and a month later (February 23) Hanover seceded altogether.

Now that Hungary was no longer on her hands, Austria was able to play a bolder game. Prompted by Schwarzenberg, a counter-scheme of Federal reform was adopted by Saxony, Bavaria, Hanover, and Würtemberg, who formed a *Vierkönigsbündnis*. On February 27, 1850, they laid it before Prussia and Austria for their approval. It proposed to revise the Constitution of the *Deutsche Bund ;* to form a Directorate of seven States—the six kingdoms with Hesse-Cassel and Hesse-Darmstadt (counting as one) ; and to institute a " popular " Parliament of representatives nominated by the Chambers of the associated States, Prussia and Austria each sending one hundred members to a body which was to contain three hundred in all. Though not explicitly stated, Austria's presidency was implied, as also was the inclusion of her non-German provinces.

The *Vierkönigsbündnis* killed Frederick William's hopes ; the principal States clearly were adverse to Prussian hegemony. The grant of the Prussian Constitution in December, 1849, however, gave him the sympathy of Liberals, and the second *Nationalparlament*, which opened at Erfurt on March 20, 1850, approved the Constitution drafted by the *Dreikönigsbündnis*. But Frederick William saw the hazards of the situation. Before the end of 1849 Austria was victorious in Hungary and Lombardy, and was free to fight for her position in Germany. In May, 1850, therefore, Frederick William summoned the princes adhering to his Union to Berlin, and informed them that, for the time at least, it was not his intention to proceed

with it. The Prussian Union, said the Austrian Minister at Berlin, was "a gigantic fiasco."

Strengthened by the support of the four kings, Austria approached the expiry (May 1, 1850) of the "Interim" administration of the Confederation. On April 26, 1850, disregarding the compact with Prussia, Schwarzenberg invited the German governments to send plenipotentiaries to Frankfort to replace the expiring Austro-Prussian Commission. On May 10, besides Austria herself, the four kingdoms, Hesse-Darmstadt and Hesse-Cassel (whom their scheme associated with them in the Directorate), the three small States which had dissented from both the Frankfort and Prussian programmes (Hesse-Homburg, Dutch Luxemburg, Liechtenstein), and Holstein (Denmark), whose sympathies naturally were anti-Prussian, obeyed the invitation. A week later (May 16) they declared themselves a *Plenum* or General Assembly of the revived *Bund*. They were joined by deserters from the Prussian Union, and in spite of Frederick William's protest, the President on September 2, 1850, declared the *Bundestag* reconstituted, and called upon the members of the Confederation to obey it.

The imminent crisis between Prussia and Austria was viewed with alarm by a strong party in Prussia. Its organ was the Conservative *Kreuz Zeitung*, and its aim was to sever Prussian policy from entangling schemes of Federal reform and Liberalism, and to unite with Austria and Russia in quasi-renewal of the Holy Alliance. While the Germanic *Bund* had been reduced by two members by Prussia's absorption of Hohenzollern-Hechingen and Hohenzollern-Sigmaringen (1849), Austria was backed by the most powerful States, and the roll of her adherents was increasing. A crisis in Hesse-Cassel brought the relations of the rivals to an issue. The Elector joined and deserted the Prussian Union, and his reactionary policy provoked (September, 1850) what became known as the "Dressing-gown Revolution" from its orderly character. He appealed to the revived *Bundestag* at Frankfort for assistance. Austria, Bavaria, and Würtemberg put their troops into the field, and Austria took the opportunity to demand annulment of the Erfurt Constitution. Frederick William yielded, after some hesitation, alarmed by Russia's threatened intervention, and suggested

a conference. Austria agreed, and on November 28, 1850, Manteuffel, Brandenburg's successor, met Schwarzenberg at Olmütz.

Schwarzenberg took part reluctantly in the Olmütz interview, and only at the Emperor's special command; for if he was not the author of the remark, "Prussia must first be humiliated and then destroyed," it accurately represented his policy. On the subject of Federal reform Germany had declared against Prussia. "The honour of Prussia," said Bismarck, did not require her "to play the part of Don Quixote in Germany." Hence Manteuffel and Schwarzenberg quickly agreed (November 29, 1850) at Olmütz upon a "Punctation" (*punktation* = agreement) in which, abandoning her Union, Prussia agreed to a general conference at Dresden upon the subject of Federal reform. A month later (December 23) delegates from the German States presented themselves at Dresden. Schwarzenberg hoped to carry the programme of the *Vierkönigsbündnis*, the Austrian *Präsidium*, and even the admission of Austria's non-German provinces to the *Bund*. But as there was no prospect of obtaining for herself a dual Directorate with Austria, Prussia preferred the old Constitution of 1815 rather than Austria's revised edition of it. Manteuffel offered to consent to the admission of Austria's Trans-Leithanian provinces on the condition that Prussia was admitted to an equality with her in the Directorate of the *Bund*. Otherwise he proposed the restoration of the old Confederation. The Tsar also preferred it. He was on the point of war with Turkey, and did not desire Austria's distant provinces to become a part of, and therefore under the protection of, Germany. Consequently Austria secured the re-establishment of the Constitution settled by the *Bundesakte* of 1815 and the *Schlussakte* of 1820. The Conference confirmed that settlement, and separated on May 16, 1851. On the same day Prussia resumed her attendance in the *Bundestag*, and a month later (June 13) the Principality of Waldeck, the last champion of Federal reform, did so too. The Diet was once more complete and reaction triumphed. In August, 1851, the *Grundrechte* of the *Nationalparlament* were rescinded. The federated States were directed "to take immediate steps to efface from their institutions all arrangements which are not in accord with the Federal Laws, or

with the declared object of the *Bund*." On December 31, 1851, Francis Joseph revoked the Austrian Constitution. Frederick William stood by the Prussian Constitution of 1850, and kept open the path to the goal which his timorous policy had prevented Prussia from reaching already. But, for the moment, "New Prussia is dead and buried," said the future Empress Augusta. In fact, Bismarck was at hand with his methods of "iron and blood." Indeed, Olmütz produced an exaggerated idea of Prussian weakness and indecision, on which Austria presumed in the following years.

The Schleswig-Holstein question remained open. The Truce of Malmoe (August 26, 1848) terminated in 1849, when Denmark denounced it, and forced Prussia again (Treaty of Berlin, July, 1850) to withdraw her troops. Eventually, by the Treaty of London (1852), the five Great Powers and Sweden guaranteed the integrity of the Danish kingdom and its dependent duchies, and settled the succession to Frederick VII in favour of Christian of Glücksburg, the husband of Christian VIII's niece Louisa of Hesse, and his lawful male issue. The political union between the duchies was to cease, and Schleswig was not to be incorporated into the kingdom. Duke Christian of Augustenburg, the legal heir in male descent of Christian I, accepted the *fait accompli* in consideration of Denmark's purchase of his Schleswig estates. But his son Frederick was not pledged. Neither were the Estates of the two duchies, nor the German *Bundestag*, on all of whom the Powers forced the solution in the interests of European equilibrium. The deep-seated enmity between the German and Danish elements in the duchies was not allayed, and in 1863 the difficult problem was reopened.

CHAPTER XIII

THE SECOND EMPIRE

The eighteen years of the Second Empire, reminiscent in other respects of the First, are like it also in this : in both the history of France is the history of Europe. In spite of his axiomatic *L'Empire c'est la paix*, Napoleon III fully understood that want of adventure in the July Monarchy had been a principal cause of its downfall, and that his election as President and Emperor was approved by the French people because he represented " Napoleonic Ideas," a topic which he had expounded (1839) in a treatise bearing that title. The larger hopes which his name stirred—the complete overthrow of the settlement of 1815—were beyond the range of vision. But glory and profit might accrue to a ruler who should resume the *rôle* of France as champion of oppressed nationalities. The political situation in France, however, and the incubus of Clericalism, imposed upon the Emperor a foreign policy which, if "brilliant," was also opportunist, based less upon national than dynastic interests. He depended throughout upon the support of the Clericals, and in the Crimean War and Syrian expedition of 1860 paid their price for it. The fatal war with Prussia in 1870, adventured in hope of recovering territory torn from France, was also a dynastic move—" If there is no war my son will never reach the throne," the Empress Eugénie is said to have declared in that fatal year. But it needed Orsini's bomb to spur the Emperor to challenge Austria in 1859 in behalf of Italian nationalism ; for the French Clericals were scandalized by a policy which assailed the Pope's Temporal Power.

Consistency and high principle were not characteristic of the Second Empire's foreign policy ; it was active and aggressive. The Crimean War opened in March, 1854, and ended in

March, 1856. Three years later, in April, 1859, France joined Sardinia against Austria and withdrew from Italy (March, 1860) in permanent possession of Savoy (the cradle of the Italian monarchy) and Nice (the birth-place of Garibaldi). In the same year a French expedition to the Syrian Lebanon, in behalf of the Christian Maronites, was followed (1861) by an agreement which provided the Lebanon with a Constitution and a Christian Governor. The Crimean and Syrian wars were in the nature of Crusades. In less degree so also was the disastrous Mexican War to which France committed herself with Great Britain and Spain in the Convention of London (October, 1861). The ostensible cause of it was the protection of interests affected by the Mexican civil war. But the struggle also was between Liberalism and the Church, and France intervened partly in expiation of her recent lapse in Italy. The result was disastrous. Great Britain and Spain speedily withdrew. France continued the adventure alone until 1867. She had not repaired her losses in it before, in 1870, she entered upon the contest with Germany which brought the Second Empire to an end. Thus, while the forty years that followed the fall of the First Empire were a period of peace, in so far that the Great Powers were not embroiled with one another, the Second Empire introduced Europe again to a series of great contests: the Crimean War of 1854–56; the Franco-Austro-Italian War of 1859; the Danish War of 1864; the Austro-Prussian War of 1866; the Franco-German War of 1870–71; the Russo-Turkish War of 1877–78; the Balkan Wars of 1911–13; and the German War of 1914.

The domestic episodes of Napoleon's reign are intimately related to its foreign activities, and are chiefly important for their effect upon them. Proclaimed on December 2, 1852, the Second Empire lasted barely eighteen years, and was replaced by the Provisional Government of September 4, 1870, formed on the Emperor's capitulation at Sedan two days earlier. The period divides into two phases which French historians label *L'Empire autoritaire*, and *L'Empire libéral*. The final year of the latter forms a third subdivision, *L'Empire parlementaire*. The Dictatorship established by the Constitution of January 14, 1852, lasted without mitigation (for the proclamation of the Empire in the following December merely affected the rank of the President) until November 24, 1860, when the Emperor

conceded to the Senate and Legislative Body (*Corps Législatif*) a niggardly participation in public affairs. The "Liberal Empire" then founded continued until the *Senatusconsultum* of September 6, 1869, which practically restored the Parliamentary *régime* of the Orleans Monarchy. In that form the Imperial Constitution continued for almost exactly a year longer, to September 4, 1870.

Napoleon was forty-four years old when he became Emperor, nine years older than his uncle when he obtained the same title. He had lived down his farcical adventures at Strassburg and Boulogne and his earlier coquetting with the Italian *Carbonara*, calculated advertisements of his existence to the French public. The contempt for his abilities expressed in the early days of the Second Republic had given place long since to interest in a character apparently inscrutable; though Bismarck in a later year held him "a man of great, albeit concealed, incompetence." He was as reticent as Louis Philippe was open—"an eyeless Sphinx" a Clerical called him. "The eagle," wrote another, picturing the Emperor, "is a bird of prey, a pilferer, a thief, a coward, and savage. He lives on other birds weaker than himself, and devours their eggs in their very nests." In fact, the Emperor was neither the incompetent of Bismarck nor the bird of prey of Rigault. De Tocqueville said of Napoleon I that he was "as great as a man can be who is without virtue." In Napoleon III equally virtue was absent. Like the great Emperor he might have said, *J'ai toujours marché avec l'opinion de cinq ou six millions d'hommes*, exposing in the confession his standard of public morality. Both men were ambitious. Neither was restrained by moral scruples. But the ambition of Napoleon I was self-centred. That of Napoleon III was at the service of the House of Napoleon, under an honest if mistaken conviction that its fortunes and France's interests were identical. Nor were the methods of Napoleon III those of his uncle; their temperaments were different. Napoleon I was a supreme master of men. Napoleon III was a schemer. Partly from temperament, partly perhaps owing to his early activities in Italy, he found the methods of the conspirator congenial.

Satisfied that France and the House of Napoleon were complementary institutions, Napoleon carefully followed his uncle's footsteps. For "liberty" in the abstract he had no

enthusiasm, and for the greater part of his reign contemptuously disregarded it. In his own words, "Liberty has never managed to erect a durable political edifice, though it may be used to crown one when time has given it a firm foundation." "The nature of democracy," he remarked, "is to characterize itself in one man." To the plea of Thiers for constitutional government he replied in 1865, "Progress is not the application of more or less ingenious theories, but the adoption of results tested by experience and endorsed by public opinion." He accepted confidently the autocratic power which the Constitution of 1852 conferred upon him. "The Emperor," it declared, "governs by means of [not in association with] the Ministers, the Council of State, the Senate, and the Legislative Body." In theory the Empire rested upon the consent of the people, who once in six years were permitted to express their approval or condemnation of its actions. But Napoleon's universal suffrage was little more than a farce. He made the elections simpler by establishing single-member constituencies (*scrutin uninominal* or *scrutin d'arrondissement*) instead of the Departmental colleges in which every elector voted for as many candidates as there were members allotted to the area (*scrutin de liste*). But the bounds of the constituencies were not defined by statute. They were adjusted conveniently by Ministerial decree before a General Election. Urban constituencies, in which the government's position was most vulnerable, were attached arbitrarily to rural districts whose peasant voters could be relied on to swamp the town Liberals. The returning officer was the local mayor, who owed his appointment to the government. In rural constituencies, the poll being open for two days, it was not unusual for the mayor to take the voting box into his personal charge at the end of the first day's voting, and in places where the voters were brought up with difficulty to the poll he even acted vicariously for them! The influence of the government was exerted through the Departmental Prefects in behalf of "official" candidates, who not only were permitted to print their election addresses and posters on white paper, a colour reserved for official publications, but did so at the public expense. Every kind of obstacle impeded the independent candidate. He could not display his posters without the Prefect's permission; he was not allowed to hold public meetings to expound his views;

he was hampered by official regulations in the distribution of election literature. Yet the government at the outset had little to fear. The Republicans were shattered. They were unrepresented in the Chamber until 1857. From 1857–63 they had only five Deputies—*les Cinq*. The Legitimists and Orleanists were negligible; the clergy had deserted them for the Empire.

Police activity and restraint of the Press prevented all discussion of public affairs in a spirit adverse to the government. Police spies were everywhere; the most trivial conversations received their attention. During the Crimean War an actor, having reason to complain of bad attendance in a Paris *Café*, remarked, "It's as bad here as at Sebastopol; one can get nothing." He was arrested. At Tours a woman who talked about disease among the vines was threatened with imprisonment for "spreading bad news"! School teachers were the objects of special vigilance. Besides taking the oath of fidelity to the government, male teachers were required to shave their moustaches, "in order to divest their bodies as well as their minds of all traces of anarchy"! In 1854 the appointment of elementary school teachers was vested in the Departmental Prefects. Subjects tending to Liberal thought were discouraged in the University, and an oath of fidelity to the Emperor was demanded from its teachers. As to the Press, a new law (February 17, 1852) swept away the liberty which the Revolution of 1848 conferred and the measures following the outbreak of June, 1849, had not obliterated wholly. New journals might not be founded without permission. The caution money demanded from papers of all kinds was doubled, amounting in Paris to 50,000 *francs*. The stamp-duty was doubled. Press offences were withdrawn from the jury to summary police courts (*tribunaux correctionells*). The Minister of the Interior was empowered to regulate the staff of all newspapers, and to "warn," "suspend," or "suppress" offending journals. Two "warnings" within two years entailed suspension for a variable period. A third "warning" was punishable by the suppression of the paper and confiscation of caution-money. It was competent for the authorities to suppress a journal summarily, *par mesure de sûreté générale*. The publication of reports of Press trials and debates of the *Corps*

Législatif was forbidden rigorously. Itself severe, the law was administered sternly. In less than two years nearly one hundred "warnings" (*avertissements*) were issued. Their character may be gauged by examples. A journal, reporting a speech of the Emperor, declared that "according to the Havas Press Agency" it was well received. It was "warned" for inserting the qualifying sentence. A discussion of the relative qualities of chemical manures actually elicited a "warning," on the ground that it was likely "to unsettle buyers"! The police were as active in the provinces as in the capital; for the Prefects were clothed with the autocratic power of the Emperor whom they represented. By the Constitution of 1852 the mayors of the Communes also were nominated, and in selecting them the government was not restricted to the members of the Councils.

Even if this machinery of *espionage* and repression had not existed, the public institutions "by means of" which, according to the Constitution of 1852, the Emperor ruled gave no opportunity for the expression of the popular will. The Executive consisted of ten Ministers, holding portfolios of Justice, the Interior (Home Affairs), Foreign Affairs, Finance, the Navy, War, the Colonies, Public Instruction and Worship, Public Works, and Police (with the Press). They were responsible to the Emperor alone, were not members of the Legislature, and could not attend its meetings to expound the measures which it was invited to pass. The sole medium of communication between the Emperor and the public Departments was the "Minister of State," whose office was accentuated in 1863. The supreme administrative body was the Council of State. The preparation of legislative measures was confided to it. The Senate, which was composed exclusively of nominated and *ex officio* members, was closely bound to the Emperor; senatorial rank carried an annual emolument. The Chamber was competent to amend and interpret the Constitution, and did so, in the form of *Senatus-consulta*, in the manner the Emperor desired. The Legislative Body was altogether impotent. Alone of the three Councils its meetings were public. But strangers could be excluded on the demand of five members, and the tribune facing the Strangers' Gallery from which Deputies had been wont to address the Chamber was removed; members spoke from

their places. Only an official *précis* of its debates was reported by the Press. As a legislative organ it was almost negligible. It could neither initiate legislation nor amend the proposals of the government—the important measures of the Second Empire for the most part were in the form of *Senatusconsulta*. Even the financial powers conferred upon it by the Constitution of 1852 practically were superseded by the *Senatusconsultum* of December 25, 1852, promulgated shortly after the proclamation of the Empire. It particularized the autocratic nature of the Emperor's position; placed in his hands the conclusion of treaties of commerce, the authorization of public works, and of extraordinary credits. The Legislative Body was permitted merely to vote the Budget *en bloc*, leaving the Emperor to apportion the grant among the Departments. Montalembert, who was a member of it, with good reason described the Chamber as "an airless, dark dungeon."

The proclamation of the Empire on December 2, 1852, was followed at once by the creation of an Imperial Court which revived the great functionaries of the First Empire. Its Grand Dignitaries and Grand Officers were not restored. Like his uncle, Napoleon resided at the Tuileries, and the other State palaces were placed at his disposal. A *Senatusconsultum* of November 7, 1852, distinguished the Imperial family in two categories, the *civile* and *politique*. The Imperial dignity was declared hereditary in the Emperor's legitimate male issue, in default of which he was permitted to designate his successor from his "political" family. By a supplementary *Senatusconsultum* his Civil List was fixed at 25,000,000 *francs* annually for the whole of his reign, and an additional 1,500,000 *francs* annually was apportioned among his relations, who were not allowed to marry without his consent. Napoleon was unmarried in 1852, and the sole members of his attenuated "political" family were his uncle Jerome, the ex-King of Westphalia (d. 1860), and his two children by a second marriage, Prince Napoleon Joseph (d. 1891), and Princess Mathilde. An Imperial decree of December 18, 1852, therefore nominated Jerome, and after him his son, Napoleon's heir in the Imperial dignity. Prince Napoleon had sat with the "Mountain" under the Second Republic, and, like Philippe Égalité, made the Palais Royal the resort of advanced Liberals. The Emperor

had no liking for his heir presumptive, and hoped to hand on the Crown to a direct successor. His overtures for a wife were not well received by the European Courts to which he addressed them. His elevation was too recent, and his position too little assured, to encourage the old reigning Houses to ally themselves with him. Professing pride in being a *parvenu*, he therefore followed his affections and married Eugénie de Montijo, the daughter of a Spanish grandee, a wife, he declared, who would restore to France "the virtues of the Empress Josephine," The Empress made herself the beautiful centre of the most brilliant Court in Europe, and became the most powerful agent of the Clerical and Ultramontane party. Until the birth of the Prince Imperial in 1856, Napoleon was swayed, now by the Empress, and now by the anti-Clerical views of the heir presumptive. The simplicity of the Court of the Citizen King was discarded. Paris was metamorphosed by Haussmann's operations, and the Exhibitions of 1855 and 1867 drew Sovereigns and peoples to the pleasure capital of Europe. Throughout the country the Prefects gratified the provinces by reflecting the display of the Court.

The conclusion of the Crimean War, and the resort of the European plenipotentiaries to Paris, following the Exhibition of 1855 and the *fêtes* celebrating the Emperor's marriage, and the birth of the Prince Imperial contributed to exalt the autocratic *régime*. The chiefs of the Republican party for the most part were in exile. An attempted *rapprochement* between the Orleanist Duc de Nemours and the Legitimist Comte de Chambord in 1853 had come to nothing. All sections of the Opposition were impotent. But at the General Election of 1857 Paris broke the hitherto solid phalanx of "official" Deputies by electing five members of the Democratic or Republican party, *les Cinq* ("The Five"). Émile Ollivier was among them, and during the next six years fought a discouraging battle against autocracy in the *Corps Législatif*. But early in 1858 an event occurred whose consequences rallied a larger opposition to the Emperor's policy. On January 14, the sixth anniversary of the Constitution of 1852, three bombs were thrown at the Emperor and Empress as they drove to the Opera. One of the carriage horses was killed, and about one hundred and fifty persons were killed and wounded. The

chief contriver of the outrage was Felix Orsini, a member of the Roman *Costituente* of 1849. He had a bitter grudge against Napoleon for his desertion of Italy, and on the scaffold besought the Emperor "to give Italy the independence of which France deprived her in 1849, and to remember his vows as a *Carbonaro*." The immediate effect of the outrage was the proclamation of martial law throughout France, and the submissive passing by the *Corps Législatif* of a new Public Safety Law (*loi de sureté générale*), against which only twenty-four Deputies ventured to vote; Ollivier made his ***début*** as a Parliamentary orator in the debate upon it. The Law gave the government power to summarily imprison, deport, or expel persons implicated in attempts against it or concerned in the fabrication, distribution, or possession of explosives; members of illegal associations; all persons who had been dealt with already for participation in the insurrection of June, 1849, and for resistance to the *coup d'état* of 1851. More than 2000 persons were arrested, and a large number were deported to Algeria.

The Orsini outrage moved Napoleon to fulfil the commission which its contriver laid upon him. In the following July (1858) he made a secret agreement with Cavour at Plombières which resulted in the joint war of Sardinia and France against Austria in 1859. In January, 1859, the marriage of Prince Napoleon Bonaparte and Victor Emmanuel's daughter Clotilda confirmed the Franco-Sardinian agreement. The war opened soon after and proceeded to its successful conclusion, the acquisition of Lombardy by Sardinia and of Nice and Savoy by France (Treaty of Turin, March, 1860). Clerical influence, alarmed at Victor Emmanuel's success and its menace to the Papacy, had withdrawn France already (Preliminaries of Villafranca, July, 1859) from farther active participation in the war, and drove Napoleon to approach the Liberals, on whom he could rely to support a policy which he took pride in as "the great scheme of his reign." In August, 1859, he accorded a general amnesty to political offenders and to those who had been proceeded against under the recent Law. Many, like Ledru-Rollin, took advantage of it to return to France. Others, Victor Hugo among them, refused it. "On that day when liberty, right, and justice, which also are proscribed, are restored to France, I too will return," said another irreconcilable.

In January, 1860, a Commercial Treaty with Great Britain added the mercantile and Protectionist interests to the growing body of opinion which, without desiring to overturn the Empire, viewed its policy with alarm. With the approval of Palmerston and Gladstone, Napoleon negotiated with Richard Cobden, at that time in France, the bases of a Free Trade Treaty. It reduced the duties upon English coal, iron, machinery, yarn, and hemp, and undertook eventually to withdraw the prohibition of or reduce the duties on British products generally. Great Britain made equivalent concessions to French wines, spirits, and other commodities. Napoleon always had been in favour of breaking down international commercial barriers with a view to cheapening markets in the interests of the poor. But the innovation caused a great outcry from manufacturers who feared British competition. Even the Legislative Body was restive on the subject, and four hundred manufacturers who desired to represent their objections were refused an audience of the Emperor.

By the year 1860 Napoleon had provoked, if he had not wholly alienated, the two Conservative interests on which he relied in the *coup d'état*—the Clericals, and the mercantile class which welcomed the advent of his rule in the interests of internal order and trade. His appearance in a Liberal *rôle* in Italy made the maintenance of an autocratic system in France incongruous. But his sudden resolution to discard the latter was due also to a calculation of the advantage of shifting to other shoulders the responsibility and odium which unmitigated despotism placed solely on his own. Hence a decree of November 24, 1860, brought the *Empire autoritaire* to an end and founded the *Empire libéral*. It permitted the Senate and *Corps Législatif* to approach the Throne through the medium of an Address in answer to the Imperial Speech, and enabled them therein to represent their opinions on affairs of State. The disregard with which both Chambers had been treated hitherto was corrected. Henceforth they were to be enlightened on the government's policy by the presence of Ministers without portfolio (and from 1863 by the Minister of State). The publication *in extenso* by the official *Moniteur* of the proceedings of the Legislative Body also was conceded. "For nine years," said a contemporary,

"France has been a chamber hermetically sealed. At last a breath of pure and healthy air has been admitted to it." Contrary to Napoleon's calculations, so far from embroiling his critics in the bitternesses of Parliamentary strife, his concession gave them opportunity to unite in a demand for Liberal reforms.

The elections for the third Legislative Body in 1863 took place in circumstances very different from those which existed in 1857. The memory of the Crimean War had been obliterated by the Emperor's vacillating policy in Italy. The profitless Mexican War was in progress. The Republican party, which had been crushed in 1851, lifted its head; its leaders had begun to return. The Imperial concessions of November, 1860, and the publication of the debates of the Legislative Body, revived the country's interest in public affairs. Men like Thiers, who so far had refused the oath of fidelity qualifying for a seat in Parliament, returned to public life. Clericals, who denounced the Emperor as a Pilate or Judas for his betrayal of the Pope, Orleanists, Legitimists, Protectionists, and Republicans united in an informal *Union libérale* and offered themselves to the constituencies. The result surpassed their expectations. They carried thirty-five seats. Paris rejected every official candidate, Thiers being one of its new members. More than $7\frac{1}{4}$ millions of electors went to the poll. Nearly 2 millions gave their votes to the Liberal Union. The anxious government prosecuted thirteen persons for illegally forming an electoral association in the recent campaign. But it took the lesson to heart by creating a "Minister of State" to defend and commend Imperial policy in Parliament.

The foreign outlook also became increasingly discouraging. "Dark clouds" on the horizon, the Emperor called them in a public speech, multiplied. The Mexican War was eating up the army, with no glory to condone the sacrifice. The cession of the Schleswig and Holstein duchies to Prussia and Austria (1864) elicited only a feeble remonstrance from France, and the humiliation of Austria by Prussia in the "Six Weeks' War" (1866) was felt by her as a grave menace to herself. Even before Königgrätz forty-five members detached themselves from the Imperialist majority in the Legislative Body to support a motion on the Address begging the Emperor

" to give to the great act of [November] 1860 the farther development it requires " (March, 1866). Ollivier supported the motion, which obtained sixty-three votes. A second motion in favour of Press liberty obtained a few more votes still. Such was the *début* of the *tiers parti* (Third Party). It did not venture to demand a complete Parliamentary system. It advocated, in a phrase, " the development of political liberty ; " a responsible Ministry, the trial of Press offences at common law, and the freedom of public meeting (restricted by law to twenty persons).

The Emperor's answer to the Third Party was made in a *Senatusconsultum* of July 14, 1866, extremely reactionary in character. In order to defend the Constitution of 1852 against farther attacks upon it, the measure deprived the *Corps Législatif* of the power to discuss constitutional changes. The Press was bound to silence under heavy penalties. The Senate, in which alone constitutional changes might be discussed, was forbidden to receive petitions on the subject in public session unless authorized to do so by a majority. But six months later the Emperor, whom bodily ill-health and the disease of stone from which he suffered rendered more vacillating than ever, made an advance towards the Third Party. By a decree of January 19, 1867, which withdrew the right of Address conceded in 1860, both Senate and Legislative Body received the power to " interpellate " the government, provided the interpellation had the support of five members in either Chamber and of two of the Committees of the Senate or four of the Committees of the Legislative Body. Thus the majority could shelve any unwelcome proposals. The Emperor also proposed to be represented by a Minister in both Chambers, and announced his intention to loosen the restrictions resting upon the Press and to establish the right of public meeting.

As the year 1867 proceeded the international prospect grew darker. After the Battle of Königgrätz (1866), in which, it has been remarked truly, France not less than Austria was conquered, Napoleon's attempt to obtain Mainz and a portion of the Left Bank was contemptuously likened by Bismarck to an extortionate " hotel-keeper's bill." The Emperor was equally unsuccessful in his effort to acquire Belgium, and, later, Luxemburg upon the dissolution of the Germanic

Confederation (1867). In Mexico the Austrian Archduke Maximilian, Francis Joseph's brother, whom the French were attempting to impose upon that country, was assassinated (1867). The Tsar, who visited the Paris Exhibition in the same year, was doubly outraged by a Polish attempt on his life and a Paris jury's verdict on the assailant as guilty with extenuating circumstances, an expression of France's abhorrence of Russian policy in Poland. Italy also was estranged; for, breaking the Convention of 1864, the Emperor sent back French troops in 1867 for the Pope's defence. Their defeat of Garibaldi at Mentana in November, 1867, alienated Victor Emmanuel in the approaching hour of Napoleon's need. Austria, France's only other possible ally on the Continent, had not been brought to an agreement when the Franco-German War broke out.

In face of the situation abroad the Emperor was compelled to redeem the pledges given in January, 1867. In May, 1868, the Press was released from the administrative restrictions of the Law of 1852. Warnings, suspensions, and suppressions were abandoned. Heavy fines and loss of civil rights were substituted for imprisonment as punishments for Press offences. A simple declaration alone was required henceforth for the founding of a new journal. The stamp duty and caution money were retained. Similarly incomplete was the government's concession regarding public meetings (June, 1868). It permitted any seven citizens to hold a public meeting on signing a declaration assuming responsibility for it. But it required the meeting to be notified, to be held within a closed building, and under the observation of the police. The measures failed to pacify the growing opposition, and made it easier to pursue the campaign against the government. New Republican journals were founded, among them Rochefort's *Lanterne*, which attacked the Emperor with persistent acrimony. On All Souls' Day (November 2), 1868, a demonstration took place at Montmartre over the grave of Daniel Manin, the hero of Venetian resistance to Austria in 1848–49. The demonstrators found there the neglected grave of Baudin, a victim of the barricades during the *coup d'état* of 1851. A subscription for the erection of a worthy tombstone was opened by some of the Republican journals, whose prosecution the government rashly ordered. In

defending one of them, Léon Gambetta, a young *avocat*, delivered a speech which thrilled France. He spoke contemptuously of the "men without talent and honour" surrounding an Emperor who lacked courage to celebrate the anniversary of "the crime of December 2." "But we dare to do so," he added; "it is the anniversary of our dead, of our hopes, of our liberty."

Earlier in the year (February 1, 1868), the government carried a Military Law, called for by the losses of the army in Mexico and in view of an imminent encounter with Germany's system of military service. To universal conscription the Legislative Body would not listen. Nor would the government accept the Republican suggestion of a short service army on the model of the Swiss militia. In the result a compromise was adopted. It provided that the annual batches of conscripts drawn by lot should serve five years with the colours and four years in the Reserve, giving the nation an army estimated at about 250,000 men. Those who escaped regular service were to form a *Garde Mobile*, not liable for foreign service, and to be called up only on a special summons. Heedless of the menacing conditions which confronted the Empire, the nation rejected the sacrifices which the measure called for, and the government was too timid to put it in force. The *Garde Mobile* had not been organized when the Franco-German War summoned it to defend the Fatherland.

The General Election of 1869 marked an even greater advance on the part of the opposition than that of 1863. The authorities made their usual attempt by means of *blouses blanches* or *agents provocateurs* to work on the nation's fears of the "Reds." It sufficiently gauged popular feeling to realize that its candidates would be handicapped by being labelled "official." Hence they posed as *conservateurs libéraux* or merely as *agréables*. The sections of the *Union libérale*, feeling their strength, boldly pursued an independent candidature. In the result the Republicans alone won about forty seats. The Third Party, which had detached itself from the Imperialist *Ultras*, came back to the Palais Bourbon nearly one hundred and twenty strong. Of $7\frac{3}{4}$ millions of electors who went to the poll a little more than $3\frac{1}{4}$ millions voted for Opposition candidates of all shades—$1\frac{1}{4}$ millions more than in 1863. The Imperialist *Ultras*, or as they were called, *Mamelukes* or

Arcadiens (they met in the *Rue de l'Arcade*), were no longer able to dominate the Legislative Body. The Third Party, holding the balance between the *Mameluks* and the Republican Left, interpellated the government on June 28, 1869, on "the necessity to satisfy the wishes of the country by associating it more effectively with the direction of affairs." They added that "the institution of a responsible Ministry, and the right of the *Corps Législatif* to control its activities and relations with the Executive, are essential to that end." Supported by forty members of the Left the "Programme of the 116" secured a majority. The hot-heads among the *Mameluks*, remembering Napoleon's remark, "a revolution is an idea with bayonets behind it," advised his nephew to revert to the Decembrist *régime*, and reminded him, *on peut tout faire avec des baionettes*. But the Emperor was not prepared to provoke a civil war in which the nation would be divided not unequally, while the observant Prussian eagles hovered across the frontier. A fortnight later (July 12) he announced his acceptance of the Third Party's programme. But he had no intention of leaving the Legislative Body to draft the Constitution which it asked for. On July 13, suppressing the Minister of State as an earnest of his intention to grant a responsible Ministry, he prorogued the Chamber.

On September 6, 1869, a *Senatusconsultum* launched the promised Constitution and embarked the Empire on its final year as an *Empire parlementaire*. The measure converted the Legislative Body into a constitutional Parliament; giving it power to elect its President and secretaries, to initiate and amend legislative proposals, to discuss and vote the Budget no longer *en bloc*, but in sections. The meetings of the Senate were thrown open to the public. Its power to send back measures to the Legislative Body for reconsideration was affirmed. While the Emperor still insisted that the Ministry depended on him alone, members of either Chamber were declared eligible for office. They received the right of *entrée* to the Legislature and were arraignable by the Senate. The Emperor already had abandoned (1861) his power to sanction extraordinary credits. Thus, the new Constitution approximated to the English. The *Corps Législatif* became a genuine Parliamentary assembly, the Senate deliberative, and the Ministry accountable to the latter.

The new Constitution, as the Emperor declared on the reopening of Parliament in November, 1869, steered a course between "reaction and revolution." On January 2, 1870, a new Ministry was constituted under Ollivier to carry it out. On April 20, 1870, another *Senatusconsultum* made the Senate the partner of the *Corps Législatif* as the legislative organ of the nation, and denuded it of its function as merely the guardian of the "fundamental pact" of 1852. Henceforward the people alone, by means of *plébiscites*, were competent to sanction constitutional changes. Napoleon, in fact, distracted by the gathering difficulties which faced him, had resolved to make such an appeal to the nation as earlier in his career fortified him in his ambitious course. The stake at issue was the Empire's continuance. Three days after the *Senatusconsultum* of April 20, the Emperor demanded a *plébiscite* on a cunningly drawn and confusing formula: "The French people approve the Liberal reforms introduced into the Constitution since 1860 by the Emperor with the concurrence of the chief bodies of the State, and ratify the *Senatusconsultum* of April 20, 1870." Napoleon urged the nation to vote *oui* to avert "the peril of revolution" and to assure the succession of his son. But the terms of the formula were equivocal intentionally. A plain issue between the Empire and its alternative, a Republic, was not joined; for a voter might favour the recent Liberal reforms and still detest the Empire. In Jules Grévy's words, "The *plébiscite* does not invite an expression of the national will, but is simply a contrivance to confiscate it." The Republican and other malcontents treated it as a vote of confidence in the Empire and its chief and voted *non*. Over $8\frac{3}{4}$ millions recorded their votes (May 8). Nearly 2 millions abstained. The "ayes" numbered 7,358,786, and the "noes" 1,571,939. By almost as many votes as acclaimed him in 1852 the Emperor could represent that France was behind him and his policy still. With his dynasty confirmed it needed but a victorious war to dissipate the trials which of late had afflicted it. Two months later (July) he challenged Germany to the long-foreseen duel, a challenge as welcome to Bismarck as to Napoleon it was a necessity. Almost upon the anniversary of the *Senatusconsultum* which the *plébiscite* of 1869 confirmed the Second Empire was in the dust.

CHAPTER XIV

THE CRIMEAN WAR

The nineteenth century, like the eighteenth, took over a legacy of quarrels from its predecessor. In both the solution of inherited difficulties was reached quickly, in the Treaties of 1713 and 1815. But the nineteenth century differed from its predecessor in that its after-course in Europe was comparatively peaceful. In the eighteenth century Frederick the Great created a storm-period midway between the provocative activities of Louis XIV and the French Revolution. But the pacification of 1815 was not broken, so far as the mutual relations of the Great Powers are concerned, until the outbreak of the Crimean War in 1854, itself the precursor of other wars. Momentous as these contests were, the storm-period of the nineteenth century ended in 1878. From that year the Continent of Europe witnessed no war between Great Powers until the conflict of 1914.

The Eastern Question was governed in 1854 by the Convention of the Straits (1841), an instrument which closed the Dardanelles against the warships of all nations and placed Turkey virtually under the tutelage of Europe. In the Joint Note of 1839 the Five Powers had urged upon Turkey their solution of the Egyptian crisis, and the Convention of 1841 marked the loss of the influence at Constantinople which Russia had obtained under earlier Treaties (Kainardji, 1774; Unkiar Skelessi, 1833). The Convention of 1841 made Europe collectively the guardian of Turkey's fortunes. But Great Britain's influence predominated at Constantinople. She had helped to save the Sultan from Mehemet Ali and Ibrahim, and had rescued him from the dangerous friendship of Russia. Her influence at the Porte was riveted by the personality of her Ambassador, Stratford Canning, created

Viscount Stratford de Redcliffe in 1852. He had had an intimate connexion with the Porte since 1810, when he was charged to frustrate Napoleon's designs there. From 1842 he was almost continuously at the right hand of the Sultan. France, on the other hand, had suffered in *prestige* through her exclusion from the Convention of London (1840), nor did she recover it until Napoleon revived the almost forgotten Capitulations of 1740.

The Crimean War was due to the conflicting policies of two men—Napoleon III and the Tsar, Nicolas I. With the former the war was a calculated bid for Clerical and popular support. Nicolas succeeded his brother Alexander I in 1825, and by stern repudiation of his predecessor's sentimental Liberalism earned the name of the "Iron Tsar." He tamed Poland and aided Austria to repress Hungary. Though he disclaimed the feelings of Catharine II towards Turkey, he hoped to restore the conditions of the Treaty of Kainardji (1774) which the Empress had concluded. He viewed Islam with the abhorrence of a Crusader. He had no faith in the *Tanzimat*, or Era of Reorganization, which the Sultan Mahmoud had inaugurated and his son Abd-ul-Mejid was now pursuing. Turkey, in his opinion, was an incurable invalid whose affairs needed settlement in advance of her imminent demise. He looked for no serious opposition to his policy towards her. He was the brother-in-law of Frederick William IV of Prussia. The Hungarian surrender at Vilagos (1849) laid Austria under obligation to him. From France, until she undeceived him, he anticipated no trouble; though he excluded Napoleon from the hierarchy of Sovereigns whose thrones rested on Divine Right, refused him fraternal greeting as "My Brother," and addressed him as *Votre Majesté le bon Ami*. Great Britain, he supposed, had inaugurated with the Great Exhibition of 1851 a policy of perennial peace. That she would ally herself with the nephew of her old foe lay outside the range of probabilities. Great Britain in fact did so, partly from a deepening suspicion of Russian designs and their sinister bearing on her position in the East, largely owing to the insistent policy of Lord Stratford de Redcliffe, the "Great Eltchi," and his determination to cripple Russia's machinations in Turkey for ever.

The immediate cause of the Crimean War was the effort

of France and Russia to revive or expand eighteenth century Treaties which regulated their relations with Islam—the Capitulations of 1740, and the Treaty of Kainardji of 1774. The earlier instrument was conceded by the Porte to Louis XV in appreciation of the efforts of French diplomacy in securing the Treaty of Belgrade (1739), which confined Austria within a frontier she did not cross until the Treaty of Berlin (1878) gave her the occupation of Bosnia and Herzegovina. The Capitulations recognized France as the protector of the Latin Church in Palestine, confirming its right to the occupation and custody of the Holy Places which the Roman Catholic or Latin and the Orthodox or Greek Churches equally reverenced. Those deeply venerated shrines were the monument of the Holy Sepulchre and its cupola within the Church at Jerusalem which Constantine's piety built in the fourth century; the Tomb and Chapel of the Virgin Mary at Gethsemane; and the Church at Bethlehem which the Empress Helena built in the fourth century above the Grotto of the Nativity, a feature of which was the commemorative Silver Star above the altar. The Capitulations confirmed prescriptive rights which France had enjoyed since 1535 in virtue of the distinguished and determining part she played throughout the Crusades. But the Revolution brushed Palestine from her memory, and neither Napoleon I, the restored Bourbons, nor Louis Philippe gave it their thoughts. Meanwhile the Greek Christians, whose pilgrimages were much more numerously attended, began to usurp the privileges of the Latin custodians of the shrines. After a fire in 1808, which almost destroyed the Church of the Holy Sepulchre, they dispossessed the Latin monks of their administrative rights altogether. Article VII of the Treaty of Kainardji (1774) meanwhile recognized Russia as the Protector of the Greek or Orthodox Church in Constantinople, furnishing her with a pretext for intervention, and giving the Greeks in Palestine a powerful backer.

In the spring of 1851, while he was contemplating the December *coup d'état*, Napoleon instructed the French Ambassador at Constantinople to demand confirmation of the administrative rights of the Latin monks over the monument and cupola of the Holy Sepulchre, usurped by the Greeks since the fire of 1808, whose damages they had repaired;

the Chapel and Tomb of the Virgin Mary at Gethsemane; the Church of the Nativity at Bethlehem; the tombs of the kings and (jointly with the Greeks) the altar at Calvary; and (also jointly with the Greeks) the Stone of Anointing at Jerusalem. Between the demands of France and the warnings of Russia the Sultan was in a difficult position and attempted a double course. On the one hand he admitted the justice of the French contention. On the other he assured the Greek Patriarch of his determination to resist it. On February 9, 1852, however, the Porte substantially conceded Napoleon's demand, and the Russian Ambassador warned the Porte to expect his master's displeasure.

In December, 1852, soon after the establishment of the Second Empire, Lord Aberdeen formed a Coalition Cabinet, in which Palmerston took the Home Office, Lord John Russell the portfolio of Foreign Affairs, and Gladstone the Exchequer. Palmerston could be counted on to support a vigorous foreign policy. But Aberdeen and Gladstone affected an "excessive and self-defeating love of peace" which Nicolas relied on to his undoing. Until the Sinope "massacre" in November, 1853, also, British opinion was apathetic, and was accurately represented by *Punch* as a sleeping lion vainly prodded by the quills of insistent journalists. In 1844, during a visit to Queen Victoria and Prince Albert, the Tsar had unfolded his views on Turkey, suggesting an Anglo-Russian *entente* with a view to settling the Eastern Question between them. Lord Aberdeen was Foreign Secretary then, and his recent accession to power prompted the Tsar on January 9, 1853, during a reception at the Winter Palace, to express to Sir Hamilton Seymour, the British Ambassador, his gratification at the good relations existing between their governments. A few days later he unfolded to him his views on the Eastern Question. Turkey, he remarked, was the "sick man" of Europe, whose demise would be followed by serious trouble unless judicious preparations were made beforehand. "Speaking to you as a friend and as one man to another," he concluded, "if England can come to an agreement with me on the subject, the other Powers do not matter; I am indifferent to what they do or think." Lord John Russell, however, deprecated a private arrangement as likely to create rather than forestall the crisis which the Tsar anticipated. He

reiterated that differences with the Porte must be settled by the common action of the Powers. Nicolas gave a more detailed exposition of his plans in a third conversation with Seymour (February, 1853). He assured him that he did not share "the visions of the Empress Catharine" regarding Turkey, had no desire to possess Constantinople permanently, did not wish Turkey to be cut up into small States, "ready-made asylums for revolutionaries," nor the Byzantine Empire to be revived. He suggested that when the Turkish power dissolved, Moldavia and Wallachia should remain autonomous under his protection, and that Serbia and Bulgaria should hold a similar position. In view of the importance of Egypt and Crete to Great Britain as an Indian Power, he was quite willing to countenance her annexation of them. He invited the British government to discuss his proposals, but deprecated a formal agreement—"a free exchange of ideas, and, if need be, just the word of one gentleman to another. Between our two governments that is all that is needed."

In some amaze the British Cabinet adopted a temporizing attitude. Seymour was instructed to inform the Tsar that Great Britain did not contemplate Turkey's immediate demise, and that when it occurred the European Concert would administer the estate. But Nicolas, counting at least on British neutrality, thought the moment arrived for a firm attitude towards the Porte. Constantinople was warned of the approaching visit of an Ambassador Extraordinary, Prince Menshikoff, Governor-General of Finland, Minister of Marine and Admiral of the Baltic Fleet. He reached Constantinople on March 15, 1853, after reviewing the Black Sea Fleet and the Russian forces in Bessarabia on his journey. His arrival, and still more his conduct, threw the Porte into a panic. He neglected to pay the customary visit of courtesy to the *Reis Effendi* (Minister of Foreign Affairs), who resigned in consequence. He let it be known that his mission related to a definitive settlement, in the interests of the Greek Church, of the dispute regarding the Holy Places. He covered a deeper purpose with laughing hints of negotiations for a matrimonial alliance between the two Courts! The Porte, in alarm, appealed to the British and French *Chargés d'affaires* in the absence of their Ambassadors, and on March 20 the French fleet was dispatched from Toulon to Salamis. The British

official's summons of the fleet from Malta was referred to and overruled by the home government.

On April 19, 1853, Menshikoff revealed the actual purpose of his mission. He delivered a demand for a secret treaty recognizing Russia as the protector of the Greek Church throughout the Turkish Empire, and offered an offensive and defensive alliance against France. The Treaty of Kainardji merely accorded Russia protectoral rights in Constantinople, the wider responsibility she claimed being exercised by Austria over the Roman Catholics in Turkey, who were a less numerous body. The concession of the Tsar's demand would bring him into intimate relations with about 12,000,000 Christian subjects of the Porte, who were especially numerous in European Turkey, and would imply the abdication of the Sultan in respect to them. Stratford de Redcliffe was informed of the demand on his return from England. He had withdrawn his recent resignation of the Constantinople Embassy in view of the crisis, and passing through Berlin and Vienna on his return, emphasized the need for caution at both capitals. In fact, he regarded the situation with satisfaction, holding the time opportune for an effort "to strike off the fetters of Kainardji," and, as he encouraged the Sultan, "to settle accounts with Russia for ever." He therefore manœuvred to compel Menshikoff to unmask his secret mission, and to that end induced the Porte and France to accept a compromise on the alleged object of it. The Sultan accordingly revised (May 4) the *Firman* of February, 1852, and conceded to the Greeks the first hour daily for their exclusive worship at the Holy Sepulchre, with the stipulation that the janitor of the Church of the Nativity at Bethlehem should be for the future a member of their Church. In order to avoid the necessity for departure, Menshikoff was obliged to disclose his other mission. On May 5, he delivered an *ultimatum* requiring within five days the concession of the protective rights which Russia claimed, a demand which Stratford de Redcliffe characterized as involving the "surrender to Russian influence, management, and authority, of the Greek churches and clergy throughout Turkey, and eventually, therefore, of the whole Greek population dependent on the priests." The Porte replied that it was willing to guarantee the rights of its Orthodox subjects, but refused to compromise its sovereignty

by making them the subject of a treaty with Russia. A crisis followed upon the refusal of the Sultan, who was in mourning for his mother, to receive Menshikoff in audience. But the Council of Ministers and dignitaries persisted by a narrow majority in their refusal to yield to Menshikoff's demand, and on May 22 he left Constantinople. His failure was public and considerable. "I feel the smart of the Sultan's fingers on my cheek," said the Tsar.

Nicolas was restrained with difficulty from declaring war immediately. For the moment he renewed Menshikoff's demand under threat of occupying Wallachia and Moldavia. The French and British fleets at once were called up to Besika Bay at the mouth of the Dardanelles in readiness for an emergency, while the Sultan, to counteract the effect of Russia's action upon his Christian subjects, issued (June 6, 1853) a *hatt-i-Sheriff* proclaiming religious liberty throughout the Empire. War obviously was inevitable, and the British Ambassador's attitude made his government a principal in the dispute. Nicolas counted on Austria and Prussia. But Prussia, Bismarck complained, still played Leporello to Austria's Don Giovanni. Austria was alarmed at the prospect of Russian influence on the Danube and in the Balkans. Hence, while the Russian army crossed the Pruth into Moldavia on July 4, the Ministers of the four Powers (France, Great Britain, Austria, Prussia) assembled at Vienna to devise an accommodation. "Peace," said Lord Aberdeen, "is the great object we ought always to have in view." Napoleon, having isolated Russia, desired to proceed with caution lest France should be represented once more as the firebrand of Europe, and proposed to submit the issue between Russia and Turkey to the Five Powers signatory to the Straits Convention of 1841. These considerations produced the Vienna Note of July, 1853, which appeared to recognize the Tsar's claim to watch over his co-religionists in Turkey while it affirmed the independence of the Porte. Russia, interpreting the Note with a latitude which its authors did not intend, assented to it (August 3). Stratford de Redcliffe officially advised the Sultan to accept a document to which his government was a party, but his private advice influenced him to denounce it unless it were redrafted. The British government informed the Tsar of the modifications which the Porte required. The Tsar naturally rejected them,

and the Note was withdrawn (September 19). The Concert broke up ; Prussia standing undecided between the long tradition of Russian friendship and the call of the Western Powers.

The situation already was beyond control. The Tsar was rousing Russia to a Crusade. The *Ulema* were calling upon the Sultan to declare war or abdicate. In October, Omar Pasha, commanding the Turkish army on the Danube, summoned Prince Gorchakoff to evacuate the Principalities within fifteen days. The Prince replied that he was not empowered to treat for evacuation, war, or peace. Denouncing the reply as " the beginning of hostilities," the Turks crossed the Danube, where at the outset they more than held their own. An Anglo-French fleet entered the Dardanelles at the same time (October 22), the British government having sanctioned the infringement of the Straits' Convention of 1841 some weeks before (September). Stratford de Redcliffe had preferred to hold in reserve what Aberdeen called the " fearful power " placed in his hands. He employed it now " for the security of British and French interests, and if necessary for the protection of the Sultan himself." To deal with the Turkish fleet before it had the protection of the Allies was an obvious precaution. On November 30, it was attacked and practically destroyed by a Russian squadron from Sebastopol off Sinope on its way with munitions to Batum and the Caucasus, " Thank God, that's war ! " said Stratford de Redcliffe when he heard the news. The " massacre " had an instant influence upon public opinion in England. *Punch* reflected it in a cartoon representing the British Lion straining at the leash, while Aberdeen remarked plaintively, " I'm afraid I *must* let him go." In the first week of January, 1854, the allied fleet entered the Black Sea, in accordance with Napoleon's suggestion to " invite " the Russian fleet to retire to Sebastopol while the Allies held the Black Sea in pledge for the evacuation of the Principalities. A last effort of the Powers to contrive an accommodation between Russia and Turkey was refused by the Tsar. He rejected Napoleon's proposal for a mutual evacuation of the Black Sea and the Principalities, and warned him that Russia would prove as dangerous in 1854 as in 1812. A month later he broke off diplomatic relations with France and Great Britain (February, 1854). On February 27, the Allies dispatched an *ultimatum*, calling

upon Russia to evacuate the Principalities by the end of April, to respect the integrity of the Ottoman Empire, and to renounce her claim to the protectorate of the Greek Christians in it. Anticipating the reply, the Allies signed (March 12) a Convention with Turkey guaranteeing her Empire and the rights of the Sultan, and promising military assistance. On his part the Sultan promised to all his subjects, irrespective of creed, equal rights, common eligibility for public appointments, and equitable taxation. A supplementary agreement (April 10) between France and Great Britain bound the Allies not to make peace separately, nor to seek particular advantages in the war. With Austria and Prussia they settled the bases of a future settlement—maintenance of the integrity of the Turkish Empire, evacuation of the Principalities, a satisfactory guarantee by the Sultan of the privileges of his Christian subjects, and a mutual agreement to make no terms with Russia which had not been examined by the Powers. Meanwhile, about the middle of March, the *ultimatum* reached Petrograd. It was acknowledged curtly: the Tsar was "not disposed to make any reply." "Surely he is mad!" was the Prince Consort's comment. Before the end of the month the Allies declared war (March 27).

The contest upon which France and Great Britain were about to embark was unique. Not since the days of Mazarin and Cromwell, nearly two hundred years earlier, had their armies faced a common foe. Neither country so far had undertaken a war in Europe at such a distance from its home base—Napoleon's invasion of Russia in 1812 was launched from a friendly or compliant Germany. The armies and their stores needed to be transported by sea, for the most part in sailing vessels which took about a fortnight, or even more, to connect Marseilles and Gallipoli, and another seven or eight days thence to their destination in the Black Sea. The war also was the first to be waged under the critical, if uninstructed, eye of the civilian public. The dispatches of the newspaper correspondents and their revelations of official incompetence roused the indignation of the nation, and eventually caused the fall of Aberdeen's divided Cabinet.

On March 23, 1854, the Russians under Paskievich crossed the Danube, and gave siege to Silistria. Its fortifications (dismantled in 1878) had been rebuilt in part from the German

Moltke's plans, and in their defence two Englishmen, Captain James Butler and Major Charles Nasmyth, the *Times* correspondent with the Turkish army, especially distinguished themselves. Omar and the Turks retreated upon Shumla and interposed their army between the Russians and Constantinople, the apparent objective of the advance. The plucky defence of Silistria gave the Allies time to organize their plans. In the course of April, while their fleets bombarded and in part destroyed Odessa, an expeditionary force landed at Gallipoli, the first spoil won from Europe by the Turks almost exactly five hundred years before. Its commanders (neither was vested with supreme command) were Lord Raglan, Wellington's aide-de-camp in the Peninsular War, who had been employed since in " flat office labour " at the War Office, and Marshal Saint-Arnaud, Napoleon's accomplice in the *coup d'état* of December, 1851, and more recently in command in Algeria.

Apart from Pacific and Baltic expeditions, the only considerable result of which was the capture of Bomarsund, the citadel of the Aland Isles, the two years' war, March, 1854—March, 1856, was confined to the Black Sea, and in particular to its western and northern shores. Turkey held the whole of its southern littoral as far as Batum and the Caucasus. Russia possessed the whole of its eastern and northern shores, including the peninsula of the Crimea. On its western coast the Treaties of Bucharest (1812) and Adrianople (1829) had advanced the Russian frontier to the southern channel of the Danube, Turkey holding the coast thence to the Bosphorus. Russia's forces were distributed in accordance with her anticipations of the coming campaign. Her largest army, nearly 200,000 strong, was concentrated on the Pruth. Between Odessa and the Bug, the Russian frontier until the Treaty of Kainardji (1774), a smaller force of 32,000 men was posted. In the Crimea, covering the important naval and military citadel of Sebastopol, Prince Menshikoff commanded about 40,000 more. At Sebastopol, since the arrival of the allied fleets early in the year, the entire Russian Black Sea fleet was concentrated. It consisted of fourteen ships of the line, seven frigates, and eleven small steamships.

On May 10, 1854, Raglan and Saint-Arnaud met Omar Pasha at the Bulgarian port Varna, and agreed to transport

their forces thither from Gallipoli to aid him in driving the Russians out of the Principalities. On May 29, after entrenching their camp at Gallipoli, the Allies began to land at Varna. Neither War Office displayed adequate powers of organization, and like his English colleague, Saint-Arnaud complained that his men were insufficiently supplied even with common necessaries. The Allies, therefore, were not in a position to strike before Paskievich raised the siege of Silistria (June) and fell back on the Pruth. He did so partly because of the arrival of the Franco-British force, chiefly owing to the menacing demeanour of Austria, who, backed by Prussia, summoned Russia to evacuate the Principalities and established an army of observation in Transylvania. By meeting Austria's request the Tsar hoped to draw her within his alliance, and possibly to tempt the Allies to follow his retreating troops upon such an enterprise as shattered Napoleon in 1812. Austria, however, was content to occupy the Principalities, under a Convention with Turkey (June, 1854), pending the conclusion of peace. The Allies, whose forces already were scourged by cholera, attempted nothing more adventurous than a fruitless expedition into the Dobrudja. The purpose which had brought them to Varna was achieved already. But Russia's apparent weakness tempted Great Britain and France to seize the opportunity to secure a final settlement of the Eastern Question.

Austria suggested co-operation with France in a campaign on the Pruth. But the British Cabinet (June 28, 1854) completed instructions to Lord Raglan directing him to the Crimea to demolish Sebastopol, whose existence some 350 miles from Constantinople across the Black Sea constituted a serious menace to the Porte. Kinglake declares that most of the Ministers were asleep when the momentous decision was taken! They were, at any rate, almost completely blind to the conditions likely to be encountered, but were encouraged by secret information to believe that Sebastopol would prove vulnerable. Their object was summarized by the *Times* in a leading article on July 24, 1854: "The broad policy of the war consists in striking at the very heart of Russian power in the East, and that heart is at Sebastopol." The expedition was planned for a season of the year when the slightest hitch would prolong it into winter months to meet the Tsar's best "Generals January and February."

Yet so little was the contingency provided for, that the expedition carried provisions and forage for only forty-five days. Three of the four Generals of Division actually instructed their men to leave their knapsacks behind on commencing the march to Sebastopol. Two months later they were still unprovided with warm clothing.

On September 7, 1854, the Allies embarked at Varna. A week later they arrived at Kalamita Bay on the west coast of the Crimea, a shelving sandy beach which had been selected for the purpose on a preliminary *reconnaissance* some weeks before. Though the objective of the expedition had been disclosed by the public Press, Menshikoff imagined that Odessa rather than Sebastopol was aimed at, and no opposition was offered to the force's landing. Eupatoria on the north side of Kalamita Bay surrendered on September 13, and on the following day the disembarkation began. By the 18th the 267 transports, escorted by nearly 90 men-of-war, had landed five divisions of British infantry and one of cavalry; four divisions of French infantry (a fifth remaining at Varna with their cavalry); and a Turkish infantry division of about 6000 men. In all, the force numbered about 57,000 men, the British Heavy and Light Brigades furnishing the only body of cavalry. The latter circumstance had considerable results. It entailed upon the British the left or interior position in the southward march from Kalamita Bay, and gave them the most exposed situation when the lines were drawn round Sebastopol. On them fell, consequently, both a share of the siege operations and the brunt of the assaults of Menshikoff's army operating independently in the open. On the 19th the march upon Sebastopol began. On the 20th the Allies found Menshikoff in inferior numbers awaiting them behind the Alma, the first of three rivers crossing their line of advance. The strength of the Russian position faced the British, who were forced to make a frontal attack across the river and up the wooded slopes on which Menshikoff massed the bulk of his army. His left shelved away to the cliffs. The nature of the ground there and its accessibility to the fire of the Allies' fleet caused him to leave it comparatively unprotected against the French. The British attack was directed somewhat blunderingly, while the French with great *élan* carried the position before them by mid-day. "I ran," said Saint-Arnaud, "but the English

walked." Late in the afternoon the whole position was won. But Raglan refused to send his cavalry after the retreating Russians. The campaign was only beginning, and he meant, he said, to " keep them in a band-box." The Alma victory opened the road to Sebastopol to the Allies ; for Menshikoff, some thousands less than they before the battle, suffered more heavily in it.

Sebastopol lies in the south-west corner of the Crimean peninsula, on the rocky plateau of the Chersonese. Though it was little strengthened by art until Franz Todleben, a Colonel of Engineers on the staff of Menshikoff, equipped it with fortifications, its position rendered it peculiarly guarded from attack. The town is situated upon an inner harbour, the South Bay, about a mile and a half in length, which opens at right angles to and on the south of a larger arm of the sea, the North Bay, which penetrates a basin of calcareous hills from west to east for a distance of four miles and a half, having an average width of half a mile. Round the South Bay, upon a natural rising amphitheatre, Sebastopol faces the North Bay, by which alone it is accessible from the sea. The town encircles the South Bay on both its sides, west and east, but its eastern or interior side, the Karabelnaia quarter, alone formed the arsenal or fortress. It was on that side that the genius of Todleben especially displayed itself in the construction of additional fortifications, the Great and Little Redan, and the Malakhoff. He strengthened also its western or seaward side with the Central and Flagstaff Bastions. But on the morrow of the Alma Sebastopol was unprotected by these additional works, and if the allied fleets had penetrated the North Bay, the army's co-operation could not fail to have compelled the town's surrender. On the evening of his defeat on September 20, therefore, Menshikoff sent instructions to Admiral Korniloff, commanding the fleet at Sebastopol, to close the entrance of the North Bay by sinking ships at the mouth of it ; to withdraw the rest of the fleet into the South Bay ; and to land the ships' crews and guns. Korniloff obeyed, sank five men-of-war and two frigates across the outer entrance, and landed about 18,000 sailors, seven months' provisions, and all his guns.

When the Allies reached the Chersonese plateau on September 25 they found the harbour closed against the entrance of

their fleet. Even so it is probable that the place would have fallen before a resolute attack on the landward sides. But the commanders were of opinion that without the co-operation of the fleet, which was now impossible, an assault had little chance of success. In the circumstances, the army already being infected with cholera and poorly equipped for a prolonged enterprise, the wiser course would have been to withdraw altogether. It was resolved otherwise. Skirting the North Bay, and crossing the Tchernaya river which flows into the head of it, the armies marched round the east side of Sebastopol and based themselves on two small inlets to the south-east of the town, in touch with their fleets; the British on Balaklava Bay about eight miles from Sebastopol; the French on Kamiesch Bay between it and the North Bay. In their flank march round Sebastopol the Allies crossed the track of Menshikoff, who a few hours before drew his forces out of the town into the centre of the Crimea, where he could receive reinforcements. His hitherto inferior forces were speedily reinforced, and he was soon in a position to harry the besiegers in their trenches.

Hardly had the armies reached their new quarters before Saint-Arnaud succumbed (September 29) to cholera. His place was taken by General Canrobert, who was averse from attempting an assault until the fortifications had been shaken by a preparatory bombardment. Todleben thereby received three weeks' grace in which to strengthen his defences and place the guns of the dismantled fleet in position. On October 9 the besiegers began to open their trenches; the French on the west side of the town; the British on so much of the east side as their numbers could contain, leaving a large gap on their right, which the French ultimately occupied, between the Great Redan and the North Bay, in front of the Malakhoff Tower and the Little Redan. By the middle of October about 130 guns were in position. On the 17th they opened a preliminary bombardment. It severely damaged the Great Redan and caused the death of Korniloff, whose place was taken by Admiral Nakhimoff, the author of the Sinope "massacre." A week later (October 25), Menshikoff struck at the British base at Balaklava. Moving down the ridge above the harbour he captured the Turkish redoubts, the outer defences of the camp, and advanced upon Kadikoi,

the avenue to Balaklava through the hills. Three events in the disconnected engagements that followed stand out vividly. The advance of the Russian cavalry was checked by Sir Colin Campbell and the 93rd of the Line, and their rout was completed by the charge of the Heavy Brigade of cavalry under General Scarlett. An order to the Light Brigade to recapture the redoubts was misunderstood, and six hundred heroes led by Lord Cardigan charged along the North Valley (Tennyson's "Valley of Death"), at whose east end the Russian army awaited them under the shelter of its batteries. The futility and daring of the exploit compelled admiration. *C'est magnifique mais ce n'est pas la guerre* said the French. An attack on the British position at Inkerman Hill on the following day was also repulsed, and for a fortnight Menshikoff desisted from his attempt to harass the besiegers.

Forestalling a general assault arranged for November 7, Menshikoff, who had been reinforced heavily from Bessarabia, organized in concert with the beleaguered garrison a general attack upon the British position fronting the Karabelnaia. Early on the morning of November 5, under cover of a mist, the Russians delivered a fierce assault, the brunt of which was borne by the Guards on Inkerman Hill. "British steadiness and bull-dog courage," said an eyewitness, held the enemy at bay for three hours before Raglan called in the French. They, however, were engaged by a sortie from the town's western defences, and it was not until late in the morning that they arrived to relieve the situation. The casualties were enormous; out of 56,000 engaged on both sides nearly one-quarter were killed or wounded, the Russians as the assailants suffering more severely. But the engagement fulfilled its purpose. The projected assault on Sebastopol was postponed until the arrival of reinforcements, and three days after the battle Raglan decided to encounter the rigours of winter, for which but little provision had been made. A foretaste of it was experienced ten days (November 14) after Inkerman, when a great storm wrecked a number of transports and sent to the bottom of the sea quantities of stores, clothing, and above all, hay and fodder. The loss of the fodder completed the disorganization of the transport service between the army on the plateau round Sebastopol and its base at Balaklava. The roads were blocked by snow. The carrying-up of ammuni-

tion and supplies was conducted with the greatest difficulty. The starving transport animals invaded the artillery camps at the sound of the feeding-bugle and snatched the hay and barley from the stables of the artillery teams. By the end of November nearly 8000 British troops were in hospital. Only about 12,000 were fit for service; the French, who had been reinforced, being six times as numerous. At Skutari, on the Asiatic shore of the Bosphorus, where Florence Nightingale arrived early in November to organize the inefficient hospital service, the invalids averaged nearly 14,000 daily, and between the beginning of November, 1854, and the end of February, 1855, over 8000 died.

The delay in the capture of Sebastopol, and the news of official blunders which reached England through the war-correspondents, inflamed public opinion against the government. After the Christmas recess, on January 23, 1855, John Arthur Roebuck, a Free Trade Radical, gave notice of motion for the appointment of a Select Committee "to inquire into the condition of our army before Sebastopol, and into the conduct of those departments of the government whose duty it has been to minister to the wants of that army." Lord John Russell, the Foreign Secretary, dealt his colleagues an irreparable injury by resigning forthwith, on the plea that, having urged the re-organization of the War Office, he did not see how the motion could be defended. In the result the demand for a Select Committee was carried by nearly 160 (157) votes. The Ministry resigned, and on February 4, Palmerston was invited to form a new Cabinet, from which Aberdeen, Gladstone, and Sidney Herbert, Aberdeen's Minister of War, were excluded. Roebuck's Committee was set up, and in June reported mild censure of the late government for having made "no provision for a winter campaign," embarked upon the Crimean expedition "without sufficient information," and conducted it "without sufficient care or forethought." The practical outcome was the concentration of administrative routine in the Secretary for War (which involved the abolition of the Board of Ordnance), and the creation of a permanent Commander-in-Chief to superintend the army's efficiency. The latter post was given (as its second holder) in September, 1856, to the Duke of Cambridge, the Queen's cousin, who held it until, in accordance with the

recommendation of a Committee instituted in 1903, the powers of the Commander-in-Chief were transferred to an Army Council, with whom they still (1915) reside.

In relation to the war, the new government's first task was to take part in negotiations which promised to bring it to an end. In the spring of 1854, the Western Allies, Great Britain and France, agreed upon the general terms of a settlement. In August, Austria, who was afraid of Italy and suspicious of Prussia, but impressed by the reverses Russia had experienced, joined France and Great Britain in a Note which specified four points which all were resolved to secure. They formed the material for diplomatic discussion thenceforward to the conclusion of peace in 1856, and were as follows: (1) The substitution of an international for the Russian protectorate of Wallachia and Moldavia; (2) the freedom of the navigation of the Danube; (3) maintenance of the independence of the Ottoman Empire; and (4) the renunciation by Russia of her claim to protect the Orthodox subjects of the Porte. In November, 1854, the Tsar authorized Prince Gorchakoff, his Ambassador at Vienna, to discuss the Note, and on December 2, Austria, having received assurances from Prussia, signed a treaty of alliance with France and Great Britain which engaged her to hold the Principalities, with the assistance of her allies, in the event of Russia attempting to re-occupy them. She left herself a loophole, in case the situation should alter, by stipulating that unless peace was assured by January 1, 1855, the three Powers should deliberate afresh upon the means to secure the objects of their agreement. In January, 1855, the Tsar authorized Gorchakoff to treat formally for peace on the basis of the Note, and Vienna became once more the arena of peace negotiations.

The prospect of peace was brought nearer by the death of Nicolas I in the spring of the new year (March 2, 1855). In ill health, weighted with anxiety on account of the war, and discouraged by the defeat of his army at Eupatoria by Omar Pasha and the Turks entrenched there (February), he persisted in reviewing troops departing to the Crimea in spite of his physician's warning that to do so was sheer suicide. "You have done your duty," said the Tsar, "let me do mine." His son and successor, the "Tsar Liberator" Alexander II,

invoked the memory of Catharine II and other spoilers of the Turk, but let it be known that he was prepared to approach the Vienna conference in a conciliatory spirit. On March 15, the Conference opened. On the first and second of the Four Points, the status of the Principalities and the free navigation of the Danube, agreement was reached without difficulty. The third Point broke up the conference. Great Britain and France proposed to assure the integrity of the Ottoman Empire by neutralising the Black Sea and removing Russian armaments therefrom. Austria had obtained the concessions she desired regarding the Principalities and the Danube, and to the annoyance of the Allies resumed her detached attitude. Turkey, who was chiefly interested to secure the last of the Four Points, was prepared to meet Russia on the third. Russia was emboldened, therefore, to propose alternatives—that the warships of *all* nations should be admitted to the Black Sea, or that the Sultan should exercise his discretion in granting or withholding permission to enter it. The Allies refused to consider either suggestion, and on April 21, the Conference adjourned *sine die*.

Meanwhile the war proceeded. The *amour propre* of the Allies demanded Sebastopol's fall, and Napoleon suggested to Palmerston (February, 1855) that he should proceed to the Crimea. "My presence," he wrote, "would assure unity of plan and execution, and is the only way to bring the enterprise to a speedy conclusion." Bismarck sneeringly suggested that the Emperor had his eye upon Constantinople and a revival of the Latin Empire of the thirteenth century. Great Britain discouraged the proposal for an obvious reason; she did not desire to see France too widely advertised in the East. His intimates also dissuaded the Emperor, pointing out that a reverse, and even the rumour of his death, would place his dynasty in danger. Napoleon, therefore, contented himself with directing operations from a distance, to the embarrassment of his more competent generals. But active assistance was secured from a new quarter. Cavour, the astute Minister of Victor Emmanuel, realised that Sardinia's participation in the war would establish a claim upon the generosity of the Allies, give her the opportunity to take part in the international deliberations preceding the final peace, and enable her to raise the Italian question therein. The Allies welcomed

the idea as likely to force Austria to bid against Sardinia for their countenance in her Italian difficulties. But Austria followed her calculating course, and on January 26, 1855, a Franco-Sardinian Treaty was signed. In the following May, 15,000 Sardinian troops landed in the Crimea, and were associated closely with the French in the concluding stages of the siege. In England the House of Commons assured the Queen of its resolution to aid her to procure " a safe and honourable peace " (June), voted financial support to Sardinia, and jointly with France guaranteed a Turkish loan (July).

Before the campaign in the Crimea was resumed in the spring of 1855, important changes took place in the situation round Sebastopol. Gorchakoff, a cousin of the Russian Ambassador at Vienna, replaced Menshikoff in the general command. The weakness of the besiegers enabled the Russians to seize and fortify commanding positions on the east of the town. Early in February they entrenched themselves on Inkerman Hill (the " White Works "), and a few weeks later fortified the Mamelon, an isolated hill covering the Malakhoff Tower, the key to the whole fortress. These movements on the Inkerman plateau were caused by the fact that in January, Raglan, owing to his shrunken strength, was obliged to invite the French to add to their responsibilities on the western front the task of reducing the Malakhoff and its supporting works, which hitherto had been neglected. Throughout the remaining eight months of the siege the British, whose main task was the reduction of the Great Redan, were supported on both flanks by the investing lines of the French. By April reinforcements brought up the strength of the besiegers to about 140,000 men, and the batteries were again directed upon the fortifications. In May, Canrobert, who felt himself unequal to the task, at his own request was replaced in the command by Pélissier, late Governor of Algeria, a man of forceful character. Preparations were made to drive the enemy from the White Works and the Mamelon as a preliminary to a general assault on June 18, the anniversary of the Battle of Waterloo, and henceforth, it was hoped, of a joint victory which should obliterate old enmities. After a preliminary bombardment the White Works and Mamelon were carried by the French, and the British took and held the quarries in front of the Great Redan (June 7). But in the assault on June 18, though the

French took the Malakhoff, they failed to retain it, and Napoleon, to whose directions Pélissier had paid little attention, wrote angrily, "My patience is exhausted." Ten days later (June 28), Lord Raglan succumbed to cholera, and was succeeded in turn by Generals Simpson and Codrington.

Gorchakoff received orders to make a final effort to raise the siege. On August 16, 1855, he attacked the French and Sardinians at Traktir Bridge on the Tchernaya, and was repulsed with great loss. On the following day the Allies opened a terrific bombardment, which was practically continuous until Sebastopol fell a month later. On September 5, more than 800 guns took part in the last fearful cannonade. Not less than 70,000 projectiles fell within the town on a single day, a couple of frigates were sunk in the harbour, and mines were exploded. On the 8th the final assault was delivered. MacMahon, a future President of France, captured the Malakhoff and held it, though he knew it to have been mined. The British took but failed to retain the Great Redan, and the assault upon the Central Bastion on the west also failed. But the capture of the Malakhoff, which dominated the defences, made farther resistance futile. At nightfall the garrison withdrew by pontoons thrown across the North Bay, and sank the rest of the fleet in the harbour. On September 10, the Allies were masters of the town after a siege which had lasted for very nearly a year, involved three pitched battles, and caused the loss of nearly half a million lives.

The fall of Sebastopol did not end the war. Gorchakoff, with a force slightly inferior to that of the Allies, established himself at Sinferopol in the peninsula. In October a joint expedition under the future Marshal Bazaine captured Kinburn, opposite Odessa on the estuary of the Bug and Dnieper. In November, Russia retaliated by capturing Kars in the Caucasus, besieged since the summer of 1855, whose defence was conducted by Fenwick Williams, British Commissioner at the Turkish headquarters. In England public opinion was strongly in favour of continuing the war vigorously, and Palmerston projected another expedition to the Baltic to subject Cronstadt to the fate of Sebastopol. He engaged Sweden's alliance on the prospect of recovering Finland, and hoped to draw in Austria by encouraging the Italian Liberals. But

Napoleon was averse from farther effort. He had gained all the glory his dynastic interests needed, and the financial burden of the war was considerable. If it continued, he suggested so alarming a programme that Palmerston shrank from it. Poland was to be encouraged to rise against Russia, Hungary and Italy against Austria, and amid a general *risorgimento* of oppressed nationalities France might find opportunity to strike for the Left Bank and recover her "natural" frontier. Prussia threw her influence on the side of peace, and Austria, heartened to appear openly in the other camp by Russia's evident distress, proposed another *ultimatum*. With the assent of the Allies the *ultimatum* was dispatched (December 16). It informed the Tsar that unless he consented to treat by the middle of January, 1856, Austria would join the Allies in forcing peace upon the basis of the Four Points. The Tsar yielded, and on February 1, 1856, Preliminaries were signed at Vienna. At Napoleon's invitation the Peace Conference was invited to meet at Paris later in the month.

The plenipotentiaries assembled at Paris on February 25, 1856, in a Conference more imposing than any Europe had witnessed since 1815. The birth of the Prince Imperial (March 16), while it was in session, filled the cup of Napoleon's gratification to the brim. In addition to the Five Powers, three of whom were belligerent, Sardinia, and Turkey, the latter for the first time, were admitted to the Council Board of Europe. Prussia, anxious to assert her position as a Great Power alongside Austria, was admitted to the Conference after the preliminary sessions. Count Walewski, the French Foreign Minister, presided. The Emperor's evident desire to conciliate Russia produced a settlement which, it was said, afforded no clue as to which of the parties to it had been worsted in the war. The Emperor, remarked the British plenipotentiary, obviously disposed himself to play "the gentleman" towards the Tsar, and Russia herself, by the suicide of her Black Sea fleet, removed one of the difficulties which had prevented her acceptance of the Allies' proposals regarding the Black Sea a year before. After five weeks' discussion the Treaty of Paris was signed (March 30). Russia, in effect, abandoned her claim, which Menshikoff had advanced in 1853, to regard the Orthodox subjects of the Porte as under her

tutelage. Stratford de Redcliffe procured from the Sultan the *hatt-i-Humayun* of February 21, 1856, promising his Christian subjects religious liberty and equal civil rights with the rest. The Treaty, recording this document, declared at the same time that it afforded none of the signatories, singly or collectively, the right to interfere in Turkey's internal affairs. Her integrity and independence were placed under the collective guarantee of the Powers. The Convention of 1841, which established the neutrality of the Dardanelles, was confirmed and extended to the Black Sea, on which no nation, including Russia and Turkey, was to maintain warships or erect arsenals. Russia asked for and was conceded permission to maintain light coasting vessels for police purposes. With that qualification she accepted conditions rejected by her a year before. The navigation of the Danube was made free under international control. The Russian frontier on the river was rectified; Turkey recovered the Delta between the north (Kilia) and south (St. George) mouths of the Danube lost in 1829: Moldavia was increased by the addition of a slice of Bessarabia. Thus, Russia withdrew from the Pruth below Jassy and from the Black Sea coast between the Dniester estuary and the Danube. Moldavia and Wallachia, as the result of an International Conference which sat at Paris in 1858, became autonomous provinces under Turkish suzerainty and international guarantee; in 1859 they united. Conquests on both sides were restored, and Turkey was formally admitted to the public law and "Concert" of Europe. Three of the signatories, France, Great Britain, and Austria, in a separate agreement, pledged themselves to regard any infraction of the Treaty as a *casus belli*, an obligation which sat lightly upon their consciences twenty years later.

The Treaty of Paris in effect took under the collective guarantee of Europe the integrity and independence of the Ottoman Empire, the autonomy of the Danubian provinces, and the neutrality of the Black Sea. That the individual sharers of this wide responsibility invariably would see eye to eye upon the obligations it entailed was improbable, and Metternich aptly characterized the settlement as a "peace" but not *la paix de l'ordre*. Turkey came best out of it. For the first time for more than three-quarters of a century she made a treaty with Russia without losing territory to her,

and she could invoke Europe in case of a renewed attempt on the Tsar's part to treat her as moribund. Austria, without a friend in Europe, had been humiliated at the Conference by Cavour's appeal in behalf of Italian unity. She reaped her "recompense of blood and tears," in the words of the Russian plenipotentiary, in Italy three years later, and at the hands of Prussia, whom Austria's "contemptuous treatment" during the negotiations moved to the challenge of 1866. France concluded the war with an increase of *prestige*. Great Britain, at a cost of about £80,000,000, had contributed to bolster up the Turkish Empire for a severer crisis. The Treaty promised no stability, and within less than twenty years was a dead instrument. In 1871 Russia tore up the clause relating to armaments on the Black Sea. In 1878 her frontier once more advanced to the Danube. Turkey's rescue was a reprieve merely. As to the *hatt-i-Humayun* of February, 1856, it was never carried out.

A more permanent work of the Conference was the Declaration of Paris, which was signed at the instance of France at the closing session, and established principles of international law which the Allies had observed during the war. Great Britain, abandoning the old Admiralty claims founded on her eighteenth century maritime supremacy, gave her adherence to four Articles, which provided that: (1) the flags of neutrals are availing to protect the goods of belligerents, other than contraband of war; (2) goods of neutrals, other than contraband of war, carried under an enemy's flag are immune from capture at sea by belligerents; (3) blockade of an enemy's coast to be binding must be effective; and (4) abolished privateering. The Declaration bound none but its signatories. The United States, while assenting to the first three, rejected the fourth Article unless *all* enemy property at sea was exempted from capture. In her war with Spain, however, in 1898, both belligerents acted in accordance with the Declaration. Following the Russo-Japanese War, the Declaration of London (1909) distinguished between absolute and conditional contraband and provided compensation for wrongful seizure. But naval law received a severe check in 1915, when Germany defied Article 3 of the Paris Declaration and waged war on neutral and enemy merchantmen in flagrant violation of all recognized conventions.

CHAPTER XV

CAVOUR AND THE KINGDOM OF ITALY

To a less degree only than Germany Italy suffered from what Napoleon III called the "monstrous complication" of her political geography. The spirit of particularism abroad in the peninsula, the foreign interests which involved it, and the international authority of the Papacy represented three large obstacles to unity, which every decade of the nineteenth century had attempted to remove. Mazzini's Young Italy held the field for nearly twenty years. But it failed to reform the situation, and actually repelled the foreign sympathy on which Italy's freedom largely depended. A man of affairs was needed, and good fortune gave her Camillo Benso, Conte di Cavour, a member of the Piedmontese nobility, a statesman who ranks among the makers of modern Europe. The Crimean War produced a situation which his genius regulated to the service and rescue of Italy. For while *Italia fara da se* (Italy will manage for hesrelf) was Cesare Balbo's motto, to gain foreign support for Italy was Cavour's cardinal object. By associating Liberalism with the Sardinian kingdom he maintained its distinctive position in Italy and rendered it an object of sympathy to Europe. The isolation of Austria after 1856 furnished the opportunity his policy craved.

From the defeat of Charles Albert at Novara in 1849 until the outbreak of the Franco-Austrian War in 1859, "reaction and the hegemony of Austria" governed Italy outside the Kingdom of Sardinia. The collapse of the revolutionary movements in Milan and Venice, and Charles Albert's failure to support them, restored Austria to her former supremacy in North Italy. The Dukes of Parma and Modena, Charles III and Francis V, took their directions from her. The Grand

Duke of Tuscany, Leopold II, had the support of her forces in carrying out the reactionary policy she required of him. Ferdinand II of Naples, "King Bomba," could be relied on to follow her. Pius IX, on his return from Gaeta, abandoned himself to reaction and frankly abjured Liberalism. Rome was garrisoned by the French; the Papal Legations (Romagna) were occupied by Austria. In Tuscany the Grand Duke abolished the *Statuto* (1852). So persistent and pitiless a persecution disgraced the government of Naples, that Gladstone denounced it as the "negation of God" and its methods "a system of illegality, injustice, and cruelty which one would not have imagined possible nowadays in Europe." Lombardy-Venetia submitted to repression whose rigour no European country but Poland had experienced. Both provinces were placed under the discipline of martial law. Possession of arms or ammunition carried the penalty of death, and police *espionage* was rampant. In two years (1848–9) it was esimated that nearly 4000 persons were condemned for alleged political offences. Actually, for participation in an alleged "scandalous political demonstration," two girls were flogged. For its closer supervision Lombardy-Venetia was divided into two governments, and travellers from one to the other were compelled to carry passports. Enormous fines were imposed after the 1848 *émeute*, and at the end of 1849 Radetzky decreed confiscation of the property of all exiles who failed to return within a month.

Austrian Italy was a hotbed of sullen conspiracy. In 1850 a central Committee was formed at Mantua by Enrico Tazzoli, a priest who, in touch with Mazzini, planned to throw off the Austrian yoke and establish a Republic, "the only practical means of obtaining that triple boon, Liberty, Equality, and Fraternity." Tazzoli was arrested (1852), and the notorious "Mantuan Trials" began. They dragged on till 1855, shocking Europe by the cruelties which followed them. Tazzoli and eleven others were hanged—the twelve "Martyrs of Belfiore" (so-called from the locality at Mantua where the executions were carried out). In February, 1853, Mazzini encouraged a rising in Milan. A lengthy and passionate Proclamation called patriots to action: "Between the Alps and the Sicilian seas are 25,000,000 of our countrymen, and

100,000 foreigners. The struggle will be a short one if you resolve to make it. . . . Let there be but one flag, the national flag, and write upon it the pledge of fraternal union, the words *Dio ed il popolo* [God and the People]. It was the Republican banner that saved the honour of Italy in 1848 and 1849. It was the banner of Venice, the banner of eternal Rome, the temple of Italy and the world. Purify yourselves fighting under that flag." The wordy invitation drew a poor response. On the appointed day a handful of conspirators made a futile demonstration, and Milan looked on indifferent. The usual severities followed the *fiasco*, and the real and personal property of fugitives was confiscated. The ill-planned effort gave its death-blow to Mazzinism. Italy turned with increasing hope to Sardinia, the one State which had kept Austria at bay. The motto *Viva Verdi* (a cypher for *Victor Emanuele R d'Italia*) expressed the people's confidence.

Victor Emmanuel began a reign which gained him the title *padre della patria* under the humiliation of Novara, and the armistice which followed his defeat. It recalled the Sardinian troops from beyond the Po and the neighbouring duchies of Parma and Modena, and the fleet from the Adriatic; committed Alessandria provisionally to a mixed Austro-Sardinian force; and mulcted the kingdom in the war expenses incurred by Austria (stated in the Treaty at £3,000,000). Alone among the Sovereigns of Italy Victor Emmanuel maintained the *Statuto* which his father had conferred and the Italian Tricolour (red, white, and green). But the humiliating Treaty with Austria, concluded in August, 1849, overshadowed his constitutionalism, and at first the Chambers refused to ratify it.

Cavour, whose admiration for the British Constitution and Free Trade caused him to be called "Milord Risorgimento," entered Parliament in 1848. As a young man he had followed a military career. But strong opinions expressed in approval of the French Revolution of 1830 caused his retirement from the army, and freed him to study political and economic questions. A keen Unionist, he used his journal to influence Charles Albert to answer the call of Lombardy in 1848, and when Victor Emmanuel selected Massimo d'Azeglio as his first Prime Minister in 1849, Cavour, who sat for Turin in the Chamber, supported him

as a private member. He revealed his Parliamentary gifts in the debates upon the Siccardi Laws of 1850.

Even d'Azeglio's Conservatism admitted the necessity to reduce the influence which the Church exercised in Piedmont. Not in Austria nor Spain did it enjoy a more independent position. It controlled the charities. Its annual income, including the religious orders, was nearly £750,000. Amid a relatively small population its monks, nuns, and priests numbered 23,000. Through the Jesuits it controlled the education of the kingdom to a very large degree. Its churches and holy shrines exercised rights of sanctuary which thwarted the civil law. In the *foro ecclesiastico* it possessed a special court for the trial of its clergy, with jurisdiction in all cases of heresy, sacrilege, blasphemy, tithe, marriage, and betrothal. In 1849 Giuseppe Siccardi was sent to Rome to negotiate an amicable Concordat with the Holy See; for excessive Clerical privilege clashed with the *Statuto*. Failing to realize the determination which lay behind Siccardi's mission, the Papal Secretary of State replied curtly, "the Holy Father is ready to go to the antechamber of the Devil's house to please the King of Sardinia, but not to walk inside." Instigated by Cavour, for whom the equality of all citizens before the law was the basis of constitutional government, Siccardi, who had been taken into the Cabinet upon his return from Rome, introduced in February, 1850, the three measures which bear his name. Cavour supported them in a powerful speech in which he adjusted the over-riding claims of the Papacy to the national ambitions of Italy in the famous aspiration, *libera chiesa in libero stato* (a free Church in a free State), and called on the government for fearless Liberal reforms to enable the kingdom "to gather to itself all the living forces in Italy." Thus invited, the Chambers abolished the *foro ecclesiastico;* swept away the Church's rights of sanctuary; equalized the punishments of lay and clerical offenders; and forbade the Church to acquire property under deed of gift or testament without the civil power's consent. No other country had enacted such reforms without Rome's concurrence. The Piedmontese bishops joined the Clericals in open revolt, and their leader, the Archbishop of Turin, was condemned to imprisonment under the powers which the civil courts had assumed.

The Church carried to vindictive lengths its animosity against

the authors of the Siccardi Laws. In the summer of 1850 Pietro di Santarosa, Minister of Agriculture and Commerce, was denied extreme unction by his confessor for refusing to express contrition for them. Public indignation was intense. The Archbishop of Turin, by whose order the outrage had been committed, was exiled. The religious body to which Santarosa's confessor belonged was dissolved; its property was sequestrated. In October, 1850, Cavour, upon whose advanced opinions the king looked with some suspicion, entered the Cabinet in Santarosa's place. The Clerical crisis needed strong handling, and d'Azeglio was assured that the *gran buon diavolo*, as a friend described Cavour, would prove more tractable in ministerial harness. Victor Emmanuel, with a keener insight, prophesied that before long Cavour would upset his colleagues "head over heels." Indeed, before taking office he insisted upon the resignation of an uncongenial member of the Cabinet. A year later (1851) he added to his Department of Agriculture and Commerce charge of the Ministry of Finance. He rapidly overshadowed his colleagues, and d'Azeglio likened himself to Louis Philippe, a ruler who reigned but did not govern. His Ministry became progressive, and Austria and Prussia represented to him the advisability of conforming to their staid Conservatism.

The Siccardi Laws and Cavour's economic reforms estranged the Ministry's Conservative following and invited a regrouping of parties. The Right could not be relied on to support an anti-Austrian policy. The Left was suspect in its loyalty to the Monarchy, though its Italianism was beyond question. But between the extremes of Clerical and Democrat there was a large force of opinion represented by the Right and Left Centres which, united, could provide a progressive Ministry with an adequate majority. Early in 1852 Cavour arranged a common programme with Urbano Rattazzi, who led the Left Centre, which concisely professed the objects Cavour had at heart: "Monarchy, the Constitution, independence, civil and political progress." The compact was revealed in the debates on a proposed Press Law and caused dismay among Cavour's colleagues. He was described as having divorced his friends to make a marriage (*connubio*) with the Left Centre, and as the *Connubio* the alliance of the Right and Left Centres became known. It lasted until 1859, but for the moment

brought Cavour's ministerial career to an end. D'Azeglio resented his agreement with Rattazzi, and in May, 1852, finding the position intolerable, Cavour withdrew from the Cabinet. In the autumn, upon the Senate's rejection of a Bill to legalize civil marriages, D'Azeglio resigned, and Victor Emmanuel reluctantly invited Cavour to take his place. He accepted the task, and the *gran ministero*, so closely identified with the cause of Italian unity, was formed (November, 1852).

Cavour's success in bringing Sardinia into the orbit of the Great Powers was the most striking feature of his Ministry. But it was only one achievement of a remarkable administration. To consolidate the Constitution, to develop the kingdom's material and military resources, and to force Europe to acknowledge his country in the *rôle* which he designed her to fill, were its cardinal purposes. Commercial treaties were made with foreign Powers. The tariff was reformed in the direction of Free Trade. Agriculture, commerce, and industry were nursed. The railway system was developed. Mont Cenis was pierced. The irrigation canal which bears Cavour's name was dug. La Marmora, the Minister of War, received *carte blanche* to reform the army with a view to removing the slur which rested on its record. Alessandria's and Casale's defences were strengthened. The policy of the Siccardi Laws was carried farther, with much opposition from the Court and Clericals, by the suppression of over three hundred religious houses. To Austria Cavour expressed himself in strong terms regarding her severities after the abortive Milanese rising of 1853, recalled his Ambassador from Vienna, and was prepared even to go to war.

Cavour was determined to keep "gallant little Piedmont" in the eye of Europe. The Anglo-French alliance against Russia was joined by him in January, 1855. Some deprecated intervention in the Crimean War as an untimely drain upon the public exchequer. Others held it a diversion of Sardinia's resources from the cause of Italy, which had the first claim upon them. But though he failed to enter the Anglo-French alliance on his own terms, Cavour had little anxiety regarding the results of his action. Neither France nor Great Britain was prepared to buy Sardinian support, though they required military reinforcement sorely, and invited Sardinia

to furnish troops for the campaign of 1855. It is probable, so great was his anxiety to advance the cause of Italy, that Cavour would have given stipendiary help rather than stand aside. But his colleagues rejected an idea which they regarded as derogatory to the nation's dignity. Both Allies would have preferred to use Sardinia as a lever whereby to force Austria into the war. Austria, however, was not prepared to assume an attitude of open hostility towards Russia.

Nor as yet had Napoleon brought himself to champion Italian nationalism; he dared not break with the Clericals by forwarding a policy which threatened the Temporal Power of the Pope, and though at the close of 1852 he assured the Sardinian Ambassador that the time was not distant when their countries would stand side by side "in the noble cause of Italy," it required Orsini's bomb in 1858 to bring him into action. The Emperor, indeed, shared France's prejudice against a strong Italy. His outlook contemplated not a united monarchy under the House of Savoy, but a federation of sovereign States under the presidency of the Pope and the protection of the Emperor of the French. Cavour demanded as the price of Sardinia's assistance that the Allies at least should put pressure on Austria to withdraw the Lombard decree of sequestration (1853), directed against all who had left Lombardy-Venetia for political reasons. But the Allies refused to commit themselves positively in Sardinia's behalf, since Austria at length had joined them. Rather than expose Sardinia to the danger of isolation, therefore, Cavour signed a one-sided treaty on January 25, 1855.

Cavour's daring policy was rewarded. The Sardinian troops sailed to the Crimea in April, 1855. Their conduct at the Tchernaya (August, 1855) wiped out the memory of Custozza and Novara and laid the Allies under deeper obligation. "Never mind," said a Sardinian soldier as he toiled in the miry trenches before Sebastopol, "out of this mud Italy will be fashioned." A visit paid by Cavour and his Sovereign to London and Paris in the autumn (1855) gave great encouragement. Napoleon, *Carbonaro couronné*, put the famous question to Cavour, "What can we do for Italy?" and received an exhaustive Memorandum (February, 1856) on Italy's

grievances and needs. A few weeks later Cavour obtained a larger success when, in spite of Austria's protest, he took his place at the Council Board of Europe in Paris. His diplomacy and tact gained him the regard of the Conference. After the Treaty of peace was signed, Walewski, the President of the Conference, on the Emperor's express direction, invited the plenipotentiaries to discuss subjects of general interest. Walewski himself, informed by Cavour, drew attention to the state of Italy. He admitted the need for the Pope to reform his government before the Austrian and French occupation of his territory could cease. He pointedly referred to the excesses of the Neapolitan government, urging that the Conference should admonish "Bomba" and other offenders. Cavour spoke in moderate tones. The British plenipotentiary, Lord Clarendon, denounced the French and Austrian occupations in rounder terms, condemned the Papal administration, and warned the Neapolitan government that unless it mended its ways the consequences would be serious. Though Austria refused to allow a vote after the discussion, Sardinia was not meagrely repaid for her sacrifices in the Crimea. Europe was committed to the admission of an Italian question; Austria found no supporter of her policy in Lombardy-Venetia; and Sardinia advertised herself as the champion of Italian nationalism. In a memorandum to his late allies, Cavour warned Europe that, "disturbed within by revolutionary activity, and from without by reactionary governments and foreign occupation, threatened also by an increase of Austrian influence in the peninsula," his country might be compelled to adopt measures "of which it is impossible to foresee the consequences." In his first disappointment he seriously contemplated resort to war: "There is only one real solution, powder and shot." D'Azeglio scoffingly commented that Cavour returned from Paris "without even the tiniest duchy in his pocket" to reward Sardinia. But the significance of his work there was recognized gratefully, and from Tuscany he received a bust of himself with Dante's line for an inscription: *Colui che la difese a viso aperto* (To him who defended her unflinchingly).

Convinced that the struggle for Italian independence was imminent, and encouraged by the apparent goodwill of the European Powers, Cavour pushed on the economic, financial, and military reforms on which success depended. La Marmora

continued the reorganization of the army which he had begun before the Crimean War. The naval arsenal was transferred from Genoa to Spezzia. In 1857 the boring of the Mont Cenis tunnel was begun. Austria realized that the situation was growing critical and prepared herself to meet it. She attempted to conciliate her Italian subjects, relaxed the severities of her rule, and withdrew the obnoxious decree of sequestration. Early in 1857 the Emperor Francis Joseph and his consort paid a visit to their Italian provinces, and were received with marked coldness. The Emperor's brother Maximilian, who was sent to them as Governor, also had a chilling reception. "We do not wish Austria to be humane in Italy," said Daniel Manin, the leader of the Venetian revolt in 1848, "we want her to go." Meanwhile neither Naples nor the Papal States took steps to rectify the abuses to which attention had been called at Paris. France and Great Britain made joint representations to the King of Naples. Relying on Austria, "Bomba" laughed at their counsel and denounced their action as an unwarrantable intrusion. Pius IX also turned a deaf ear to France's advice. Since his return to Rome in 1850, events had tended to increase his *prestige* in Europe. A Roman Catholic hierarchy had been restored in Great Britain and Holland. The dogma of the Immaculate Conception had been proclaimed (1854). A satisfactory Concordat had been arranged with Austria regulating the relations of the Church and the monarchy. The Pope, therefore, was in no mood to surrender to advice, and in default of reforms the French and Austrian occupations continued.

Cavour had done more than rally Liberal Europe to the cause of Italy. He had cut the ground from under Mazzini, who, patriot though he was, put the Republic before the nation; and from under the Federalists, who saw in the Temporal Power an insuperable obstacle to a united Monarchy. A fatuous plot with the Sicilian exiles at Genoa (June, 1857) gave the last blow to Mazzini's crumbling influence. Men like Manin and Garibaldi rallied to the "Unitarians" and associated themselves with the "National Society" (1847), the first organization of a non-revolutionary character to place Italian unity in the foreground of its policy. "Independence and Unity" was its motto; "Out with the Austrians and the Pope."

The essential condition which Cavour required was wanting until January, 1858, when Orsini's attempt to assassinate Napoleon engaged France. His last appeal from prison to Napoleon urged the Emperor to adopt the cause of Italian nationalism. In the following spring Napoleon opened communications with Cavour. In June, 1858, he met him secretly at Plombières, a village in the Vosges. No formal treaty followed, but a general agreement to make war jointly upon Austria and expel her from Italy was arrived at. In general terms it was proposed that Italy should be freed "from the Alps to the Adriatic;" that Upper Italy (Lombardy-Venetia, the duchies, the Legations (Romagna), and possibly Ancona) should form an enlarged Kingdom of Sardinia; that Savoy, and possibly Nice, should be "reunited" to France in return for her military assistance; and that the four States remaining after the elimination of Austria, Modena, and Parma should be placed under the hegemony of Sardinia and the honorary presidency of the Pope. The marriage of Victor Emmanuel's daughter to Prince Napoleon, the Emperor's cousin, was suggested and eventually took place —Napoleon held the secret design of placing the young couple over a Tuscany enlarged at the Pope's expense. Much of the Plombières programme was not to Cavour's taste. But "in politics," he wrote, "we must attempt one thing at a time. For the moment the vital need is to get Austria out of Italy." The spring of 1859 was agreed upon for the attempt.

The European situation favoured the plans of the conspirators. Prussia, informed by Napoleon of the probability of war in Italy, welcomed the prospect of Austria's humiliation; for the memory of Olmütz rankled. She let her neutrality be inferred therefore, stipulating that France should not strike the first blow and so enable Austria to involve the *Bund* in her quarrel. The Tsar promised neutrality (for Austria's conduct in the Crimean War was recent), and let it be understood that he would check any military movement in Germany in Austria's favour. No international issues complicated the situation, though in Schleswig-Holstein difficulties were threatened by Frederick VII's joint Constitution for Denmark and the duchies in 1855. It involved him in constant disputes with the Germanic *Bund*, but a hostile issue was delayed until 1863. Differences among the

Powers as to the union of Wallachia and Moldavia were resolved by the simple expedient of each province electing the same Prince (1859). The settlement marked a set-back to Austrian policy on the Danube. In Serbia also Habsburg influence suffered a reverse upon the deposition (1858) of Prince Alexander Karageorgevich, the son of Kara George and father of the present (1915) sovereign. Austria had imposed upon him a strict neutrality, and his position was undermined when the Treaty of Paris (1856) brought his country no reward. After nearly twenty years' exile Milosh Obrenovich was recalled (1858) to the Principality, and secured the Sultan's recognition, after France and Russia had urged against Austria their preference in his favour.

For Cavour the interval between the Plombières interview in June, 1858, and the outbreak of war eleven months later was an anxious period. His agreement with Napoleon was secret and verbal, and not the least of his anxieties was the possibility that the Emperor might repudiate it. The prospect of war was not popular in France. Clerical Ultramontanes feared its effect upon the Holy See. Business men disliked disturbance of trade. Liberals looked askance upon the author of the *coup d'état* and his policy. France as a whole did not wish to see Italy strong and united. The first of these considerations eventually weighed with Napoleon, and Cavour feared its influence before war was declared. Beyond the need to keep Napoleon to his compact, it was essential to manœuvre Austria into the position of assailant in order to alienate the sympathies of Europe from her. Cavour approached the task with extraordinary confidence and achieved it. To one who doubted his ability to carry it through he said positively in December, 1858, "I shall force Austria to make war." "When?" he was asked. "About the first week of May," was the reply. Austria, in fact, began the campaign on April 29. When 1859 opened Cavour was ready and eager for war. Delay was dangerous; for Sardinia's resources could not support a prolonged period of tension. Nor could Cavour indefinitely hold the patriots in check. Their premature outbreak certainly would alarm Napoleon; for his goal was not Cavour's. Volunteers from all Italy were flocking into Piedmont to be enrolled in the army or in the famous *Cacciatori delle Alpi*, whose command Cavour

conferred on Garibaldi. Patriotic sentiment expressed itself in appeals for funds for the erection of a statue to Charles Albert and a monument to Manin, the Venetian hero.

On New Year's Day, 1859, Napoleon made what Cavour deprecated as a premature and "ill-mannered outburst." At his diplomatic reception he said pointedly to the Austrian Ambassador, "I am sorry that my relations with your government are not as cordial as they were. I beg you to assure your master that my personal regard for him is unabated." The pretext for the remark was the conflict of French and Austrian interests over the dynastic situation in Serbia. But Austria, who had got wind of the Plombières compact, attached a deeper significance to it, and hastened her military preparations in Lombardy. Ten days later (January 10), at the opening of the Sardinian Parliament, Victor Emmanuel used a phrase which stirred Italy profoundly. In submitting to the Cabinet the original draft of the Speech, Cavour found his colleagues unwilling to endorse a passage in which Sardinia was described as "confidently resolved to fulfil the mission entrusted to her by Providence." Cavour sent the draft to Napoleon, who added some high-sounding periods which represented Sardinia as "small in territory, but great in the ideas which she represents, and the sympathies she rouses in Europe." "The situation," Napoleon's revision continued, "is fraught with danger; for faithful to treaties as we are, we cannot shut our ears to the cries of anguish which reach us from so many parts of Italy." By a slight emendation Victor Emmanuel substituted "cry" for "cries." His phrase *grido di dolore*, an Englishman declared, "fell like a rocket upon the treaties of 1815," which tied Italy to a settlement from which she was straining to release herself. Before the end of the month France and Sardinia were bound by a formal military Convention. Their relations were cemented and proclaimed by the marriage of Prince Napoleon, "Plon Plon," to Victor Emmanuel's daughter Clotilda of Savoy. At about the same time a *brochure* appeared entitled *Napoléon III et l'Italie*, a sort of paraphrase of the Plombières compact. It was inspired by the Emperor though it bore the signature of La Guéronnière, one of the Councillors of State (February, 1859). It reminded France, in the Napoleonic idiom, of her *rôle* as the arbiter and protector of nationalities. It

sketched a settlement of Italy to which she could give her assent. A united Italy such as Cavour and the patriots dreamed of was dismissed. A confederation of Italian States, an enlarged Piedmont-Sardinia among them, was suggested, to be placed under the presidency of the Pope, who was to be influenced to Liberalize his administration. The place of Austria in the new Italy was not defined.

British public opinion supported Cavour. But Lord Derby's Cabinet disliked the prospect of an Italian Confederation dependent upon France, and was suspicious of Napoleon's relations with Russia. Taking its stand upon the Treaties of 1815 the British Cabinet offered (February, 1859) its mediation, and sent Lord Cowley, British Ambassador at Paris, to sound Vienna. Austria welcomed a way out of the position, and France could not do less than accept the British offer. But Napoleon, pressed by Italy, defeated it by inviting a proposal from Petrograd to submit the matter to the five Powers. If Austria refused the proposal she alienated public opinion in Europe. If she agreed, she entered a Conference three of whose members (Prussia, Russia, France) were prejudiced against her. Great Britain agreed to a Conference provided its programme was arranged beforehand. The other Powers assenting, it was resolved to discuss Austria's differences with Sardinia; the evacuation of the Papal territories by Austria and France; the desirability of introducing reforms into the Papal States; and the treaties of 1847 binding Austria to repress disorders in the duchies. But Austria imposed conditions upon her attendance at the Conference by refusing to meet Sardinia, and insisting on her instant disarmament.

Cavour, anxiously watching Napoleon, contended that it was unreasonable to demand Sardinia's demobilization unless she was permitted to defend her interests by other means. Great Britain, pursuing her mediatorial task, suggested that both Austria and Sardinia should disarm before entering the Conference, and that all the Italian States should be heard at it if they wished. But at this supreme moment Napoleon telegraphed a peremptory order to Sardinia to disarm. Cavour was in despair at the apparent ruin of his patient policy, and contemplated (it is said) taking his life. But a week later the position changed. Austria, swayed to unwisdom

by her military party, rejected (April 19) Great Britain's proposals and resolved to deal drastically with Sardinia. Four days later (April 23) she delivered an *ultimatum* at Turin, calling on Sardinia to disarm within three days under pain of immediate war. Her peremptory action, taken on the assumption that she could rouse Germany against France, and could rely on Great Britain to extricate her should she encounter difficulties, compromised her as the peace-breaker. On April 26, Cavour rejected the conditions of the *ultimatum*. On the same day Napoleon informed the Vienna government that he would regard the passage of the Ticino by its troops as tantamount to a declaration of war. Three days later (April 29) the Austrians crossed that river, and the French columns began to descend from the Alps.

The war lasted little more than two months. The Austrians hoped to bring it to a speedy conclusion before the French could join their ally. But the rapidity with which France poured her army into the peninsula upset Vienna's calculations. On May 3, 1859, Napoleon issued a Manifesto to his people, declaring his intention to free Italy " from the Alps to the Adriatic." " The object of the war," he proceeded, " is not to give Italy a change of masters, but to restore her to herself. Henceforward we shall have on our frontier a friendly nation owing its independence to us." A week later he left Paris for Genoa, and on May 14 established his headquarters at Alessandria. As in 1796, the French and their ally threatened the Po between Pavia and Piacenza, proposing to cut off the Austrians (who lay between the Ticino and Sesia) from Milan. Gyulai, the Austrian commander, Radetzky's successor, pushed his left southward to protect the Pavia-Piacenza gap and at Montebello (May 20) suffered a considerable repulse. He expected the Allies to continue to operate on that quarter. But using the railway from Alessandria, they transferred themselves to the right of the Austrian position, intending a turning movement which, if successful, would enable them to pass the Ticino towards Milan before Gyulai could defend the river. On May 30 the Allies crossed the Sesia and on the following day were victorious at Palestro. Gyulai then fell back across the Ticino for the defence of Milan. The Allies followed, and a week later (June 4), after a moment of peril to Napoleon from which Marshal MacMahon rescued him, routed the

enemy at Magenta. On June 8 another victory at Melegnano delivered Lombardy to the Mincio from the Austrians. On the previous day the allied Sovereigns entered Milan.

Napoleon marked his arrival in the Lombard capital by a Manifesto whose tone he had reason to regret. "Unite," he urged the Italians, "on one supreme object, the emancipation of your country. Fly to arms. Flock to the standard of King Victor Emmanuel. . . . To-day, consumed by the fire of patriotism, become soldiers. To-morrow you shall be free citizens of a great country." Already Italy was following the Emperor's advice. As the Austrian army fell back, the populations of the duchies and evacuated Romagna rose under the National Society, demanding union with Sardinia and provisional governments. Particularly satisfactory to Cavour, because he had been unable to count confidently upon Tuscany, was the quiet departure of the Grand-Duke Leopold II in the early days of the war (April 27) and the rallying of the Grand-Duchy to the national cause. The circumstance was due in large measure to the Florentine Minister Baron Bettino Ricasoli, the "Iron Baron," a convinced unionist. Cavour was able to place Commissioners in Florence as well as in Parma, Modena, and Romagna (Bologna). In the Marches (Ancona) and Umbria (Perugia) the Papal government suppressed the patriotic movement. But excepting the Papal States and Naples, where Francis II ("Bombino") succeeded his father "Bomba," Cavour and his Sovereign led a united Italy.

Napoleon halted a fortnight at Milan. On June 23 Francis Joseph, who joined his disheartened army after Magenta, took position at Solferino. On the morrow, after a sanguinary engagement, the Austrians abandoned the field and sought the shelter of the Quadrilateral. The Allies followed across the Minico, but made no attack upon their demoralised enemy. Napoleon realised the increasing difficulties which pressed upon him. The Pope so far held the patriotic movement at bay. But he might be overwhelmed by it, and the Empress Eugénie and Walewski represented the apprehensions of French Clericals. Nor did the unification of Italy enter into Napoleon's plans; the interests of France were adverse to such a scheme. Germany was increasingly restless. Her smaller States were eager to be called to arms for Austria's

protection and in defence of German interests on the Rhine, where a victorious France was likely to strike. Prussia was half inclined to intervene in order to advertise her devotion to the national cause. Russia, alarmed by Napoleon's relations with Kossuth, was fearful lest revolution might spread from Hungary into Poland. Great Britain, where Palmerston succeeded Derby in June, was no longer a friendly mediator, and desired the very solution of the Italian problem which Napoleon was anxious to prevent.

In these circumstances the Emperor acted with characteristic disregard for any interests but his own. Without a word to his Ally he communicated to Francis Joseph proposals for an armistice and conference. On July 8, 1859, the armistice was agreed to and the Emperors met at Villafranca, a village near Verona. On July 11 the Preliminaries of Villafranca were signed. They provided that Austria should cede to France (for retrocession to Sardinia) the whole of Lombardy excepting Mantua and Peschiera, the two western angles of the Quadrilateral, retained by Austria for the defence of Venetia; that Venetia, which Austria absolutely refused to abandon, should enter an Italian Confederation under the Pope's presidency; that the Grand-Duke of Tuscany and his neighbour in Modena should be restored (Parma was not mentioned) upon guaranteeing an amnesty to their subjects; that both Emperors should urge the Pope to institute "some indispensable reforms" in his dominions; and that an amnesty should cover recent events. Having accomplished his *coup de théâtre* Napoleon returned to France, leaving Italy cheated of Venetia. Cavour, after hotly requiring his Sovereign to continue the war alone or abdicate, resigned office (July 13). Victor Emmanuel signed the Preliminaries, but rejected its federation clauses.

Italy's union was accomplished by the compression of her political divisions into a single State obedient to one King and one administration. To that result the Preliminaries of Villafranca (confirmed by the Treaty of Zürich) contributed the amalgamation of Lombardy with Sardinia, the nucleus round which the Kingdom of Italy formed itself. The determination of the Italian people, the guidance of Cavour, and the insistence of Garibaldi dissipated the scheme of confederation to which the Emperors put their hands, and closed

the door against the return of the rulers of Tuscany and the duchies. Hence, less than eighteen months after the Preliminaries of Villafranca, the Kingdom of Italy, with two considerable exceptions, was in being. The complete process occupied eleven years and was accomplished in five stages. In the first, Lombardy (1859) was acquired. In the second, Central Italy (Tuscany, Modena, Parma, and Romagna) spontaneously conveyed itself to Victor Emmanuel (March, 1860). In the third, under coercion, South Italy (the Two Sicilies, Papal Umbria, and the Marches) joined his swelling kingdom (October-November, 1860). In the fourth, Venetia (1866), and in the fifth, the Patrimony of St. Peter (1870) were acquired by force. The unification of Italy was complete.

Deprived of Lombardy, Austria still dominated Italy. From her position in Venetia she watched every ripple of the patriotic movement. The Pope and his neighbour in Naples could count upon her support. The exiled rulers of the duchies looked to her for restoration. In the proposed Confederation she would be the most powerful State. It was essential that Sardinia should assume proportions to enable her to hold the arch-enemy of Italian nationalism in check. The fall of Derby's Ministry in June, 1859, removed an influence adverse to her interests. A plan to constitute Venetia a separate government under Archduke Maximilian, son-in-law of the King of the Belgians, was favoured by the Prince Consort and the British Court. But Palmerston, of whom it was said that on questions affecting Italy he "had no scruples," was determined that Italy should not be defrauded of the fruits of the war.

The Villafranca Preliminaries laid an obligation on Victor Emmanuel to recall the Commissioners whom the patriotism of their populations had permitted him to place in Tuscany, Modena, Parma, and Romagna. But Napoleon's desertion fired Central Italy at all hazards to unite. In Tuscany, which Mazzini had failed to inflame with Democratic ideals, Ricasoli withstood both the republicans and the aristocratic party which longed for the return of the Grand-Duke. More dangerous in its encouragement of particularism was Napoleon's plan of a separate Tuscan kingdom or confederation. Happily, Ricasoli held to his unionist creed. "We must no longer speak of Piedmont,

Florence, or Tuscany," he wrote after Solferino; "we must think neither of fusion nor annexation, but of the union of Italy under the constitutional government of Victor Emmanuel. It is the strength and union of Italy that we must labour to promote." Luigi Carlo Farini, a Romagnol, seconded Ricasoli, acting as *interim* Dictator of the duchies and Romagna, which formed themselves into a single province bearing the name Emilia, from the fact that the Via Æmiliana traversed them all. It demanded annexation to Sardinia, adopted her *Statuto*, and broke down the frontier Customs. "Italy has not signed the Treaty of Villafranca," said Farini. And while the diplomatists were negotiating, Central Italy resolutely was planning to accomplish its union with Sardinia.

Palmerston materially contributed to that result. Napoleon had thrown out the suggestion of a European Congress (apart from the conference of belligerents at Zürich, which met in August, 1859). Nothing else could release him from his Villafranca obligations to Austria. On July 27, 1859, Lord John Russell, the Foreign Secretary, set forth the conditions on which Great Britain was prepared to take part in it. He stipulated the evacuation of Rome by the French; the recognition by France and Austria of the principle of non-intervention in Italian affairs; and a general admission of the right of Tuscany and Emilia to settle their future in their own way. Papal Romagna, however, complicated the situation.

Napoleon still occupied Lombardy and controlled Austria's action. But he could not stem the tide of Italian patriotism which his Milan Manifesto had bidden to flow. The official *Moniteur* (September 10) urged Central Italy to fall in with the Preliminaries of Villafranca, and French agents there urged that course. But Napoleon allowed it to be known that he would neither use coercion nor permit Austria to do so. His advice, therefore, was little heeded. Central Italy, in fact, was a pawn in his own game. He informed Turin (August, 1859) that he would not exact the cession of Savoy under the Plombières agreement; indeed, for shame he could not. But its acquisition would gratify France, and was advisable, if not essential, to cover her against a strengthened Italy. Central Italy afforded him an object

of barter. Napoleon therefore sounded Palmerston on the suggestion, that if Sardinia annexed the duchies France should acquire Savoy and Nice, or alternatively, that a Bonaparte (Plon Plon) should receive a sovereignty (Tuscany) in Italy. Palmerston showed no marked hostility to the proposal. He knew that Sardinia would not tolerate a Bonaparte in Italy, and foresaw that if France acquired Savoy its possession would be counterbalanced by the hostility to France which its loss would entail.

Encouraged by the attitude of Great Britain, Central Italy prepared to compel union with Sardinia. After a popular pronouncement in favour of annexation, a military league was formed between Tuscany and the Emilian government. Modena was its headquarters, and over its joint army Garibaldi was set as second in command under a Modenese general in Sardinian service. Resolutions conveying the desire of Central Italy to unite with Sardinia were sent to Turin (September 3). Though the king feared to act upon them, he let it be understood in private conversation that he was in sympathy with them.

To counter the dreaded annexation, Napoleon in a long letter (October 20) to Victor Emmanuel drafted an Italian settlement for his acceptance. He insisted on the Plombières and Villafranca proposal for a confederation which, " based on the real necessities and traditions of the peninsula, and on the exclusion of all foreign influence, will assure the work of Italian independence." Venetia was to become a purely Italian province, Peschiera and Mantua federal fortresses. Parma, being " strategically indispensable " to Piedmont, was to be " reunited " to her (on that account the restoration of its duke had not been included in the Villafranca terms). A " system of wise liberty " was to be adopted by " all the States of Italy," and Central Italy was to revert to its former condition. Italian unity was relegated to Limbo. Victor Emmanuel replied that he could not thwart the national will ; that Central Italy was in favour of union and against confederation ; and that unless monarchical Sardinia did so, Mazzini and the Democrats would control the situation. The united government at Modena confirmed the king's declaration by conferring the interim regency of Central Italy upon his cousin Eugenio, Prince of Carignano. But Rattazzi dared

not permit the Prince to proceed to Modena, and dispatched Carlo Buoncompagni, Turin's late Commissioner in Florence, in his place.

The Conference of Zürich ended its labour on November 10, 1859. Three sets of agreements between the late belligerents provided that the frontiers of Austrian Italy should remain as they were settled at Villafranca; that Lombardy (without Mantua and Peschiera) should be abandoned to France for retrocession to Sardinia; that the inhabitants of the ceded territory, resident and non-resident, should be allowed to transfer themselves from or into it within a stated period; that the two Emperors should endeavour to form an Italian Confederation, "the object of which will be to uphold the independence and inviolability of the Confederated States, to assure the development of their moral and material interests, and to guarantee the internal and external safety of Italy by the existence of a federal army;" that Venetia should be included within the Confederation; and that the fate of the rulers of Parma, Modena, and Tuscany should be reserved for consideration by a Congress of "the Powers who presided at the formation and recognized the existence of" those States. The amnesty clause of the Villafranca Preliminaries was repeated. The unflinching attitude of Central Italy, however, made the scheme of confederation impracticable. Napoleon realized the impossibility of preventing the fusion of Central Italy with Sardinia, and hoped to work the situation to give France Savoy and Nice. The project was not one which he desired to submit to Europe; and as he was the author of the Congress idea, it was open to him to stifle it. In December, 1859, another of La Guéronnière's inspired tracts, *Le Pape et le Congrès*, was published to that end. It counselled the Holy See to be resigned to the loss of the Legations and even Umbria and Ancona, and to rest content with Rome, its historic and appropriate capital. It left the Pope in no doubt that Napoleon refused to coerce Central Italy, to allow Austria to do so, or to tolerate military action on the part of Naples. Pius denounced the *brochure* as "a worthless monument of hypocrisy and a disgraceful tissue of contradictions." Unmoved, Napoleon dismissed Walewski from the Foreign Office and replaced him by a Minister more favourable to Italian nationalism. In January, 1860, the Pope promulgated

an Encyclical violently upbraiding the assailants of the Temporal Power and refusing to countenance the proposed Congress. Austria made the restoration of the Italian dukes the condition of her presence in it. Nothing more was heard of the proposal.

The return of Cavour to power in January, 1860, smoothed the way for the conclusive union of Central Italy with Sardinia and of Savoy-Nice with France. As to the former, Palmerston conditioned his approval with the stipulation that neither France nor Austria should intervene in the peninsula unless authorized by the Powers; that France should recall her troops from Lombardy, and from Rome also as soon as the Pope had organized an army for his protection; and that Sardinia should refrain from occupying Central Italy until by some formal act its desire for annexation was confirmed. Cavour acted without delay upon Palmerston's suggestion. Unlike Rattazzi, whom he superseded after six months' retirement, Cavour was strong enough to concede the cession of Savoy and Nice, though the transaction could not fail to offend the sentiment of Italy. Needing a diplomatic success, Napoleon again advanced the suggestion of a Central Italian kingdom. Cavour met it with a proposal which, in view of his own record, Napoleon could not reject—that Central Italy should be allowed to settle its future by a *plébiscite*. Napoleon stated his terms and Cavour reluctantly agreed. On March 11–12, 1860, the *plébiscite* was taken in Tuscany and Emilia. By an overwhelming majority (more than 750,000 against about 16,000) the two populations declared for union. On March 18 a royal decree constituted the provinces of Emilia (Bologna, Ferrara, Forli, Massa-Carrara, Modena, Parma, Piacenza, Ravenna, and Reggio) part of the Kingdom of Sardinia. Four days later (March 22) the union of Tuscany and Sardinia was proclaimed in similar manner. Protests were lodged by the Pope, the Grand-Duke of Tuscany, the Duchess Regent of Parma, and the Duke of Modena. But the vote of Central Italy was not contested. Simultaneously (March 24) Nice and Savoy passed into France's possession. *Maintenant nous sommes complices, n'est ce pas vrai?* said Cavour to the French plenipotentiary after signing the Treaty of Turin which made the cession. Such was the character of

the bargain, though in both of the ceded territories a *plébiscite* of their populations (under considerable Clerical pressure) sanctioned their alienation to France. With some opposition—in which Garibaldi, a Nizzard, was prominent—their cession was sanctioned by the Turin Parliament. Monaco consequently passed again under French protection. On April 15, 1860, by an almost unanimous vote, the royal decrees annexing Emilia and Tuscany were approved.

The development of New Italy so far had been the work of official or Sardinian agency, in other words of Cavour, with an accurate finger upon the pulse of Europe. In his judgment the time had not arrived to attempt the absorption of Venetia, Papal Italy, and the Two Sicilies. He could count no longer upon an ally against Austria, whom an assault upon Naples or the Pope was likely to call into action. The French troops were still in Rome, and "accomplice" though Napoleon was, his dependence upon French Ultramontanism hardly would let him stand inactive while the Temporal Power was destroyed. But the party of action, of which Mazzini was the seer and Garibaldi the soldier, was not restrained by balanced considerations, indeed was contemptuous of them. Rome was needed to crown the work of emancipation. During his brief association with the Emilian army Garibaldi was eager to "cross the Rubicon" into Papal territory. He was restrained from doing so by the exhortations of Victor Emmanuel, for whom he had sincere regard. But for Cavour, whose cession of Nice "made him a foreigner," he felt the dislike of the visionary for a cautious man of the world. In November, 1859, Garibaldi had resigned his Emilian command on receiving (September) an invitation from Sicily to direct a revolution there. A few weeks later Francesco Crispi, the future Prime Minister, a leader of the Sicilian rebellion in 1848, made an attempt to rouse the island to free itself from the Bourbons, and appealed to the lately liberated Tuscany and Emilia. Both provinces were filled with Garibaldi's volunteers, waiting his call to action. The road to Rome being closed, Crispi proposed that the work of emancipation should be continued against the Bourbons in Sicily and that Garibaldi should direct the effort. Farini, the Dictator of Emilia, heartily supported the scheme. But Crispi had no encouragement from Cavour on his return to power in January, 1860.

To authorize an attack upon a neighbour without provocation would hopelessly compromise Sardinia. On the other hand, he dared not veto an enterprise which carried the hopes of every Unitarian. In January, 1860, Garibaldi made an appeal for a "Million Rifles Fund" for the service of Italian unity. In March, 1860, Cavour carried the annexation of Central Italy, and, provided that his effort was directed elsewhere than against Rome, was prepared unofficially to encourage Garibaldi. On April 4 an insurrectionary movement in Sicily was crushed, But Garibaldi did not hesitate, summoned his volunteers to Genoa, and without hindrance from the Sardinian government completed his preparations to overthrow the Bourbons.

On May 5, 1860, Garibaldi and "The Thousand" sailed from Quarto in two steamers of the Rubattino Steamship Company which his agents seized in the early hours of the morning in Genoa harbour. They bore the appropriate names *Piemonte* and *Lombardo*. By an unfortunate mistake the Enfield rifles of the Million Fund were not available, and the ammunition, probably owing to the dishonesty of the seamen employed to put it on board, was left behind. The volunteers numbered more than 1000 (1089). They were drawn chiefly from North Italy—Milan, Genoa, and Bergamo alone accounted for nearly 400 of them. Students and members of the legal and medical professions were particularly numerous in their ranks. Garibaldi divided them into eight companies, under officers of his choice. Eventually all were provided with South American rancher's shirts, the uniform of their chief, and therefore were known as "The Red-Shirts." Breaking the voyage at Talamone, where he outwitted the commandant and obtained ammunition from Orbitello, Garibaldi arrived off Marsala at the extreme west of Sicily on May 11. No attempt had been made to impede his voyage. An inquiry from the Sardinian admiral as to whether he should stop the expedition received Cavour's telegraphic reply, "The Cabinet decides for arrest." The admiral correctly supplied the missing words, "but I do not," and Garibaldi proceeded unmolested. Two British men-of-war were already in Marsala harbour. Three vessels of the Neapolitan fleet arrived too late to prevent the volunteers from landing, and wasted powder and shot in an ineffectual bombardment of them on shore. Garibaldi

summoned the *decurionato* (municipality) of Marsala, and after their formal renunciation of Bourbon rule, accepted the title " Dictator of Sicily " in the name of Victor Emmanuel. He already had given The Thousand as their watchword *Italia e Vittorio Emanuele.* His loyalty to the king is beyond question. But he was surrounded by Democrats and others who meant to use Sicily to lever Turin into sanctioning a Roman expedition. Hence Cavour viewed Garibaldi with increasing suspicion, as one whose impetuous action might postpone Italian unity indefinitely.

Sicily was held by nearly 25,000 Neapolitan troops, most of whom were in and round Palermo, Garibaldi's immediate objective. He set out thither without delay, gained the uplands unopposed, and was joined by a few hundred rustics and farmers' sons. At Calatafimi (May 15) a Neapolitan force of 3000 foot with cavalry and artillery contested the road. After a desperate fight against odds The Thousand carried the position. Four days later they were in sight of Palermo. To attack the city and its huge garrison was not Garibaldi's intention. By a successful *ruse* he drew out after him a few thousand of its best troops on a false trail to the south of the island. Working through the hills, he again descended on Palermo in the early hours of May 27, rushed the gates, and in a few hours was entrenched in the centre of the city amid a population of 160,000 for the most part unarmed but eager to throw off the Bourbon yoke. For three days fierce street fighting took place. Garibaldi exhausted his ammunition. But the Neapolitan commander regarded the situation as hopeless, and by the good offices of the British admiral in the port a meeting on board his flagship produced an armistice (May 30), which enabled Garibaldi to replenish his store of ammunition from a Greek vessel in the harbour. On the same day the troops returned from their wild-goose chase after Garibaldi. It therefore was resolved to attack the barricades at noon next day, when the armistice expired. But the garrison shrank from the task, and Garibaldi was asked for and conceded an extension of the armistice for three days while messengers were sent to Naples to report the situation and obtain instructions. " Bombino " shrank from ordering a renewed bombardment of the city after his general had stopped it. The alternative was to withdraw the garrison, and on June 6 a capitulation

signed at Palermo made Garibaldi master of the city. On the following day more than 20,000 Neapolitan troops filed out in presence of the handful of volunteers who had defeated them.

"Bombino" failed to elicit active sympathy from any quarter of Europe. From Victor Emmanuel he received a warning that if he hoped to save his throne he must grant a Constitution to his kingdom, co-operate with Sardinia in expelling the Austrians from Venetia, and if necessary coerce the Pope into granting reforms to his subjects. Victor Emmanuel reminded him of the fate of Charles X of France, and declared that if he remained obdurate Sardinia might be compelled to act as the instrument of his ruin. The advice, offered in April, was neglected until June, when it was too late. Any hope of European intervention was lessened by a Note of Lord John Russell's, which insisted that Italy should be left undisturbed to complete her unity in her own way and at her own time. Austria, with Hungary and Russia on her back, dared not move. "Bombino" approached Napoleon, who advised him to grant a Constitution, to restore to Sicily her independence under a Bourbon prince, and to arrange a Sardinian alliance. Later, when Garibaldi was about to invade Calabria, Napoleon, who desired to prevent Italy from passing entirely under Sardinia's control, proposed to Great Britain to co-operate in a naval demonstration in the Straits of Messina. At Cavour's urgent entreaty Lord John Russell refused, and Napoleon merely placed his fleet off Gaeta to prevent that place's assault by Victor Emmanuel's navy. Left to himself, "Bombino" on June 25, 1860, recalled the Constitution of 1848, and constituted Sicily a separate but dependent government under a royal prince.

After the evacuation of Palermo by the Neapolitan troops on June 7, Garibaldi proceeded to organize a government for the island, whose people thought less of *Italia Una* than of their deliverance from Naples. Cavour, therefore, sent La Farina to stir them to demand instant annexation to Sardinia. Garibaldi, however, deported him (July 7), fearing lest annexation should veto his crossing to Naples. Meanwhile, volunteers poured into Sicily from North Italy, the National Society and the Million Rifles Fund being equally active in the dispatch of arms and reinforcements. Yet Garibaldi was still without "official" recognition, and his

treatment of La Farina confirmed Cavour's view of him as uncontrollable. By August the *Garibaldini* in the island numbered 20,000 and were a match for the Bourbon garrisons which still remained—18,000 in Messina, and smaller contingents in Syracuse, Milazzo, and Agosta. In the course of July Garibaldi established his authority in the centre and south of the island, and a force advanced eastward against Milazzo. On July 20 the city fell. A few days later its castle capitulated and the garrison was deported. The strong garrison of Messina allowed the *Garibaldini* to occupy the city without resistance and signed a treaty of neutrality which made Garibaldi's passage of the Straits comparatively easy. Feinting preparations for a crossing at Faro, the ancient Charybdis, Garibaldi actually sailed on August 18 from Giardini, near Taormina, and landed without opposition in Calabria. Reggio fell to him, and with swelling forces he marched along the coast towards Naples, where his coming was looked for by the populace with unconcealed joy. Cavour vainly strove to precipitate a revolution before Garibaldi's arrival. On September 6 "Bombino" and his queen left Naples for ever. On the following day Garibaldi, far in advance of his army, entered the city in triumph. Excepting on the line of the Volturno, where "Bombino" and his army barred the way to Rome, the Kingdom of the Two Sicilies was won.

Cavour at length came into the open. "Victor Emmanuel must be the real Garibaldi," said Ricasoli, fearing "Garibaldian anarchy." It was impossible, Cavour told Napoleon, to allow Sardinia to be "distanced by the demagogues at Naples." But he was paying the penalty of his disingenuous policy, and tried, without success, to induce Naples to unite with Sardinia before Garibaldi's arrival, fearful lest the latter should insist upon continuing his campaign against Rome. Garibaldi also showed increasing impatience at Turin's restraint upon his actions. Ten days after his arrival at Naples he published his refusal to co-operate farther with Cavour and his resolve to continue his advance upon Rome. Fortunately for the fruition of Cavour's plans the Pope removed the chief obstacle from his path. Early in 1860 Pius IX resolved upon a course which, he hoped, would make him independent of the

doubtful friendship and unwelcome patronage of Napoleon. To convert the Holy See into a minor military Power an army of 15,000 mercenaries was raised in Roman Catholic Europe. Austria provided 6000 seasoned troops, Ireland a few hundreds. The most notable section of the Papal army were the Belgian and French volunteers of good family, styled "Papal Zouaves." They were Legitimists, in fact, who denounced Napoleon as a usurper and shouted for Henry V under the windows of the French garrison at Rome. The commander of the Papal army was Louis Philippe's General Lamoricière, who had served with distinction in Algeria against Abd-el-Kader and was notoriously hostile to Napoleon. Cavour therefore had little difficulty in gaining Napoleon's approval of his determination, actually formed before Garibaldi sailed from Sicily, to invade the Papal States. "Not being able to forestall Garibaldi at Naples," Cavour wrote to the Sardinian Minister at Paris, "we must stop him in Umbria and the Marches. An insurrection is on the point of breaking out there. When it takes place, in the name of order and humanity [General] Cialdini enters the Marches and [General] Fanti enters Umbria. They drive Lamoricière into the sea, occupy Ancona, but declare Rome inviolable." Satisfied by the reservation regarding Rome, Napoleon raised no objection, and dismissed Cavour's envoy with the words *fate presto* (act quickly). Lamoricière's volunteers gave a pretext, and Cavour did so. On September 7, the date of Garibaldi's arrival at Naples, an *ultimatum* required the Pope to dismiss his mercenaries, "who suffocate in Italian blood every expression of the national will." Four days later (September 11) one-half of the Italian army (the other remained on the Mincio to watch Austria) entered Umbria and the Marches and the fleet left Naples for Ancona.

"The invasion of the Papal States in September, 1860, was the crowning act of Cavour's life, and the greatest example of his political genius. He was hemmed in on all sides, and he laid all his enemies at his feet by this one stroke. It destroyed the league of reactionary Italian powers that threatened the newly formed kingdom in the North, it liberated the populations of the Centre, it garnered Garibaldi's harvest in the South, it decided the rivalry between himself and the Dictator before

it could grow into a fatal quarrel, it restored the prestige of the Monarchy as at once leading and controlling the revolution, and it made a United Italy stretching without a break from the Alps to Palermo" (Trevelyan). Everywhere the Sardinian troops were received with enthusiasm. Haste was necessary lest Austria should intervene. The Papal garrisons fell, and Lamoricière, inferior in numbers, drew back upon Ancona until help arrived from some friendly quarter. Intercepted by Cialdini he was forced to give battle at Castelfidardo (September 18) and with about fifty horsemen escaped to Ancona from the disastrous engagement. Ten days later (September 29) Ancona surrendered, and Umbria and the Marches were in the hands of Victor Emmanuel.

Two days after the fall of Ancona Garibaldi won the last of his battles on the Volturno (October 1) and closed the door upon a Bourbon restoration in Naples. Meanwhile, on the same day that Ancona surrendered, Victor Emmanuel set out from Turin to reap Garibaldi's harvest. A fortnight later (October 15) he crossed the Neapolitan frontier and received an enthusiastic welcome from the population of the Abruzzi. Bending his march upon Capua, which still held out, the king and Garibaldi met near that city on October 26. *Saluto il primo Rè d'Italia* was Garibaldi's greeting. Capua surrendered to the Italian army, and on November 7, precisely two months after his own triumphant entry, Garibaldi drove with Victor Emmanuel through the streets of Naples. Two days later (November 9) he sailed to his island home on Caprera off the Sardinian coast. He had given the monarchy a kingdom, but he refused reward. A bag of seed-corn for his farm was all that he took with him. Gaeta fell in February, 1861, and the *Garibaldini* were disbanded.

It remained for Cavour to crown an edifice of which he was not less the architect though he had worked in the background. Garibaldi's loyalty, indeed, had invited Victor Emmanuel (October 4, 1860) to join him in the Neapolitan campaign. But the Dictator was among intimates who were not disposed to surrender the Two Sicilies to the Sardinian Crown without conditions. "A man," said Cavour of Garibaldi, "whom the country justly reverences has declared that he has on confidence in us. It behoves Parliament to resolve whether we shall abandon or complete our work" of unification. He

invited the Chambers to approve the immediate absorption of those parts of Central and Southern Italy which indicated their desire to be annexed. On October 4, 1860, Parliament voted the resolution and Garibaldi, withdrawing his opposition, sanctioned a *plébiscite* on the reference: "The people wishes Italy to be one and indivisible under Victor Emmanuel as Constitutional King and his legitimate descendants after him." On October 21–22 the *plébiscite* was taken throughout the Two Sicilies. 1,750,000 persons voted for annexation and barely 11,000 against it. Before he sailed for Caprera, Garibaldi witnessed at Naples Victor Emmanuel's investiture in his new sovereignty. In Umbria and the Marches a vote of the people was taken on November 4–5. About 250,000 voted for annexation and less than 2000 against it. In February, 1861, a Parliament met at Turin which represented all Italy save Rome and Venetia. Its first act was to vote the title "King of Italy" to Victor Emmanuel and to reject the alternative "King of the Italians," which Cavour strongly resisted. To create a united Kingdom as opposed to a Confederation of States had been the object of his policy. But without Rome his work was incomplete. Some people, d'Azeglio among them, regarded Cavour's desire to make Rome the capital of Italy as a "classical fantasticality" and decried the city as "a malarial town fit only for a museum." But Cavour clearly recognized that "without Rome there is no Italy," and in March, 1861, the Chambers voted *Roma capitale* in principle. It was the last of the great events of Cavour's life. Three months later, at the early age of fifty-one, he died. He left a name, said Palmerston, like Charles XII of Sweden, "to point a moral and adorn a tale." "Italy is made, all is safe," were his last words. Others had inspired and initiated the great work. The execution of it was his own. The Kingdom of Italy was already a fact. But it lacked Rome and Venetia. The Trentino, racially Italian, also was Austrian (Tyrol) since its secularization in 1803.

The new kingdom, elsewhere welcomed, was denounced by the Pope as the "creation of revolution." He inveighed against Victor Emmanuel as a man "forgetful of every religious principle" and guilty of "sacrilegious usurpation." Napoleon, whose relations with the Clericals were complicated by the Pope's unyielding attitude, showed his displeasure by

influencing Russia and Prussia to recognize the Turin government. Recognition by all the Powers except Austria intensified Italy's anxiety regarding her capital. "Without Rome Italy is nothing," said Ricasoli, Cavour's successor; "for Venetia we must wait, the day will come. But for Rome we cannot wait." Parliament's *Roma capitale* (March, 1861) was echoed even within the Papal States, whose population asked why they, Italians too, should be sacrificed to Christendom. Rome was a hotbed of Bourbon conspiracy, the headquarters of a system of brigandage which made the administration of Naples most difficult. The fact offered another and a practical reason for the acquisition of the city. But the ambition was fraught with grave objection. Behind the Temporal Power was the loyalty of a large part of Christendom. The Roman Catholic world concluded that, shorn of the Temporal Power, the authority of the Pope's spiritual office would be prejudiced. A lay government at Rome, it held, would restrict the Pontiff's liberty, deprive him of the dignity which attached to him as head of a secular State, and compromise his independence by involving him in the disputes of the Italian kingdom. "The enemies of the Temporal Power," said Pius with exaggeration, "have for their object the entire overthrow of our holy religion." So unyielding was his attitude that it threatened schism in the ranks of Italian Catholics. If the choice had to be made between the Church and Italy, Pius was warned, Italians might be driven to chose the latter. But Pius rejected concessions. Cavour had vainly negotiated for a *modus vivendi* on the basis of his favourite *libera chiesa in libero stato*. France also urged the Pope "to associate the Papacy with the triumph of Italian patriotism." But to the invitation itself, and to Napoleon's offer of mediation with Turin, Pius returned an unyielding *non possumus*. Through his Secretary of State he reminded the Emperor that "the Pontifical territory is guaranteed by the oath of the Holy Father and the Cardinals. Therefore no diminution of it can be sanctioned by Pius IX or his successors." Thus, in addition to the acquisition of Venetia and the Trentino, Cavour's successors faced the difficult problem created by the existence of the petty State of which Pius was Sovereign. It extended from the Tuscan frontier to Terrasina, and inland for twenty or thirty miles, the Comarca or Patrimony of St. Peter.

Ricasoli saw the wisdom of proceeding cautiously. His programme was " a perfectly quiet 1862 and something big in 1863." The clergy, meanwhile, met the Pope's *non possumus* with a " Petition of 9000 Priests " urging the Holy See to reconcile itself to the new nation. But Rattazzi, who succeeded Ricasoli in March, 1862, played a more hazardous game, in which the king and Garibaldi took a hand. Before visiting Turin and receiving positive, if vague, encouragement, Garibaldi accepted the Presidency of a Congress at Genoa in which the amalgamation of its republican and monarchical sections in an " Association for the Emancipation of Italy " was carried. He also took the presidency of the Rifle-practice Clubs, as Ricasoli had suggested. Ostensibly to organize them Garibaldi made a visit to Lombardy, planning a stroke for Venetia or Trent. He was received with enthusiasm which encouraged him to act beyond his understanding with Turin. Placing himself at Trescorre, within striking distance of the Trentino, he organized an expedition. Discovering too late how little control they had upon him, and alarmed at his provocation to Austria, the government arrested a body of volunteers at Sarnico (May 15) and imprisoned them at Brescia. Their comrades attempted a rescue, shots were fired, and a civilian was killed. After indignant interviews with Victor Emmanuel and his Minister, Garibaldi withdrew to Caprera.

Torn between desire to pose as the friend of Italian Nationalism and the impossibility of reconciling French Ultramontanism to any diminution of the Pope's authority, Napoleon again intervened. At the back of his policy probably was the idea that he might secure the island Sardinia in return for his condonation of Turin's designs upon Rome. For the moment (May, 1862) he proposed to Pius the Holy See's recognition of the territorial *status quo* in Italy and of the restriction of the Temporal Power to the Papal Patrimony ; the renewal of relations with Turin ; the provision of a Papal Civil List by the Catholic Powers ; their collective guarantee of its remaining territory ; and the reformation of the still medieval Papal Constitution. Pius refused the suggestions. A few weeks later the irrepressible Garibaldi landed in Sicily. His excuse was an asserted separatist movement in the island. But there is little

doubt that he meant to force the position, as in 1860, and that his conversations with the king and Rattazzi convinced him that Turin would not quarrel with a *fait accompli*. He landed at Palermo in July, 1862, traversed the route of his famous march two years before, and at Marsala made the people swear "Death or Rome" on the altar of the cathedral. A force of about 4000 volunteers gathered round him. The Turin government disowned him and proclaimed him a rebel (August 17). But, obstinate and confident, Garibaldi crossed over to the Calabrian coast and marched northward. He found none of the enthusiasm that welcomed him in 1860, and Reggio was held against him. At Aspromonte, on August 29, he surrendered to Cialdini after a brief engagement in which he was wounded in the heel.

Rattazzi took advantage of the hero's wound to address a Note to the Powers: "The whole nation demands possession of its capital," it declared. "The existing situation has become intolerable. The opinion of the government is that it can result only in consequences which are bound to affect adversely the peace of Europe and the religious interests of Catholic Christendom." Great Britain alone received the Note with sympathy, and a subscription of pennies produced £1000 in Garibaldi's behalf. Napoleon, as usual, was pulled in two directions. In view of his failure to move the Pope, he could no longer represent the presence of the French at Rome as a moderating influence upon the Holy See. It seemed clear also, that if the French remained there they must run the danger of such an encounter as Cialdini had met at Aspromonte. But the elections of 1863 were imminent, and pandering to anti-Papalism would be punished at the polls. Napoleon therefore adjusted the diplomatic to the domestic situation and transferred the portfolio of Foreign Affairs to a Minister agreeable to the Holy See (October, 1862). Rattazzi was given to understand that the Emperor was not prepared to support his Note. In the circumstances a forward policy against Rome was clearly inopportune and Rattazzi resigned (December, 1862).

With France at Rome and Catholic Europe insistent on maintaining the Temporal Power, Italy and her capital seemed far apart. In the course of 1863 Napoleon found himself in a position which made an understanding with Turin advisable.

The death of Frederick VII of Denmark without issue in November, 1863, brought Schleswig-Holstein again to the front. Poland's revolt in the same year also threatened international disturbance. In the event of it Venetia might be recovered for Italy. But the opportunity passed. In June, 1864, Napoleon was reminded from Turin that he had promised to free Italy "from the Alps to the Adriatic," and that in the event of war Turin was dangerously vulnerable to sudden attack. Napoleon was eager to escape from Rome and its dangers, especially in view of the German menace and the value of Italy's friendship. But he dared not openly defy the Clericals. "We must find a solution," he suggested, "which will allow me to make people think that you have given up Rome." The outcome of the negotiation was the September Convention of 1864. It engaged France to withdraw from Rome as soon as the organization of the Papal army permitted the Pope to dispense with the French garrison, and in any case within two years. The Turin government agreed to countenance the Papal army, provided it was not employed to assist an aggressive and reactionary policy outside the Papal Patrimony, and also to protect the Holy See. It agreed to take over a portion of the Papal debt, seeing that the kingdom was now possessed of former Papal territory. It also bound the Italian government to move the capital from Turin to Florence or Naples within six months. The undertaking satisfied Napoleon's tortuous diplomacy in its suggestion that *Roma capitale* was abandoned. "Of course you will go to Rome eventually," remarked the French Foreign Secretary; "but after a sufficient interval to relieve us of responsibility." In 1865, with regret on Victor Emmanuel's part and after rioting at Turin, the Italian capital was moved to Florence. Five years later, but with little need to consider France, Florence in its turn was abandoned for Rome.

The September Convention did credit neither to Napoleon nor to the Italian Ministry. In words it bound Italy to respect the Temporal Power, in whose overthrow its present and future were involved irrevocably, and also made it impossible for her to go to Rome without breaking her word. The change of capital also was an unworthy and dangerous device, and the alleged military compulsion was a pretext. Piedmont was wounded unnecessarily by the substitution of Florence,

though temporarily, for Turin, and a change of capital twice in five years was inconvenient.

Almost simultaneously, too, the Pope's Encyclical *Quanta Cura* (December, 1864) put outside the Church's pale all enemies of the Temporal Power and supporters of Cavour's suggested *libera chiesa*. It declared war upon the whole trend of political thought, placed the civil under the heel of ecclesiastical authority, demanded the resuscitation of the *foro ecclesiastico*, asserted the Church's monopoly in systems of national education, gave to its laws supreme sanction, and postulated the subserviency of civil codes. The document was the utterance of uncompromising medievalism, a standard of unyielding Hildebrandism.

" Italy," said one of her statesmen in 1862, " will always side with the enemies of Austria." The growing rivalry of Austria and Prussia indicated the latter as Italy's potential friend, though a Prussian alliance involved the temporary shelving of the Roman in favour of the Venetian question. Bismarck for some time had favoured an *entente* with Italy, which would strengthen Prussia's attack on Austria now, and might detach Italy from France eventually. Italy also had traversed the path of unification, and as Cavour remarked in 1859, " Prussia will thank Piedmont one of these days for her example." But Prussja was not yet educated to Bismarck's determination to put Austria outside the German system, and so long as the French were in Rome, German interests seemed to require Austria in the Quadrilateral. In March, 1866, in view of the imminence of war, Bismarck opened negotiations with Turin. La Marmora, the veteran of the Crimean War, was in office and viewed the overture with some suspicion. He feared that Prussia would use Italy for her own ends and that another Villafranca might be in store for his government. Bismarck himself was a little fearful that Austria might over-bid him for Italy's friendship. Hence, though an offensive and defensive alliance was signed on April 8, 1866, neither country regarded the other with confidence. The treaty bound the Allies to make war jointly upon Austria, and neither was to make peace without the consent of the other. Each undertook not to desist until Italy had secured Venetia (she vainly tried to include the Trentino also) and Prussia had obtained equivalent

territory. The treaty was inoperative if Prussia failed to declare war within three months from its signature.

Before that date Napoleon tested the treaty severely. He was not averse from a war between the chief German Powers which might aid him to realize the fixed objects of his later policy, the expansion of the French frontier to the Lower Rhine and the fulfilment of his promise to free Italy to the Adriatic. A bold policy would have placed France beside Austria against Prussia. But the Emperor imagined that negotiation could give him the coveted frontier. He therefore proposed his usual expedient, a Congress, in which the four Powers concerned might seek compensation in particular localities, France on the Rhine, Prussia in Schleswig-Holstein, Austria in Silesia, and Italy in Venetia. The suggestion pleased no one. But Austria suddenly approached Napoleon with the offer to abandon Venetia to him on behalf of Italy, whatever might be the issue of the approaching war. The temptation to secure Venetia without an effort was great. But Italy was not anxious to receive Venetia, like Lombardy, at France's hands if it could be secured by other means. La Marmora therefore, already having rejected direct overtures from Vienna, replied that honour compelled his government to fulfil its obligation to Prussia.

Italy's third war of independence began on June 20, 1866, when she declared war upon Austria. The *Garibaldini* under their chief threatened Tyrol. Two Italian armies advanced upon the Quadrilateral, one along the Lower Po, a second under La Marmora along the Mincio. Blundering strategy delivered La Marmora to the Archduke Albrecht at Custozza on June 24. The Italian army escaped narrowly from disaster and the reverse seriously impaired its *moral*. But a week later (July 3) Prussia defeated Austria at Königgrätz. She at once renewed her offer through Napoleon to purchase Italy's neutrality in return for Venetia. Napoleon urged that course. But Italy, burning to avenge Custozza, was in no mood to accept the province at his hands. She resumed the war after a week's halt (July 8) and before the middle of the month held the whole of Venetia except the Quadrilateral, while Garibaldi occupied the Trentino (southern Tyrol). At sea also Italy had reverses. After bombarding the naval station at Lissa, her fleet was repairing in open sea when it

was attacked by an inferior Austrian squadron. A confused engagement followed (July 20), in which the Italians lost their flagship and another ironclad. A few days later Bismarck, who was anxious to conclude the war before Napoleon could intervene, signed preliminaries of peace with Austria at Nikolsburg. After vain endeavours to secure the Trentino, Italy signed (October 3, 1866) the Treaty of Vienna, which, subject to the usual *plébiscite*, gave her possession of Venetia. By 640,000 votes against 60 Venetia declared for incorporation into the Italian kingdom. Excepting the Trentino Austria was expelled from North Italy. She retained also the Istrian peninsula, which was racially, and until 1797 politically, Italian.

Having acquired Venetia, Italy again faced towards Rome. Impatient patriots desired to wipe out the memory of Custozza and Lissa. There was ground for provocation also in the fact that, though the French had withdrawn from Rome under the September (1864) Convention, the Papal army was being recruited openly in France. An "Antibes Legion" was formed largely of French soldiers returned from the disastrous Mexican expedition. A steady agitation therefore proceeded for the occupation of Rome, and the return of Rattazzi to power in April, 1867, revived the hopes of 1862. Garibaldi suggested another dash upon Rome, which was thought to be ripe for union. Towards the end of September he set out to join the *Garibaldini*, whom he had assembled on the Roman frontier. But Rattazzi's courage failed him. On his way to the front Garibaldi was arrested, and after a short incarceration at Alessandria was conveyed to Caprera. He eluded the vessels guarding the island, and reappeared at Florence. Napoleon now gave warning that any movement against the Pope would oblige him to send troops to the Pontiff's aid. Rattazzi therefore resigned. Before his successor was appointed Garibaldi crossed the Papal frontier at Passo Corese (October 23, 1867). Victor Emmanuel issued a belated proclamation against the *Garibaldini*, declaring Italy's scrupulous regard for her public engagements (the Convention of September, 1864) and the need to avoid "a fratricidal war" with Rome. Undeterred, Garibaldi continued his advance. Meanwhile more than 20,000 French troops arrived in the Pope's defence. On November 3, 1867, an engagement at

Mentana brought the brief campaign to an end. The *Garibaldini* held their own against the Papal troops, but were routed by the French, who were armed with the new breech-loaders (*Chassepots*). Garibaldi was again arrested and deported to Caprera. The French withdrew from Rome to Civita Vecchia, where they remained until 1870. Their presence there was a constant irritant to Italy. But French Clericalism would not hear of their withdrawal. "The French government," said Rouher, "cannot permit Italy to seize Rome. Never (*jamais ! jamais !*) will France tolerate such an act of violence against her honour and that of Catholic Christendom." Italy therefore awaited Napoleon's fall to enable her to carry out her deeply formed purpose. None the less Mentana was the door through which she entered Rome. For it tore up the September Convention and was the finishing blow to the French *entente* which had been the chief bulwark of her foreign policy.

Victory confirmed the Pope in his obduracy. In 1869 he summoned an Œcumenical Council, the first since the Council of Trent, to promulgate the dogma of Papal Infallibility, which riveted the fetters of illiberalism on the Church. The event convinced Italy that she must either destroy the Temporal Power or be destroyed by it. After Mentana events pointed with increasing clearness to war between France and Prussia. The Luxemburg question in 1867 nearly led to conflict and brought home to Napoleon the isolation in which his policy placed him. Italy was completely estranged. "The *Chassepots* of Mentana have dealt a mortal blow to the alliance of the two countries," said an Italian statesman. The presence of French troops at Civita Vecchia was another irritant, and Italy grew restive under the taunt that she was only "a prefecture of France." Rouher's *jamais ! jamais !* was not forgotten, and the Crown Prince of Prussia was greeted with particular cordiality when he visited Florence in 1868. Austria, having lost North Italy, was anxious for an understanding with her late enemy and to form with her and France a Triple Alliance against Prussia. But the project was wrecked by the Emperor's persistent refusal to allow Victor Emmanuel to go to Rome, though he realized the consequences of his unwilling prohibition. "The occupation of Mexico and Rome," he admitted, "are two bullets that France

carries in her heel." In order to create difficulties between France and Italy Bismarck entered into communication with Mazzini, who proposed a dash on Rome.

France declared war upon Germany in July, 1870. Napoleon, aware of the chivalrous sentiment of Victor Emmanuel, invited an alliance. But Italy made admission to Rome the condition of her friendship, and Napoleon, endorsing the Empress Eugénie's remark, "Better the Prussians in Paris than the Piedmontese in Rome," doomed his Empire by a last refusal. After MacMahon's defeat at Wörth (August 6) Prince Napoleon arrived at Florence with a blank sheet of paper bearing the Emperor's signature. "Fill in what you please," he invited the Italian Minister. But Napoleon clearly was doomed and Italy held aloof. At the same time she was resolved that her settlement of the Roman question should not be compromised. Garibaldi was closely watched at Caprera. Mazzini, arrested at Palermo (August 13), was incarcerated at Gaeta. A Republic at Rome, as in 1848, could not be tolerated, and before Mazzini was released the city was the capital of the Monarchy.

Napoleon's crowning defeat at Sedan (September 1) was followed immediately (September 4) by the proclamation of a Republic. To the Provisional Government of National Defence Italy at once (September 6) denounced the Convention of September, 1864, and informed the Powers of her intention to go to Rome. Neither Great Britain, France, nor Prussia raised difficulties. Austria, won by the guarantees Italy was prepared to give the Sovereign Pontiff, approved. The French troops already (August 19) had withdrawn from Civita Vecchia. On September 20, 1870, after a few hours' cannonade, the Italian army entered Rome. Within the Leonine City (St. Peter's and the Vatican) Pius for the moment maintained his authority, and the idea of preserving the Temporal Power in that restricted locality was entertained. For obvious reasons the new masters of Rome desired to deal tenderly with the Pope. But on September 21, the inhabitants of the Leonine City having expressed their unwillingness to be separated from the rest of Rome, Pius invited the Italian troops to protect him in the Vatican. At the same time he obtained an undertaking that the *plébiscite* proposing annexation of the Papal States

to Italy should contain a clause confirming his spiritual authority. On October 2, the *plébiscite* was taken. By 133,000 against 1500 votes annexation was voted and the Temporal Power was destroyed. In July, 1871, Italy transferred her capital to Rome, where Victor Emmanuel established his Court at the Quirinal Palace, once the summer residence of the Popes. Four months later (November, 1871) the first complete Italian Parliament met in the new capital.

It remained to define the relations between the Pontiff and the Kingdom of Italy. Cavour had left among his papers a "Law of Guarantees," and Parliament passed it (March 21, 1871) before transferring itself from Florence. The Law assured to the Pope the privileges of a reigning Sovereign and permitted him to receive Ambassadors accredited to his Court. It declared his person inviolable and placed attempts upon him in the same category as those upon the king. He was confirmed in the use of the Vatican and Lateran Palaces; the State's officials were forbidden to enter them without leave of the Pope or the Sacred College. An annual allowance of £129,000 was placed at his disposal, a revenue of which no Pope has availed himself. To ensure him uninterrupted correspondence with his subjects throughout Christendom separate postal and telegraphic establishments were allowed him. The *locus* of Conclaves and General Councils was placed outside the jurisdiction of the State, which also relinquished the royal *placet* (*placitum regium*) and *exequatur*, in other words, abandoned the royal assent to acts of ecclesiastical authority, such as the publication of Bulls and the appointment of bishops, and generally except for admission to temporalities. On the other hand, the Church Courts were denied the aid of the civil arm for the enforcement of their discipline, and ecclesiastically were made subject to its correction in offences involving public policy. Thus, in spite of large concessions, the State kept in its hands, and retains, large powers of control over the Church.

At first Pius showed himself disposed to accept the relations with the Italian kingdom which the Law created. But Clerical opinion in France and elsewhere caused him to change his mind. Italy shrank from compelling him to leave Rome, and he consistently ignored the Italian

government. Under Pope Pius X (1903–1914) a distinct advance was made towards an accommodation. The claim to Temporal Power has not been abandoned. But time has begun to heal the bitterness of the Vatican towards the Quirinal. The attempt to hold aloof from secular politics broke down (1905) under the menace of Socialism and anti-Clericalism. Italy replaced France as Protector of the Catholic missions in the East, and an archbishop was allowed to welcome the King of Italy to his city (Bologna) and to sit beside him in public.

The Italian Monarchy in 1870 did not include every Italian-speaking region. The Trentino in the Alps, Trieste, and the Istrian peninsula, remained to Austria. They formed what Italian patriots call *Italia irredenta* (unrecovered). The *Italianissimi* would add to them Dalmatia, Malta, and Nice and Corsica, which are French. But when France attached Tunis in 1881 Irredentism yielded to other ambitions. Italy joined her fortunes to the Triple Alliance, but with an anxious gaze upon the activities of Austria-Hungary across the Adriatic. Her attachment to Berlin and Vienna grew lukewarm, and the War provoked by Germany in August, 1914, gave her the opportunity to sever her connexion with her allies, and to strike for the completion of the great task begun by Cavour in 1859.

CHAPTER XVI

BISMARCK AND THE GERMAN EMPIRE

In the third quarter of the century Germany, like Italy, solved the "monstrous complication of her political geography." In Bismarck she found her Cavour, and, like Italy, won unity on the field of battle, but without the intervention of foreign force. In both countries union was won against Austria, whose defeat in Germany was the more humiliating, since it robbed her of a position of honour which had been hers with brief interruption for over four hundred years. In both countries union involved the collapse of institutions rooted in the Middle Ages. In Italy the chief bar to political unity was the Temporal Power of the Church. In Germany, though the Habsburg Empire had existed for less than three-quarters of a century, its extrusion removed a system which claimed continuity with the *Deutsche Reich* of the Saxon, Hohenstaufen, and Luxemburg Emperors. Unlike Italy's emancipation, the attainment of German unity was the climax of a domestic duel, whose origin went back to Frederick the Great's rape of Silesia, and even earlier. Almost from the moment the permanent association of the Habsburg with the Empire began, Prussia and Austria stood for opposed ideas and interests. The Reformation sharply divided them. They belonged to different commercial systems through their association, one with the Mediterranean, the other with the Baltic. Prussia consequently shared the ambitions and rivalries of Northern and Western Europe. Austria, on the other hand, her possession of the Netherlands notwithstanding, tended more and more, as Bismarck at a later time advised her, to pivot on Hungary. Her policy in the Balkan peninsula increasingly pursued non-German interests which the Habsburg inherited from their Luxemburg predecessors and their own relations with the

advancing Turk riveted. From the close of the seventeenth century Austria no longer represented Europe's sentinel in that post of danger. Her interests there had become dynastic, and her surrender of the Netherlands and Vorderösterreich in 1815 signified her abandonment of German responsibility on the Rhenish frontier which their possession entailed. Prussia, on the other hand, planted herself in that region at the moment of Austria's withdrawal. Her presence there proclaimed her assumption of a responsibility which Austria seemed to shirk.

The two Silesian Wars (1740–1763) and the seizure of that province by Frederick the Great opened an active period of Habsburg-Hohenzollern rivalry which mutual greed for Poland's spoils prolonged. Common hatred of the French Revolution and common danger at the hands of Napoleon, its outcome, brought them together in the War of Liberation, after a crisis in which Hohenzollern policy showed itself selfish rather than German. The National movement, of which the Frankfort Parliament (1848) was the outcome, placed them in direct conflict for the political headship of the *Bund*. But Frederick William IV's timidity conducted the contest in a manner humiliating to the Hohenzollern; whereas, in Bismarck's opinion, a mobilisation of her forces in answer to Schwarzenberg's bouncing policy would have given Prussia the leadership which she obtained less than twenty years later under his guidance. The humiliation of Olmütz (1850) therefore strengthened the movement for a strong Prussia. Her unsuccessful attempt to form a political union (1850) placed her *Zollverein* in danger of dissolution. But Austria failed to divert its members into her own Protectionist system. In 1853 they renewed their agreements with Prussia and formed a Free Trade commercial union from which eventually Austria alone was excluded. Not until Bismarck's *Zolltarifgesetz* in 1879 did Germany adopt a Protectionist Tariff.

Bismarck, who began his diplomatic career in the restored *Bundestag* at Frankfort and continued it at Petrograd and Paris before being called to ministerial office in 1862, was the incarnation of a new spirit abroad in Prussia. To put Austria outside the *Bund* was his absorbing purpose. Germany, he declared boldly in a famous sentence,

needed to be refashioned *ferro et igni*. He was not content to await the slower operation of national impulse, which would have achieved unity ultimately, no doubt, but in a shape probably unwelcome to Prussia. He was determined to impose Prussia on Germany at his own time, and by the quick operation of war to make Germany at once a nation and the slave of the Hohenzollern. Her failure to achieve an equable unity, and the obliteration of some of her finer qualities, she owes to Bismarck's establishment of Prussia as *dominator rerum*. Since the humiliation of Olmütz had been made possible by the Tsar's support of Austria, the *Punktation* not only founded the *Fortschrittspartei*, but also the foreign policy of Bismarck, that party's most resolute foe. To detach Petrograd from Vienna was his cardinal object; for both in the Schleswig-Holstein question, in which Russia was interested dynastically and as a Baltic Power, and in his designs on Habsburg supremacy in Germany, Prussia's ambitions could be thwarted by the Tsar.

The Crimean War opportunely introduced the conditions which Prussian interests required. It was the turning-point in Austro-Russian relations and the beginning of a rivalry which progressed to the outbreak of 1914. For Prussia, after Olmütz, the question as Bismarck saw it was, "Whether we are a Great Power, or a State in the German Federation." In the Crimean War she wavered between Vienna and Petrograd, but in spite of her indecision placed herself at the Council Board of Europe in 1856. Austria, too, had shown herself singularly unmindful of Russia's aid in her recent Hungarian difficulties and at Olmütz. "Political egoism," Bismarck frankly declared, was the only policy for a State which hoped to preserve its interests or to enlarge them. In following the rule Austria, whatever her gain elsewhere, jeopardized her relations with Petrograd.

The Austro-Italian War of 1859 marked another step towards the coming contest between Prussia and her older rival. The loss of Lombardy damaged the *prestige* of Austria, and the circumstances under which it was acquired for Italy revived in Germany the Machiavellian traditions of Napoleonic policy. Austria would have been glad of Germany's help, but was afraid of Prussia, who mobilized her army actually in defence of the threatened Rhine. But her

policy remained undecided. She could not bring herself to strike at Austria in her moment of need or to challenge the enmity of France. She pursued the phantom of "popularity in Germany," which, Bismarck complained in 1863, had lowered her position in Europe and Germany alike. Fear of her designs hurried Austria into peace at Villafranca, as it influenced her to make another bid for victory at Solferino.

The Regent William, whom his brother Frederick William IV's mental malady called to power in 1858, was undecided as to the means by which Prussia's hegemony was to be attained. That she needed a powerful army he was convinced, and his determination to create one gave Prussia Bismarck and a resolute policy. William shared the strong Conservative bias of his brother, but not his nature. He was plodding rather than brilliant, painstaking, hard-working, exceedingly fortunate in his Ministers, and quick in discerning and surrendering to their abilities. In 1848 he had earned the suspicion of the Liberals, who called him *Kartätschenprinz* and associated him with the incubus of Hohenzollern militarism. While other countries have an army, it has been said, in Prussia the army owns the country. William, moreover, meant Prussia to have a professional army, and rejected the preference of the Liberals for an amateur "nation in arms." Sheer repulsion from the reactionary politicians whom his brother trusted led him to dismiss them in 1858, after he had become Regent, and to give his confidence to the moderate wing of the Liberals. He made Bismarck's friend Albrecht von Roon War Minister and appointed Moltke head of the General Staff. Minor reforms were introduced for the approval of the *Landtag*, whose coincidence with a moderately Liberal Ministry, and the outbreak of the Austro-Italian War, convinced Prussia of the advent of a "new era." The idea of Federal reform was revived, and in September, 1859, an assembly of "Little Germans" at Frankfort founded the *Deutsche Nationalverein* (National Union). It aimed at "the union and development of the common Fatherland." It made a bid for the support of the Big Germans by declaring the German provinces of Austria integral parts of the Fatherland, but favoured her deposition and the establishment of a reformed *Bund* under Prussia's hegemony. It accomplished little. The opposition of Austria and her well-wishers drove its

Committee from Frankfort. In Saxony, Hanover, and some lesser States it was forbidden. After two years' effort more than half (8000) of its adherents (15,000) were found in Prussia. To counteract the Prussianizing *Nationalverein* the Big Germans met at Frankfort in October, 1862, and formed the "German Reform Union" (*Deutscher Reformverein*). It consisted mainly of South Germans and supported Austria's admission to and a collective Directorate of the reformed *Bund*. Bismarck's Schleswig policy, however, united the two organizations in 1863. The Saxon Beust outlined a scheme in which the smaller States, forming a system of their own, would hold the balance between Austria and Prussia in the councils of the *Bund*.

The need to bid against Prussia for the support of Liberal opinion brought Austria also into the field. In 1861 she again conferred a Constitution on her Empire. Schmerling, her Minister of the Interior, had led the *Grossdeutschepartei* at Frankfort in 1848 and meant to counter the intention of the *Nationalverein* to expel Austria from the *Bund*. Subject to the continued presidency of Austria he was prepared to assent to a mixed Directorate (Austria, Prussia, Bavaria, and three other States in rotation); a Federal Council of twenty-one votes; a Federal Tribunal of Law; and a Federal Assembly of 302 delegates elected by the Chambers of the federated States. To discuss the problem, Austria invited the German princes to meet (*Fürstentag*) at Frankfort in 1863. All but four (Anhalt-Bernburg, Holstein, Lippe, Prussia) attended and voted Austria's scheme. But Bismarck, in office since September, 1862, killed the project by Prussia's abstention. He demanded for Prussia equality with Austria, emphasized the need for a real "union," and advocated a directly elected *Nationalparlament* instead of Austria's Assembly of delegates. Bismarck, in fact, appealed to the people against the princes. But Germany was not convinced by Prussia's sudden conversion. Her assent, as Bismarck understood, was to be gained only by *Eisen und Blut*, and the academic schemes of 1861–63 were of little value save as revealing the difficulties that had to be overcome.

Bismarck was called to office in September, 1862. He was confronted at once by a serious crisis which grew out of the

king's determination to obtain, with or without the *Landtag's* approval, the reformed army which Prussian interests required. The Austro-Italian crisis in 1859 afforded a striking proof of Prussia's military power; for the mere mobilization of her army brought both Austria and France to a standstill. But her system rested on the reforms of Scharnhorst (1814), completed in 1820. They prescribed a general obligation of military service beginning at the age of twenty, three years on active duty, two in the Reserve, and fourteen in the *Landwehr*. Every man's services theoretically were at the call of the country from his twentieth to his fortieth year. But the population was growing—it increased by half (12,000,000 to 18,000,000) in a generation—and estimates were only taken for a peace strength of 130,000 men. Consequently, when William became king (1861), about 23,000 of the 63,000 annual conscripts were not employed, since there were no *cadres* to which to attach them. In order to spread military duty over as large a number as possible, it had become the practice to pass on recruits from the active line to the Reserve after two instead of three years with the colours. Hence, in the event of war, the active and Reserve armies would fall short of the war establishment (400,000) and make it necessary to rely upon the *Landwehr*. The latter consisted of men who were no longer in their first activity, whose summons to the colours would inconvenience their families and disturb the economic conditions of the country. To remedy these deficiencies William proposed to make use of conscript material which at present was wasted, and to obtain the credits necessary to incorporate it in the permanent *personnel* of the army. He restored the period of service with the colours to the legal three years, and taking 63,000 as the strength of the annual batch of conscripts, obtained an active army of nearly 200,000 (189,000). At the same time he prolonged service in the Reserve from two to four years, that is, to the conscript's twenty-seventh year. The extension provided about 250,000 in the Reserve, and, with the active army, nearly 500,000 men, without calling on the *Landwehr* at all. William was able, therefore, to release a man from the *Landwehr* at his thirty-second instead of his fortieth year. But to incorporate the new material into the establishment it was necessary to create thirty-nine new

infantry and ten cavalry regiments, involving a heavy annual increase in the Army estimates.

William asked for the credits necessary for the reorganization of the army in May, 1860, while he was still Regent, and proposed an increased land-tax to cover the cost of the enlarged establishment. With opposition he was not prepared to be tolerant, holding himself, in conformity with Hohenzollern tradition, as *Oberster Kriegsherr* on whom alone responsibility rested for the country's armed forces. But his proposals encountered determined opposition on the part of the *Fortschrittspartei*. It was unwilling to add to the military resources of the Crown, indisposed to contemplate Prussia's acquisition of Imperial position by force, and confident that Nationalism would triumph without the aid of force. William was unable to agree to a compromise which would have left the period of service with the colours at two years. The *Landtag* therefore "provisionally" passed the credits demanded. But William refused to be bound by the limitation. So far the Crown had settled matters of military organization on its own sovereign judgment. William challenged the *Landtag's* power to hinder his present policy, and denounced the Liberal opposition for attempting to transfer "the political centre of gravity from the Crown to the people's representatives." The regiments provisionally sanctioned were put on a permanent footing and received their standards. The king's action roused angry debates (1861), and the credits again were passed provisionally. The country was thoroughly roused, and the elections sent to the new Chamber, which met in January, 1862, a larger representation of the *Fortschrittspartei*. The Army Bill again had an unfavourable reception and William at once dissolved. The new elections (1862) were still more adverse to the army reformers, and the new Chamber, throwing compromise to the winds, struck out (March, 1862) the estimates for the new establishments, a proceeding which involved the disbanding of the new regiments and the dismissal of two or three thousand officers. Since the Ministry was not prepared to maintain the regiments in face of the *Landtag's* refusal of supplies, William, who valued his military reforms much higher than his throne, actually drafted an announcement of his abdication. But on the advice of Roon he entrusted the task of forming a

Ministry to Bismarck, who from that moment (September, 1862) ruled Germany for nearly a full generation.

The keynote of Bismarck's early policy is found in his remark: "Germany does not need Prussia's Liberalism but her army." A "Prussian first and German afterwards," as he described himself, he contemned Frederick William IV's timid reticence. "Political disputes," Bismarck said once with his accustomed cynicism, "are not determined by right but by force," and he was prepared without hesitation to fight for Prussia's supremacy and Austria's downfall. In fact, they were won by three wars within the span of seven years: the War of the Duchies in 1864, the Austro-Prussian War of 1866, and the Franco-German War of 1870–71.

It was an anomaly in Prussia's position in the early years of Bismarck's rule that, while her credit with Germany depended, as in 1848, largely upon the goodwill of German Liberalism, the unconstitutional courses which maintained her swollen military establishment, the agreement with illiberal Russia which Bismarck maintained, and her attitude in the Schleswig-Holstein crisis, estranged Germany from her. Determined to give the king the army which he asked for, and with ulterior objects which William approved, Bismarck governed Prussia without a majority and maintained the military establishment, regardless of the fact that the *Landtag* continued to withhold supplies. Accused of violating the Constitution, he replied that it had not contemplated an Assembly refusing grants for the public service. He dissolved the Chamber in 1863 upon its voting want of confidence in his administration, raised revenue without Parliamentary sanction, controlled the Press, and withstood the opposition of the Crown Prince Frederick to his over-riding policy.

The political storms of 1863 were repeated in 1864. But in 1864 the first of the three wars broke out which revealed Bismarck's diplomacy to his countrymen and reconciled them to his illiberalism. He already had gained an initial advantage in the wider field of diplomacy. For the success of his designs in Prussia's behalf it was imperative to prevent either an Austro-Russian or a Franco-Russian *entente*, either of which would jeopardize his ambitious plans.

Opportunely the Polish rebellion of 1863 enabled Bismarck to establish relations with the Tsar. He assured Alexander that Prussia would not permit help to reach the insurgents from her Polish subjects, and that he regarded himself as the Tsar's ally in the suppression of an outbreak dangerous to both. Alexander consequently departed from his first intention to accord to Poland a Liberal administration, as Gorchakoff suggested, and stamped down the rising by force. His action estranged France; the Prussian understanding allowing the Tsar to disregard a representation which she, joined half-heartedly by Great Britain and Austria, made to him on the Polish question. As to Austria, bidding for the goodwill of Liberal Germany against Prussia's reactionary courses, her attempt to impose a scheme of Federal reform upon Prussia was defeated by Bismarck's refusal to allow his Sovereign to attend the Congress of Princes (*Fürstentag*) at Frankfort (September, 1863). Thus the first year of Bismarck's administration showed a great improvement in Prussia's position in Germany, notwithstanding her bondage to the *Kreuz Zeitung* party.

At the opening of 1863 the difficult Schleswig-Holstein-Lauenburg question was still regulated by the London Treaty of 1852. That agreement gave succession to the Danish Crown to Christian of Glücksburg, and ousted from the duchies Duke Christian of Augustenburg, who for financial consideration withdrew his claim; guaranteed the integrity of "all the lands which are now united under the sceptre of His Majesty the King of Denmark;" and promised them a joint Constitution for the management of their common affairs. On October 2, 1855, Frederick promulgated the new Joint Constitution. But the duchies persisted in their attitude of opposition, and objected that the Constitution favoured Denmark at their expense. The *Bund* refused to accept it as binding Holstein-Lauenburg, and Prussia and Austria both denounced it. The revived national movement in Germany strongly supported the separatist duchies, and Denmark at length admitted the impracticability of her plans regarding Holstein. On March 30, 1863, Frederick conceded the duchy a separate legislature, budget, and army. A common Constitution for Denmark-Schleswig was to follow.

Though the German *Bund* was not a party to the Treaty of 1852, the Schleswig-Holstein question none the less was a national one; for the population of the duchies, except the north of Schleswig, was German; as also was the Augustenburg claimant, Duke Frederick, who had not ratified his father Duke Christian's action eleven years before. As to Prussia, Bismarck moulded the situation to advance his plans. In one of his mystifying bursts of candour he declared once at Fontainebleau that Prussia's geographical configuration was "ridiculous," in that on her Hanoverian side her "shoulder was out of joint." Territorial enlargement in that quarter would correct the deformity, while the possession of Kiel would give her a valuable naval port. At the same time the situation needed the utmost care. To reveal the actual goal of Prussian policy would give the Powers signatory to the Treaty of 1852 the right to intervene. But with Austria drawn into collusion with him the danger was lessened. Besides, the pursuit of Prussian interests would carry him athwart the patriotism of the *Nationalverein.* It was doubly essential, therefore, that Austria should be induced to share with Prussia the odium of her calculated policy, and Austria's uncertainty regarding Napoleon gave Bismarck the association his plans required.

On July 9, 1863, Austria and Prussia carried a resolution in the *Bundestag,* which required Frederick to recall the March Charter and to restore the conditions of 1852. The two Powers were acting in harmony, but from different motives. Austria's wiser course, in view of her relations with Prussia, would have been to ally herself with the smaller States of the *Bund,* among whom feeling against Prussia already was strong, and to aim at creating a separate State in Schleswig-Holstein-Lauenburg. But she was at one with Prussia in desiring to keep Germany from the interference of the Powers. Prussia's hope of getting what she wanted in the duchies also depended on securing that condition, while to plant a separate ruler in the duchies would certainly add, from fear of herself, another Austrian satellite to the *Bund.* For the moment the Powers were not likely to countenance the despoiling of Denmark in Prussia's behalf. Bismarck, like Austria, therefore preferred the dilatory motions of the *Bund.* On November 13, 1863, the Danish General Council passed the

Joint Constitution for Denmark and Schleswig threatened in March.

The situation was changed by the death of Frederick VII (November 15, 1863), the last king in male descent from Christian I (1448–81), the first Sovereign of the House of Oldenburg, in whose reign the Duchies of Schleswig and Holstein came under the Danish Crown. In accordance with the Treaty of 1852 the Crown passed to Frederick's cousin, Christian IX, of Sonderburg-Glücksburg, who nine months earlier had married his daughter Alexandra to the eldest son of Queen Victoria and looked for Great Britain's aid. Lacking the position of his predecessor, Great Britain, France, and Russia urged him to withdraw the November Constitution, while Bismarck ventured to sit more loosely towards the Treaty of 1852. The situation was complicated by the appearance of Duke Frederick of Augustenburg, the son of the claimant of 1852. His pretensions were endorsed by the duchies, where he caused himself to be proclaimed as Frederick VIII of Schleswig-Holstein. Not daring to oppose the Eider-Danes, Christian adopted the policy of his predecessor, confirmed the Constitution of November 13, and dared the Powers.

The action of the duchies roused great enthusiasm in Germany. In December, 1863, the *Nationalverein* and *Reformverein* convoked the Chambers of the States of the *Bund* and appointed a Committee of thirty-six to promote the Augustenburg candidature and the detachment of the duchies from Denmark. The *Bundestag*, which was not a party to the Treaty of 1852, commissioned Saxony and Hanover to conduct an " army of execution " into the duchies, in support of the government which had been formed there in the name of Duke Frederick of Augustenburg (December, 1863). Early in the new year (January 14, 1864) the *Bundestag* denounced the 1852 Treaty, an action which threatened international complications and compelled Bismarck to intervene. For the moment it was to the interests of Prussia to support the compact the Diet had torn up. As a signatory of the Treaty of London she was competent to act apart from the *Bund*, and now announced her intention to do so. On January 16, two days after the resolution of the *Bundestag*, Prussia and Austria signed a joint *ultimatum* to Denmark,

requiring her to repeal the Constitution of November, 1863, "within two days." On Denmark's rejection of the demand, they declared war. Compelling the Saxon and Hanoverian federal troops to withdraw, an Austro-Prussian force entered Holstein. By the middle of April it was in possession of Schleswig also.

Denmark lay completely at the mercy of the Central Powers. No hand was raised in her support. Even Great Britain did no more than approve a conference of the Powers signatory to the Treaty of 1852. It met on April 25, and on June 25 broke up without result. The event entirely accorded with Bismarck's wishes and in large measure was the result of his policy. In Prussia, as throughout Germany, the 1852 Treaty was intensely unpopular. William, like his son the Crown Prince, shared the popular preference for the Augustenburg candidate, and a threat of resignation alone reconciled him to Bismarck's insistence on the Treaty of 1852. But the Minister was wiser than the king in seeing that Prussia's chance of eventual profit depended on her present observance of that agreement. He was anxious to prevent an immediate settlement of the question by the London Conference; for an immediate judgment might confirm Denmark or the Augustenburg candidate, and certainly would not reward Prussia. He threw out the suggestion that the two duchies might be united as members of the German *Bund*, but under Danish sovereignty. But observing the disunion of the Powers, the Danes refused any compromise, and still relied on Russia and Great Britain to support them. Queen Victoria, however, used her influence against war, and Napoleon, whom the British government invited to make a joint representation in Denmark's favour, refused to do so, in revenge for Great Britain's conduct in the Polish crisis the previous year; "unless," he added cynically, "Her Majesty's government is prepared to go farther, if necessary, than the mere presentation of a Note and the receipt of an evasive reply."

Upon the failure of the conference the war was resumed. Before the end of June the Allies were in possession of the island fortress of Alsen. The whole of Jutland was occupied, and Denmark gave in. In August, 1864, she signed Preliminaries with the Allies, handing over Schleswig, Holstein, and

Lauenburg for administration by a joint Austro-Prussian Commission of two members. On October 30, the three States concluded a definitive treaty at Vienna, the Germanic *Bund* being excluded from the settlement.

The interests of Austria and Prussia, which to this point had seemed identical, diverged. Their agreement (January, 1864) pledged them to act "by mutual agreement" in settling the future of Schleswig and Holstein. But now that they were in joint occupation of the duchies, Austria realized that Prussia aimed at annexation. She was sensitive also to the odium she had incurred in acting athwart German sentiment. Provided Prussia guaranteed her non-German territories and ceded part of Lower Silesia, she offered to surrender her share of the duchies. On Berlin's refusal, she proposed the investiture of Frederick of Augustenburg in them. Such a solution was contrary to Bismarck's intentions, though he did not oppose it openly. He addressed himself to stating conditions calculated to make Austria withdraw her proposal. Pointing out (February, 1865) that the defence of the Augustenburg duke against the enmity of Denmark would devolve on Prussia, he demanded as the price of his acquiescence that the duchies should enter the *Zollverein*, cede Kiel harbour to Prussia, and put in her hands control of their army, postal and railway systems, and various forts and military roads, conditions which would have made the Duke of Schleswig-Holstein the satellite of Prussia.

Bismarck was aided by a report of the Prussian Crown lawyers adverse to the claims of the Duke of Augustenburg, an opinion which released William from supporting the duke on the ground of legality. But though Bismarck looked forward to an imminent conflict with Austria which should exclude her entirely from the duchies, he was not ready to fight her at the moment. The recent campaigns against Denmark opportunely had tested Moltke and Roon's reforms; but Bismarck was not sure of Napoleon.

Austria was passing through another constitutional crisis, and for the moment not being ready to confront Prussia, took a step which compromised her deeply in the eyes of Germany on the very eve of Bismarck's challenge to her. At Gastein, on August 14, 1865, she accepted a

Convention, which William called "a bloodless victory," and Bismarck described as merely "papering over the cracks." It assigned the administration of Holstein to Austria and of Schleswig to Prussia. Her share in Lauenburg, where no claimant complicated the situation, Austria sold to Prussia for about £375,000. Kiel, which eventually was to become a federal harbour, meanwhile was to be used in common, its maritime and military fortification being committed to Prussia. The Convention satisfied Bismarck: Frederick of Augustenburg was repudiated by it, and Prussia threatened to arrest him if he showed himself in Schleswig. The *Reformverein* vainly protested against the high-handed and un-German action of the two Powers as "a violation of right," and an inter-State conference at Frankfort openly invited the duchies to resist. But the Diet was powerless in the hands of Prussia and Austria, who let it be understood that they would tolerate no longer the "subversive measures" which the Reform Union encouraged. William marked the occasion of the Gastein Convention and the acquisition of Lauenburg by raising Bismarck to the rank of Count. "In the four years that have passed since I called you to the head of the government," he wrote, "Prussia has gained a position which is worthy of her history and promises her farther fortune and glory." Such, indeed, was the result of Bismarck's rule. He had restored the traditions of Prussian power tarnished by Olmütz, and made Austria his dupe and accomplice, thereby depriving her of the sympathy of Germany on the eve of the quarrel which he intended to fasten on her. Almost exactly twelve months after the Gastein Convention he forced her to conclude another treaty, which excluded her from the German *Bund* altogether.

The Austro-Prussian settlement of the Schleswig-Holstein question morally killed the *Bund* of 1815 and proclaimed the imminent consideration of a larger problem—the new body which should take its place. Secure in his *entente* with Russia, but fearful lest war should bring Italy into the field, Bismarck needed to assure himself also upon the attitude of France. He was confident in the strength of Prussia. But her new resources had not been tested. And however unconvincing Napoleon III might be in the shoes of Napoleon I, the military reputation won by France under the first

Emperor was not yet sullied by reverse. At Magenta and Solferino she had gained new laurels. To secure her friendship was imperative, if only to be sure that she would not interpose in the struggle upon the exhaustion of the combatants. An understanding with Paris carried also the advantage of bringing Berlin into relations with Florence. In October, 1865, accordingly, Bismarck met Napoleon at Biarritz. The discussions were verbal, nothing was put on paper, and neither statesman divulged details of the conference. But its general character is not ambiguous. Napoleon was convinced that France controlled the situation, that Germany was negligible because Prussia presumably was interested to keep her divided, and that the Austrian army would win. He concluded that by balancing the position he would afford France opportunity to intervene at the favourable moment. Bismarck, on the other hand, was aware that the Emperor, if he cared to take a determined course, could imperil, if not defeat, Prussia's designs against Austria. He judged also that Napoleon's chief thought was to win popularity with his subjects by once more employing the huckstering methods which had gained Nice and Savoy for France. If he required a *quid pro quo*, Bismarck was prepared to purchase his neutrality by entertaining a proposal, but with a mental reservation to escape from any implied or actual obligation if circumstances permitted. Both sides regarded the conversation as satisfactory. Napoleon undoubtedly gave an undertaking to remain neutral, signified his expectation of some increase of territory in reward, and agreed to recommend Italy to take joint action with Prussia. Without committing himself to particulars, Bismarck let the Emperor understand that France would certainly get something for her complacence, and, indeed, Imperial *prestige*, sorely damaged by the Mexican *fiasco*, needed a fillip. But Bismarck had no doubt that Prussia and Italy together would beat Austria, and intended to trick Napoleon out of his anticipated spoils.

The persisting Schleswig-Holstein question enabled Bismarck to pick a quarrel with Vienna early in 1866. With none on whom to rely except the smaller German States, Austria had adjusted herself to their views on the situation in the duchies by encouraging the Augustenburg faction in Holstein,

and permitting Frederick himself to take up his residence at Kiel. A mass meeting at Altona on January 23, 1866, denounced Prussia in round terms, and Bismarck at once addressed a Note to Vienna. He accused the Austrian government of violating the Gastein Convention, of prejudicing Prussia's *condominium* in Holstein, and of encouraging revolutionary *propaganda* subversive of her government in Schleswig. Austria defended her action. But Bismarck refused to listen, and in February he dissolved the *Landtag* in order to develop his policy undisturbed. On March 9 the Italian General Govone arrived at Berlin, ostensibly "to study the science of fortification," actually to negotiate a treaty, of which the first stone had been laid by a commercial agreement in the previous November, soon after the Biarritz conversations. Bismarck therefore was able to sound a more determined note. On March 11 he published an Order threatening reprisals upon any invasion of the sovereign rights of Austria or Prussia in both or *either* of the Elbe duchies. Vienna at once inquired whether Prussia denounced the Gastein agreement. Bismarck made a characteristic reply. "The answer is, No," he said; "but if it were Yes, do you think I should say Yes?" Austria, feverishly arming, concentrated troops in Bohemia, where a Prussian attack was to be looked for. Bismarck in reply (March 24) sent a Note to the German States drawing attention to Austria's preparations, asserting that the interests of Germany were irrevocably bound up with Prussia's strength and well-being, and urging the acceptance of his scheme for the reform of the Confederation and the convocation of a *Nationalparlament* elected by universal suffrage. He declared that Prussia reluctantly was compelled to make preparations in her self-defence, but at the same time categorically avowed (April 5) that "it is far from being the intention of H.M. the King to take active measures against Austria." Three days later (April 8) he pledged himself to Italy to attack Austria within three months or to forfeit her undertaking to assist Prussia!

With the Italian engagement in his pocket Bismarck entered on the last stage of his provocative policy. On the day following its signature he communicated to the *Bundestag* specific proposals for its reorganization; as constituted he

refused to submit to it his differences with Austria. Reverting to the ideas of 1848, he asked for a German Parliament elected by universal suffrage to discuss with the representatives of the Sovereigns the bases of the new Constitution. But his conversion to constitutionalism was too recent to make his bid for popularity effective. Austria gave an evasive reply, and opened negotiations with France, which bore result two months later. A strong party, of which Thiers made himself the mouthpiece, insisted on the danger of any repetition of the policy which already had planted united Italy on France's frontiers, and invoked the treaties of 1815 as instruments which for the moment it was France's interest to maintain. Napoleon at once corrected Thiers' analysis of French policy. On May 6 he publicly expressed "the detestation with which, in common with the majority of the French nation," he regarded the treaties of 1815, "which some people regard as the bases of our policy at the present time." For, if Prussia gained the upper hand in the threatening war, Napoleon looked for his reward in Belgium or Luxemburg. Or, if he could induce Austria to abandon Venetia, Italy might remain neutral and France could dictate peace to exhausted belligerents.

Bismarck having informed Austria that he refused to submit their differences to the Diet, both sides hastened their military preparations. Playing his accustomed *rôle*, Napoleon proposed a Conference to settle the dispute. He suggested the future of the Elbe duchies, the Venetian question, and the reform of the German *Bund*, so far as it affected the European equilibrium, as subjects for the Conference's consideration. Prussia and Italy expressed their willingness to take part. But Austria expressly refused to entertain proposals for increase of territory or power by any party to it. As Italy, Prussia, and Napoleon himself had nothing less in view, the Conference was abandoned. Five days later (June 12), Napoleon, carefully mapping his course, made a secret engagement with Austria in which the latter intimated that, provided her arms met with a success which permitted her to do so with honour, she would yield Venetia to Italy and thereby free herself to meet Prussia. Italy, however, was not inclined to accept Venetia at Napoleon's hands, and held to her agreement with Prussia. Though he was

not permitted to act as Italy's *deus ex machina*, his secret agreement with Austria, whose victory he anticipated in the coming conflict, allowed Napoleon to pose in his favourite attitude as the arbiter of Europe. In a letter to his Foreign Minister he outlined the settlement which in his judgment should follow the war. He desiderated for Prussia "more homogeneity and power in North Germany," and for Austria the preservation of "her great position in Germany." Reflecting that the less centralized were the resources of the Germanic Confederation the better for France's interests, Napoleon added the hope that the secondary States of the *Bund* would secure "a more intimate union, a more powerful organization, and a more influential position." For Italy he advocated the cession of Venetia in return for "reasonable compensation." As to France, there was no need to draw the sword; she wanted nothing for herself, and was concerned only to maintain a meticulous neutrality. In fact, Napoleon looked forward to the moment when the exhaustion of the belligerents would enable him to intervene profitably.

The situation, interrupted by Napoleon's intervention, approached its crisis. On June 1, 1866, Austria announced her intention to submit the fate of the Elbe duchies to the *Bundestag* and at the same time to convene the Holstein Estates. Bismarck consequently declared the Gastein Convention void, announced the joint administration which the Convention had terminated again in force, and sent troops into Holstein, before which Duke Frederick fell back to Altona. On June 10 Bismarck communicated the Federal system which alone Prussia could accept. He proposed the exclusion of Austria; the institution of a Parliament elected by universal suffrage; the creation of a Federal Executive charged with the regulation of public policy, and represented diplomatically abroad; a federal navy; and the establishment of a common army commanded by the King of Prussia north of the Main and by the King of Bavaria south of that river.

Bismarck let it be understood that rejection of his proposals would involve Prussia's secession from the *Bund* and that he should regard any who voted for the Austrian proposal as Prussia's enemy. Austria was doubly challenged, in Holstein and in the *Bund*. On June 11 she denounced Prussia's action in Holstein as a breach of the *Bundesakte*

and demanded the mobilization of the Federal army to punish it.

Austria's motion, modified somewhat by Bavaria, was carried in the Diet on June 14 by nine votes to six. Two votes of the majority were doubtful, since they were cast in the name of groups of small States, some of which had not expressed their views decisively. Oldenburg and Luxemburg naturally held themselves neutral, as also did Mecklenburg. Of those who voted for Austria, the four kingdoms (Saxony, Bavaria, Hanover, Würtemberg) allied themselves with her in rooted opposition to Prussian hegemony. Nassau, Baden, Hesse-Darmstadt, and Hesse-Cassel were influenced to the same course by the fact that their territories lay between Prussia and her Rhenish provinces, and therefore were in danger of absorption in the event of her victory. Upon the vote Prussia withdrew from the *Bund*. Germany was in the melting-pot.

The prospect of civil war was regarded with dismay. The *Nationalverein* protested against hostilities "whose causes and purposes alike are uncertain." Bismarck, who again had dissolved the Prussian *Landtag*, was regarded by civilian opinion as a dangerous firebrand; an attempt was made upon his life by a student, who fired five shots at him (May 7, 1866). Pacific addresses reached the government. In Silesia the clergy denounced the war from their pulpits, and in Rhenish Prussia, on the evidence of the Archbishop of Mainz, the conscripts enrolled "without enthusiasm and solely under the constraint of discipline." But official determination proceeded undeviatingly to its goal. On June 15 Prussia delivered an *ultimatum* to Austria's supporters in the vote of the previous day, giving them a few hours to disarm and adopt her scheme of Federal reform. They rejected the demand, and Prussia instantly put her armies in motion.

The "Seven Weeks' War" of 1866 was decided on July 3 in Prussia's favour by a single battle of first-rate importance, Königgrätz or Sadowa. But the area of hostilities was wide, and for Prussia the situation was not without danger. Italy declared war on June 20, and was beaten badly four days later (June 24) at Custozza. Rhenish Prussia was very vulnerable and Napoleon could not be relied on. But the risk had to be taken, and 15,000 troops were all that Moltke

could spare to that quarter from the main attack through Saxony and Silesia against Bohemia. On that front he massed more than 260,000 men, and was slightly superior in number to the combined Saxon and Austrian armies. To deal with the rest of Germany he formed an Army of the Main, about 50,000 strong. Excluding Italy, Prussia contemplated action in three areas: in Bohemia against the main Austrian army; in the west against Hanover, the two Hessen, and Nassau; and south of the Main against Baden, Bavaria, and Würtemberg. As in 1914 Austria was handicapped by her inharmonious national contingents. The Prussian troops were armed with a breech-loading, quick-firing rifle named after Johann Dreyse, its inventor, which had been in service for the last ten years. Its characteristics were those of the French *Chassepot*, also named after its inventor, Antoine Alphonse Chassepot, with which the French troops were equipped about the same time. It was inferior to the *Chassepot* in rapidity of action and range, inferior also to the Austrian Lorenz rifle in the weight of its bullet and the range of its sighting. But the Austrian Staff organization was inferior to that of Prussia. The Prussians also, adjusting their tactics to the increased range of their weapons, were trained to deploy and fight in loose order. The Austrians, after initial volleys, advanced to the assault in the serried ranks usual in the Napoleonic wars.

Upon the rejection of her *ultimatum* Prussia at once (June 16) launched her army against the western area. Hesse-Cassel was invaded and the Elector was made prisoner. George V, the last king of Hanover, after winning the Battle of Langensalza (June 27) on his march to join his allies, capitulated two days later (June 29). Frankfort already had been entered and was subjected to so grievous an indemnity and treatment that the burgomaster committed suicide. The Prussian force passed into Bavaria, won battles at Kissingen and Aschaffenburg, compelled Nürnberg to open its gates, and for effective purposes was master of the situation south of the Main when an armistice was called (July 22).

While the Army of the Main was engaged in West and South Germany Prussia delivered her attack in Bohemia. Bohemia forms a central plain rimmed, like a saucer, with protecting *plateaux*. On its north-eastern frontier Prussia was entrenched in Silesia for more than one hundred years.

On the north-west Saxony held a dangerous position as buffer between powerful and hostile neighbours, and on the present occasion offered no effective resistance to the Prussian advance. Alone of the big rivers of North Germany the Saxon Elbe cuts its way through Bohemia's northern rim of hills. A railway followed its course in 1866 and facilitated advance along that route. In the last week of June the extreme Right of the Prussian attack, the Army of the Elbe, began its march along the Elbe valley, bending a course through Münchengrätz to Gitschin, the point of general concentration for the converging Prussian armies in the centre of the arc formed by the Bohemian Elbe. Simultaneously two other Prussian armies, each over 100,000 in strength, moved towards the same point of concentration by different routes. On the Centre the First Army, under Prince Frederick Charles, the king's nephew, starting from the north-east corner of Saxony at Görlitz, penetrated the defiles of the Lusatian Mountains along the rivers Spree and Neisse. On June 26 it crossed the Elbe's tributary, the Iser, at Turnau, and captured Podol. On the same day the Army of the Elbe on its Right drove back the Austrians from Hühnerwasser towards the Iser's confluence with the Elbe. On the 27th it repeated its success at Münchengrätz. On June 30 both Right and Centre were engaged at Gitschin, whence the Austrians retired with heavy loss. On the extreme Left of the Prussian line of advance the Crown Prince Frederick was in command of the Second Army. With Silesian Schweidnitz in his rear his force, the largest of the three, was set the task of penetrating the Riesen defiles on the north-eastern Bohemian frontier. His position threatened Moravia also and might portend a movement on Vienna along the March valley. Therefore Field-Marshal von Benedek, the Austrian Commander-in-Chief, resting his forces on Olmütz and Brünn in the Moravian plain, employed the larger part of them to check the Crown Prince's movements and hoped to deal with the Prussian Left and Centre before the Second Army arrived. But he failed in both enterprises. On June 30 the Prussian Right and Centre were at Gitschin, united and victorious. On the 26th the Crown Prince advanced in three columns from Landshut, Braunau, and Glatz, crossed the head waters of the Elbe at Königinhof on June 29, and on the next day was on its right bank.

The five days fighting since the Prussian advance began had cost Benedek 30,000 or 40,000 men and impaired the *moral* of his army. His intention to divide the forces opposed to him also had failed. He therefore fell back on Josephstadt at the junction of the Aupa and the Elbe, some ten miles to the north of Königgrätz on the latter river. Thence he telegraphed on July 1 to the Emperor: "I beg your Majesty instantly to make peace at any cost; a catastrophe is inevitable." As at Solferino, however, Francis Joseph preferred to risk an engagement which might bring glory to his arms, and was encouraged by the recent victory of his troops in Italy at Custozza (June 24). Hence, though prudence counselled caution until Austria's allies could rally to her, Benedek received orders to give battle.

On July 2, when King William, Bismarck, Moltke, and Roon joined the Prussian First Army, the position was as follows: the Austrians were believed to be behind the Elbe (left bank) between Josephstadt and Königgrätz. Advancing on them from the north-west were the Prussian Right and Centre. At Königinhof the Second Army under the Crown Prince completed the semicircle of the Prussian line. Their Centre was advancing along the road running through Sadowa to Königgrätz, which at a short distance from Sadowa skirted a commanding hill named Chlum. A *reconnaissance* on July 2 revealed the presence of Austrians between the Elbe and Sadowa. Benedek, having taken precautions to guard his Right against the Crown Prince, was obeying the Emperor's injunctions and hoped to meet the Prussian Right and Centre before the Second Army on the left could assist. On the morning of July 3 the Prussian Centre (First Army) advanced to Sadowa and Benatek and the Right to Nechanitz. Both divisions faced upland country, and the key of the position was the hill Chlum. The Prussian scheme proposed its capture by the First Army while the Left and Right fell on the Austrian flanks. But the Austrian defence of Chlum proved unexpectedly stubborn. The Prussian attack was held in check, and the position was so desperate that for a moment Bismarck, he confessed later, thought the time had come to "smoke his last cigar." But early in the afternoon the Crown Prince came into action and saved the situation. His advance had been facilitated and the Austrian position irretrievably

damaged by the action of two corps, entrusted by Benedek with the protection of his right flank, which had preferred to take part in the fierce assault which temporarily made Prince Frederick Charles' position at Chlum desperate. The Crown Prince threw himself upon the critical quarter, the Austrian defence was broken, and Benedek conducted an orderly retreat. His losses were over 30,000 killed and wounded. He sacrificed nearly 200 guns, and 13,000 prisoners. The Prussians lost about 10,000 killed and wounded.

Prussia's rapid and complete victory was contrary to Napoleon's anticipations, and defeated Francis Joseph's hopes for a military success which should permit him to sacrifice Venetia without too great loss of *prestige*. On July 4 he invited Napoleon's intervention and placed Venetia in his hands to purchase Italy's withdrawal. The situation boldly handled was at Napoleon's feet. He was not prepared to face Prussia's victorious army, but in agreement with Austria and, perhaps, Italy could at any rate render Prussia's victory inconclusive and prevent a united Germany under Hohenzollern direction. Bismarck realized the danger and consented to discuss the situation with Paris, but stipulated Italy's concurrence in a truce. But Italy was burning to avenge Custozza and resumed the war within a week of Königgrätz. Napoleon categorically forbade Victor Emmanuel to invade Venetia, which now was French territory. But his indecision and *patriotiques angoisses* gave Bismarck time to make his victory over Austria secure, though he failed to rouse Hungary against her. Ten days (July 14) after Austria's call for help the Emperor communicated the terms which he was prepared to countenance in his character as mediator. He insisted upon the integrity of the Austrian Empire, excepting Venetia, which was to go to Italy; approved the dissolution of the *Deutsche Bund*, and Austria's exclusion from the new organization which should take its place; agreed to the grouping of the German States north of the Main in a Confederation of which Prussia should be the military chief; suggested that the South German States should form a separate Confederation, whose relations with the Northern group should be the subject of an agreement between them; assigned the Elbe duchies to Prussia with the proviso,

which Prussia disregarded, that the Danish population of Schleswig should determine by *plébiscite* whether they preferred to be retroceded to Denmark; and agreed to the payment of an indemnity by Austria and her allies. But the gain of the duchies far from fulfilled Bismarck's plans for Prussia's enlargement. He proposed that France tacitly should sanction Prussia's subtraction from her neighbours of a few hundred square miles of territory. The French Ministry categorically refused. But the Emperor was more compliant to Bismarck's suggestion, that as France and Prussia were to be allies in the future, it was to France's interest that Prussia should be strong. Napoleon stipulated that the integrity of Saxony should be respected; but he let Bismarck understand that he could do as he liked with Hanover, the two Hessen, Nassau, and Frankfort. South, non-Prussian, Germany he calculated would feel the greater need of French support.

Secure towards France, and with Austria in the mood for negotiation after her successful brush with the Italian navy off Lissa (July 20), Bismarck induced William to stay his hand against Austria. On July 22 an armistice, and on the 26th, at Nikolsburg, Preliminaries of Peace were signed. They reproduced the terms of the Franco-Prussian agreement, with a clause committing Austria to the territorial changes Prussia had in view in North Germany. Napoleon, whose health had been extremely precarious throughout the crisis, now claimed his reward. Supposing that Prussia would not refuse to be generous at some one else's expense, he suggested that France should receive the Bavarian Palatinate and Rhenish Hesse. But with Austria off his hands Bismarck took a firm stand. His king, he replied, was too good a German to sacrifice a single "pinch" of German land. The French Ambassador insisted. "Very well," said Bismarck, "you must fight for it," and threatened that his army might bend its way to Rhenish Prussia. At the same time he hinted that a demand for non-German territory might be received in a different spirit. Meanwhile, he gained Russia, alarmed at Prussia's easy victory, by revealing to the Tsar France's proposals regarding Hesse-Darmstadt, with which Alexander was connected by dynastic ties, and by engaging to permit Russia to tear up the Treaty of Paris (1856) if her interests required that

course. Russia therefore withdrew a proposal for a Congress, which would have embarrassed Prussia, and Bismarck did not trouble to consider seriously renewed proposals from Napoleon suggesting France's immediate acquisition of Luxemburg, and an eventual alliance between Prussia and France based on the extension of the former's hegemony to the Main and the latter's attachment of Belgium. In fact, Bismarck was already in negotiation with the smaller States for the acquisition of what France was pleased to apportion to Prussia. On August 23 he signed the definitive Treaty of Prague with Austria, and in the Treaty of Berlin (August–October) came to terms with Prussia's smaller enemies.

The Treaty of Prague (August 23, 1866) confirmed the Preliminaries. The Prussian King and Staff desired to mulct Austria in territory. But looking forward astutely to the coming conflict with France, Bismarck opposed the idea, and was content with a pacification which extruded Austria from Germany, acquired her rights in Schleswig-Holstein, and gained her assent to Prussia's proposed "closer union" north of the Main. Austria was gratified by the assurance to Saxony of her territorial integrity. Left with a free hand in North Germany Prussia proceeded to annex the three States which cut her off from her Rhenish provinces, namely, Hanover, Hesse-Cassel, and Nassau. She also seized the Free City Frankfort, the administrative capital of the dissevered *Bund*. Unlike France and Sardinia in Italy, she made no effort to found her right on a *plébiscite* of the populations whom she absorbed. The royal Message to the *Landtag* demanding the annexations declared that the four States had brought their fate upon their heads by supporting Austria against Prussia, and justified their annexation on the ground that "if they kept their independence they could embarrass Prussia beyond the measure of their natural power by reason of their geographical position." Hesse-Cassel and Nassau submitted without resistance. At Frankfort the young men became naturalized as Swiss citizens. In Hanover a "Guelph" party was formed in the interests of the dethroned dynasty, and the sore was not healed until in 1913 the grandson of the dethroned George V, his heir in the kingdom and the Duchy of Brunswick, married the great-granddaughter of William I of Prussia, by whom the

annexation of Hanover was accomplished. Schleswig and Holstein made no attempt to throw off the Prussian yoke, and Prussia took no steps to carry out her promise to consult the wishes of the Schleswig Danes.

The Schleswig and Austrian wars revealed to Europe a power cynically regardless of any considerations but those of might and self-interest, an impression which was confirmed nearly fifty years later (1914), when the methods of Bismarck had become the model for German diplomacy, and Prussian militarism and materialism had cankered the Germany of Goethe and Schiller. With her other enemies (Würtemberg, Baden, Bavaria, Hesse-Darmstadt, Reuss (elder), Saxe-Meiningen, and Saxony) Prussia concluded separate treaties (August 13–October 21). She contented herself with exacting indemnities of moderate amount, but from Bavaria and Hesse-Darmstadt took territory in order to rectify her frontier. With the States of North Germany she concluded (August 18) a defensive and offensive alliance, which Saxony also was compelled to join. With the South German States Bismarck concluded an offensive and defensive alliance which assured a united front by non-Austrian Germany in case of any motion on Napoleon's part.

Italy and Austria made peace (Treaty of Vienna) on October 3, the former receiving Venetia direct and abandoning her claim to Trent. Napoleon crowned the edifice with a solemn pontifical (September 16) approving the work of Bismarck's New Diplomacy. He welcomed Prussia's acquisition of three or four million new subjects as a happy illustration of the disposition of peoples to form large communities! He congratulated France on the fact that she had assisted in Italy and now in Germany to undo the settlement of 1815, and that on her borders two great nations had come into being. But the pæan of self-gratulation deceived no one, not even Napoleon himself. The Peace of Prague warned him that Bismarck would use France to advance the next stage of Prussia's ambition, and that the continuance of his dynasty depended on his ability to engage her successfully.

France's humiliation at Sedan was the ultimate consequence of Austria's defeat at Königgrätz. Its more immediate effects were the partial achievement of German unity under Prussia's direction, and the reorganization of the Empire of her recent

foe. Bismarck instantly reaped the harvest so judiciously sown. The interests of Prussia, of the princes whom her aggrandisement depressed, and of the German people whom statesmen, poets, and philosophers had encouraged to hope for union, had proved divergent and irreconcilable so far. Bismarck declared himself anxious to arouse as little as possible "the forces of antagonism which wrecked the attempts at Frankfort and Erfurt" to produce union, and struck quickly in order to prevent any massing of jealous interests against Prussia. "Let us get to work, gentlemen," he remarked. "Put Germany in the saddle. She'll know how to ride when we have got her there." Immediately upon declaring the *Deutsche Bund* dissolved, Bismarck invited (June 16, 1866) his supporters among the North German States to form a Confederation with Prussia. After signing the Preliminaries of Nikolsburg (July 26) he repeated the invitation and suggested the scheme outlined to the *Bundestag* on June 10 as the basis for union. The Conventions which he concluded between August and October with the North German States constituted a provisional union which was to terminate if before August 18, 1867 (twelve months after the signature of the provisional union), a formal Confederation had not been constituted. On December 15, plenipotentiaries of the States concerned assembled at Berlin and accepted Bismarck's proposals (February, 1867), which were then submitted to the Diets of the participating States. In Prussia herself the scheme was challenged on the ground that it gave the small States too much consideration, an objection which Bismarck put aside on the plea that it was in the interests neither of Prussia nor of the Confederation to bring in the small States with a grievance or to put them in the position of subjects. His proposal to adopt the practice of 1848 and to include a *Nationalparlament* elected by universal suffrage among the institutions of the new *Bund* also roused opposition. Bismarck, however, pointed to France as a country in which universal suffrage had enormously strengthened the powers of government.

On February 12, 1867, throughout the participating States elections were held for a *Reichstag* with constituent powers. It met at Berlin on February 24. Within it a small but resolute opposition of Ultramontanes and Radicals criticized Bismarck's

proposals regarding the military budget of the *Bund*. He insisted that the appropriation of taxes for the maintenance of the army should be for a quinquennial period at the rate of 225 *thalers* (about £40) *per* soldier *per annum*. He refused to place the Federal Executive in the position in which he found himself in the Prussian *Landtag* in 1862. "What sort of answer will you make to the Sick Man of Königgrätz when he asks what has been the result of that effort?" he asked. "You will have to reply, 'German unity, it is true, has not been accomplished. But it will come, some day. Meanwhile we have given the Diet power to place the existence of the army in jeopardy every year.' For that precious right, forsooth, we drove the armies of Austria almost to the walls of Pressburg! What a consolation that will be to our sick and wounded and to widows who are mourning their husbands!" In the result a compromise was arrived at; the government carried its plan for the first quinquennium (1867–71), undertaking to reopen the matter for legislation at the end of that period. By the middle of April the Constitution received the assent of the Constituent *Reichstag*. It passed the Diets of the included States, and on July 1, 1867, when it came into existence, the North German Confederation (*Norddeutscher Bund*) entered upon its brief career.

Between the foundation of the *Deutsche Bund* in 1815 and the institution of its successor on July 1, 1867, many changes took place in its composition. The number of Kingdoms was reduced to five by Prussia's annexation of Hanover (1866). The Electorate of Hesse-Cassel came to an end in that year from the same cause. The Grand-Duchies remained in name and number as in 1815 (though Hesse-Darmstadt submitted to a slight loss of northern territory (besides Hesse-Homburg) at the hands of Prussia in 1866), excepting the Grand-Duchy of Luxemburg, whose western division was attached definitively to Belgium in 1839, and whose eastern portion was neutralized as a separate Grand-Duchy in 1867. Among the Duchies considerable changes took place. Both Nassau and Holstein fell out of the number of German States upon their annexation by Prussia in 1866; Saxe-Gotha united (1826) with Saxe-Coburg upon the death without heirs of Frederick IV of Saxe-Gotha-Altenburg in 1825; the same crisis produced the fusion of Saxe-Hildburghausen and

Saxe-Meiningen into the Duchy of Saxe-Meiningen-Hildburghausen, the Duke of Saxe-Hildburghausen finding compensation in Saxe-Altenburg as a separate duchy (1826); the three Anhalt duchies fused in 1863 into the single Duchy of Anhalt (the Anhalt-Köthen line having terminated in 1847 and the Bernburg line sixteen years later (1863)) under Leopold IV of Anhalt-Dessau, thenceforth Duke of Anhalt. Among the Principalities, Hesse-Homburg was twice annexed in 1866, first by Hesse-Darmstadt on the extinction of its male line, and again by Prussia upon the conclusion of the Austro-Prussian War; Saxe-Meiningen and Saxe-Coburg disappeared for reasons already stated; Hohenzollern-Hechingen and Hohenzollern-Sigmaringen were conveyed to Prussia in 1849. The four Free Cities of 1815 were reduced to three by Prussia's annexation of Frankfort in 1866. Thus the 39 States of 1815 were reduced to 27 on July 1, 1867. Of that number five stood entirely and one partially outside the *Norddeutsche Bund*. The five were the Kingdoms of Austria, Bavaria, Würtemberg, the Grand-Duchy of Baden, and the Principality of Liechtenstein, which dated from 1719. The sixth and partially excluded State was the Grand-Duchy of Hesse-Darmstadt, which was a member of the new Confederation only in respect to the small portion of its territory on the north of the Main. Hence, the *Norddeutsche Bund* consisted of the following 22 members:—*Kingdoms* (2): Prussia, Saxony; *Grand-Duchies* (5): Mecklenburg-Schwerin, Mecklenburg-Strelitz, Hesse-Darmstadt (north of the Main), Oldenburg, Saxe-Weimar; *Duchies* (5): Brunswick, Saxe-Coburg-Gotha, Anhalt, Saxe-Meiningen-Hildburghausen, Saxe-Altenburg; *Principalities* (7): Lippe-Detmold, Waldeck, Schwarzburg-Rudolstadt, Schwarzburg-Sondershausen, Reuss (elder), Reuss (younger), Schaumburg-Lippe; *Free Cities* (3): Hamburg, Bremen, Lübeck.

The Constitution of 1867 substituted a Federal State (*Bundesstaat*) for the Confederation (*Staatenbund*) created in 1815. Shrewdly devised to facilitate the hegemony of Prussia and to counteract all forces threatening the exercise of her will, the Constitution of 1867 was adopted for the German Empire in 1871. It was of the essence of Bismarck's scheme to place absolutely in the hands of the Federal Executive the instruments by which the new State was to fulfil the

purposes for which Bismarck designed it. In Italy unity was achieved under a State which thereafter merged itself in the nation it had created. Prussia did not contemplate self-effacement, and intended to retain the controlling force in the Confederation which her army had created. While professing to demand "the minimum of concession which the several States must make to the whole," and to ask for "only those sacrifices which are indispensable for the well-being of the nation at large," Bismarck assumed to the Executive the absolute control of the army and navy; the regulation of international relations; the power to make war and peace; the control of commerce, Customs, money, weights and measures, posts and telegraphs; the regulation of maritime and commercial law; and the oversight of aliens.

The administrative organs of the *Bund* were three:—the *Präsidium*, *Bundesrat*, and *Reichstag*. The *Präsidium* was vested in the King of Prussia. He appointed and received ambassadors, was the Commander-in-Chief (*Oberster Kriegsherr*) of the *Bund*, convoked and dissolved the *Reichstag*, and appointed the Chancellor (*Bundeskanzler*), who was the instrument of the President's executive powers and responsible to him alone. The Chancellor, the head of the Federal Ministry, presided over the *Bundesrat* and represented the Executive in the *Reichstag*. The *Bundesrat* perpetuated the *Bundestag* of 1815. It consisted of 43 delegates representing the 22 governments forming the *Bund*. Seventeen of them were appointed by Prussia, her share being arrived at by adding to her original number of votes (4) in the old Diet the thirteen votes of the six members annexed by her in 1866. The remaining 26 votes were distributed among the other 21 States in the following proportion:—Saxony controlled 4, as in the old Diet; the Grand Duchy of Mecklenburg-Schwerin and Brunswick held two each; the remaining 18 members one vote each. The *Bundesrat* was designed to balance the popular *Reichstag*. The latter was not competent to sit when the former was not in session. But the *Bundesrat* could be convoked apart from the popular Chamber, and conducted its business in private. It was divided into seven Committees corresponding to the seven principal public services; the members of the military and naval Committees being nominated by the President, who thereby secured absolute control over those services. The

Reichstag, elected by direct, secret, and universal suffrage, on the basis of one member to every 100,000 of population, consisted of 297 Deputies. Its members were not paid and its powers were restricted to voting proposed changes of the law and the Budget. The concurrence of the *Bundesrat* was necessary to give its resolutions the force of law. The Federal Budget was drawn from two sources : the revenue of Customs, posts and telegraphs, indirect taxes ; and fixed contributions by the several States. The armies of every member of the *Bund* were required to be organized, equipped, and drilled on the Prussian system ; local regiments, divisions, and corps falling into a uniform and centrally directed force. The fighting machine was under Prussia's control, and her colours (black and white) filled the larger part of the new national flag (black, white, and red). Only Hanover gave considerable signs of opposition, and, alone of the dethroned princes, George V refused the indemnity offered him by Prussia. Bismarck consequently sequestrated this *Welfen-Fond* and employed it as secret service money for observing the motions of the Guelf party, or in Bismarck's own words, for " tracking the reptiles to their holes." Soon the fund was employed to bribe and control the Press—hence the phrase " reptile Press " applied to German Ministerial organs.

Napoleon III had congratulated himself in the thought that the Treaty of Prague cut up Germany into three *tronçons* and removed from France the menace of a united Germany. But a South German Confederation did not come into existence. Both Bavaria and Würtemberg were averse from it, foreseeing that its formation would facilitate the absorption of South Germany into the Prussian Confederation. But Bismarck's revelation of Napoleon's demand for compensation in South Germany worked an instant effect upon the disposition of its States towards Prussia. In August, 1866, Bavaria, Baden, and Würtemberg made military treaties with her. By a Convention of June 4, 1867, also, she bound together the South German members of the *Zollverein* and the members of the *Norddeutsche Bund* (other than the three Free Cities, which were free ports) in a Customs Parliament (*Zollparlament*), whose members from the four large southern States (Bavaria, Würtemberg, Baden, Hesse-Darmstadt) were elected by

universal suffrage, like the *Reichstag* with whom they sat for the purposes of regulating the Customs. The *Zollparlament* lasted until 1870 and regulated matters which so far had been the subject of treaties between governments. But it failed to lubricate the political union Bismarck had in view, and from which Bavaria and Würtemberg especially were averse. The internal situation gave little hope of its achievement, and Bismarck sought other means to compass it.

The Austro-Hungarian "Ausgleich"

Austria's defeat at Königgrätz hastened a process which began at Solferino. In 1848 she had been invited to Liberalize her Constitution and decentralize the administration of her non-German provinces. But the first measures of the young Francis Joseph's reign restored to the Monarchy its traditional character as a centralized dynastic Empire, and punished Hungary for her demand to be treated as an equal. The defeat of Austria at Solferino, Hungary's apathy in the more recent crisis which had expelled the Habsburg from Germany, and the state of the finances, all proclaimed the new policy injudicious. The government's credit was so low in 1860 that a call for 200,000,000 florins for the reorganization of the army drew subscriptions only for about one-third of the amount. In 1860, therefore, Austria entered upon a series of constitutional experiments which in 1867 produced a Dual and Constitutional Monarchy.

On March 5, 1860, an Imperial Decree convoked the first legislative Assembly for the whole Monarchy. Already, upon the conclusion of the Italian war, the Emperor had attributed the defeat of 1859 to the "hereditary abuses" of the Austrian system, and had promised a Parliamentary system. Meanwhile the March Decree reformed the Council of State (*Reichsrath*) as an Assembly competent to speak for the Monarchy as a whole. The *verstärkte Reichsrath* ("reinforced" or "augmented" Council) consisted of the 12 ordinary official members, augmented by 10 life members nominated by the Crown, and by 38 members, nominated in the first instance by the Crown, but eventually to be chosen by the provincial Diets. The new body was essentially aristocratic and official in

its composition, and had no legislative powers. It was invited to offer its views on the general situation and in particular to remedy the financial crisis. To that task it devoted its only session (May–September, 1860). Its majority exhibited a marked anti-Centralist bias. The nominated Hungarian members refused to regard themselves as competent delegates from their countrymen, and expressly reserved their country's "historic rights." A Committee appointed by it to examine the Budget condemned the Monarchy's "internal organization" with one voice, and denounced Centralism as a cause contributory to Austria's financial straits; asserting that the exclusion of the several kingdoms from political influence permitted waste and encouraged "a numbness of public spirit" and paralysis of the State. The need for revision was admitted. But the Council divided into two parties when it faced the reforms which the circumstances required. The smaller party was Centralist and German in the main, and represented the views of the cities and manufacturing centres. It preferred the Monarchy to remain centralized in the interests of German predominance and Vienna. In so far as they feared the effects of Federalism upon their position relatively to Hungary, the smaller nations associated themselves with Centralism. The nations which hoped for the concession of Home Rule supported the Federalist party, in which also were found the supporters of the old *régime* in the German and non-German provinces. It laid stress upon the "historic rights" of the several nations, and was supported by the Magyars, Croats, Czechs, Poles, Slovenes, and Italians of Venetia, who united in demanding restoration of the autonomy which they enjoyed before their attachment to the Habsburg dynasty.

Both parties offered recommendations regarding the measures which seemed necessary. The Centralists insisted that concessions to Federalism should not be made "at the expense of Imperial unity and a centralized administration." They asked that, whatever measure of autonomy might be extended to the nations, the Imperial Government should reserve to itself the functions "without which actual Imperial unity cannot be conceived as existing." While they were unable to advise the Crown as to the institutions which the situation required, they urgently desired the Emperor to avoid

endorsing the Federalist demand for recognition of "historic rights," and urged him to create "by virtue of his own full power" the institutions which he might see fit to establish. The Federalist majority based its Report upon the alleged "equality of all the countries within the Monarchy." It demanded for all of them recognition of their "historico-political individualities" and the grant of administrative and legislative autonomy. The Emperor took into consideration both Reports, and on October 20, 1860, an Imperial Diploma revealed his resolution to adopt the suggestions of neither party in their entirety, but to make concessions to Federalism while safeguarding the principle of Centralism. It announced as a "fundamental State law permanent and irrevocable" the Emperor's resolution to share his legislative powers with Assemblies elected by the people; the *Reichsrath* regulating affairs affecting the whole Monarchy; the provincial Diets superintending their local interests; the *Reichsrath*, less its Hungarian members, being competent for matters common to the non-Magyar kingdoms. The Diploma increased the elected members of the "augmented" *Reichsrath* to 100 representatives appointed by the Emperor from names sent in by the provincial Diets, and constituted it an Assembly competent to legislate for the whole Monarchy. As an earnest of his conversion to Federalism the Emperor abolished the three Imperial Ministries of the Interior, Justice, Religion and Education, and re-established the Chancelleries of Hungary and Transylvania. Imperial institutions, he declared, must conform throughout the Monarchy to "the consciousness of historic rights" of its "kingdoms and nations."

The October Constitution of 1860 remained in operation four months. But Hungary's attitude towards it provided an alarming lesson on the dangers of slackening control at Vienna. Hungary reverted to the conditions of 1848. Acts of government since that period unconfirmed by the Magyar Diet were declared null and void. Taxes and military levies were withheld. Austrian officials were expelled. Amnesty was demanded for those who had taken part in Kossuth's revolution, and the country acted as though the years 1849–59 had not been lived. The irreconcilable attitude of Hungary, and the continuing financial crisis, made it impracticable to maintain the October Constitution,

and determined the Emperor to withdraw from the position to which the Diploma committed him. To reconstruct the frank Absolutism of the Schwarzenberg *régime* was not feasible, and Austria's German interests required that she should show herself Liberal. In December, 1860, the Emperor called the Centralist Schmerling to office, and on February 26, 1861, plunged into a constitutional experiment which, professing to complete the Diploma, actually superseded it.

The Patent of February 26, 1861, strengthened the central power without destroying local autonomy. It converted the *Reichsrath* into a bicameral Parliament (with superiority over the provincial Diets) consisting of a Chamber of Lords containing hereditary and nominated members, and a Chamber of Deputies numbering 343 members elected by the provincial Diets: 203 sitting for the Cis-Leithanian provinces, 120 for the Trans-Leithanian provinces. (Hungary, Croatia, and Transylvania), and 20 for Venetia. Hence Hungary, Croatia, and Transylvania formed only a minority in a Chamber whose Cis-Leithanian majority could prevent Austrian interests from being put in jeopardy. Within the Cis-Leithanian Diets (Austria, Bohemia, Moravia, Galicia) German interests also were protected. Under Ordinances issued with the Patent the franchise in the Cis-Leithanian provinces was exercised by four electoral bodies representing the cities, rural districts, landowners, and selected Chambers of Commerce; wealth rather than numbers determining the weight of representation accorded to localities. The system favoured German and aristocratic interests in the Diets and consequently in the *Reichsrath*, whose members the Diets elected. But though the *Reichsrath* controlled the activities of the provincial Diets, it had no power to curb the central Executive. Article XIII of the new Constitution actually authorized the Executive to legislate by Ordinance when Parliament was not sitting, stipulating merely that when it assembled the *Reichsrath* should be enlightened upon the causes and results of ministerial action. In fact, the Patent created a Constitution of the restored Bourbon type, in which the Sovereign chose his Ministers and prescribed his own policy. The *Reichsrath* had power merely to vote the laws and the Budget.

The Constitution of February 26, 1861, lasted four years, and was the last of Austria's Constitutional experiments before Königgrätz compelled her to make terms with Hungary. It offended two powerful interests. The German Conservatives disliked its Liberal flavour. The non-Austrian nations resented their subordination to a central Parliament. Indeed, the Hungarians, Croats, and Venetians refused to send Deputies to it. The Transylvanian Saxons did not do so until 1863. The Hungarian Diet categorically refused "to make the Hungarian government dependent upon any other than the King of Hungary" or to "sacrifice the constitutional independence of the nation for any sort of consideration or interest." For effective purposes, therefore, the *Reichsrath* represented merely the Cis-Leithanian provinces, and when the Poles and Czechs withdrew, Parliament was still farther confined in its membership. But its German sympathies did not prevent the *Reichsrath* from opposing the government. It denounced its misrepresentation of the public accounts; demanded a properly audited balance sheet; urged a reduction of public expenditure; and eventually refused to sanction a public loan. Hence, while Hungary stood aside in an isolation which could be corrected only by concession or by force, the Patent failed to give the government the support which it expected from the Cis-Leithanian provinces.

After much wrangling, Hungary was declared to have "forfeited" the Constitution and to be under martial law, and in November, 1864, the *Reichsrath* assembled for its last session. The Opposition demanded modification of Article XIII, refused to sanction a public loan until reforms were granted, and asked to be enlightened regularly on the government's foreign policy. In June, 1865, Schmerling resigned, and on the following September 20 the Patent was suspended. The Emperor declared his resolve "to come to an understanding with the constitutional representatives of the eastern provinces," and therefore held it provisionally "necessary to suspend [*sistiren*] the Constitution." Having failed to coerce Hungary into a centralized Monarchy, Austria faced the compulsion to seek Hungary's alliance on Hungary's terms.

Königgrätz compelled Austria to approach Hungary in a spirit of accommodation. On her side Hungary abandoned

the revolutionary traditions of Kossuth. The statesmen responsible for the form in which she advanced her demands were Francis Deák and Count Julius Andrassy, who had been condemned to death for his participation in the 1848 rebellion, but had abandoned the watchwords of that crisis. After the conclusion of peace with Prussia (August, 1866) the Hungarian Diet was summoned to discuss a project of agreement with Austria. Under Deák's direction it already had given its approval to a scheme which established the German as the predominant interest in Cis-Leithania and the Magyar in Trans-Leithania, and provided an apparatus for the conduct of joint interests. The scheme was submitted to the other provincial Diets for their consideration, and in all of them it met with strong opposition. But Austria's defeat enabled Hungary to represent it as the minimum of her demands, and Deák, summoned by the Emperor to answer the question "What does Hungary demand?" made his famous reply, "Precisely what she demanded before Sadowa." Francis Joseph was no longer able to refuse. In February, 1867, Hungary received a responsible Ministry under Andrassy. Four months later (June) Francis Joseph, nearly twenty years after his accession, presented himself at Pest to be crowned King of Hungary. Negotiations between the Austrian and Hungarian governments proceeded, and in October, 1867, the *Ausgleich* or "Compromise" was laid before the *Reichsrath*. Before the end of the year the Constitutions of the Empire and of its constituent parts were settled. The Dual Empire of Austria-Hungary emerged.

The *Ausgleich* or "Compromise" of 1867 constituted the Austrian Empire a Dual Monarchy (*Österreichisch-Ungarische-Monarchie*), under the same flag (the Imperial Eagle) and the same Sovereign under different titles (Emperor of Austria and Apostolic King of Hungary). The division accorded with historical tradition. The Hungarian or Trans-Leithanian half comprised the territories of the Crown of St. Stephen (Hungary, Croatia, Slavonia, Transylvania, and the Military Frontier). The Austrian or Cis-Leithanian half embraced the remaining seventeen provinces, the term Cis-Leithanian having only a conventional meaning except as between the province of Austria proper and the Kingdom of Hungary. In the

Austrian half the German, and in the Hungarian division the Magyar, nationality is dominant. "Take care of your barbarians," Count Beust is said to have remarked to the Hungarian Ministry, "and we will look after ours." The conjunct States, united in allegiance to the same Sovereign, were linked also by a common administration for certain departments, the Sovereign, as executive head, being assisted by three Imperial Ministries of Foreign Affairs, Finance, and War. For the supervision of the joint Imperial executive offices the *Ausgleich* created two "international Committees" or "Delegations," each consisting of 60 members, 120 in all, appointed by the two Parliaments (20 by their Upper and 40 by their Lower Chambers), meeting in alternate years in the capitals of the two States, and only assembling as a single body when they were in disagreement, in which case they united to vote, but not to debate. They possessed neither legislative nor taxing powers, but exerted control on public expenditure and on the actions of the Imperial Ministries. Affairs outside the direction of the Imperial Ministries and requiring to be dealt with on uniform principles, such as economic or commercial agreements, formed the subject of negotiation between the two Cabinets, or between "Deputations" elected *ad hoc* by each Parliament, with a view to their treatment eventually by legislation. The *Ausgleich* guaranteed to each State of the Dual Monarchy its domestic Constitution. Hungary received the Constitution of 1848 modified by the King's right to appoint Ministers. Her Diet consists of two Chambers, that of the Magnates remaining aristocratic in composition, and the Chamber of Deputies being elected on a wide and popular suffrage. Austria, in whose behalf the Patent of 1861 was modified by the "fundamental laws" of 1867, became a Parliamentary Monarchy. Her *Reichsrath* is bicameral and consists of a House of Lords and a House of Representatives, the latter being elected by the Diet (*Landtag*) of each of the seventeen Cisleithanian provinces. The *Reichsrath* controls the Ministry, and while leaving to the provincial Diets the conduct of local affairs, possesses wider powers than the German *Reichstag* for regulating all matters held essential to the maintenance of unity. The union, however, was not between two States but between each of them and a common dynasty. Should the

House of Habsburg-Lorraine fail, Hungary would be free to elect a Sovereign.

The *Ausgleich* worked fairly smoothly down to the war of 1914, which tested the relations of Austria and Hungary severely. Beust, who commended it to the Emperor, saw that Austria could play no determining part in the Balkan peninsula so long as Hungary was disaffected. But Hungary proved herself the predominant partner, and Austria gradually envisaged the idea of forming Bosnia, Herzegovina, Dalmatia, and Croatia into a balancing Slav State, a project which was involved in the war forced upon Europe in 1914 by Austria-Hungary and her German ally.

The Franco-German War

The Franco-German War of 1870–71, rooted in the inveterate antagonism of the Latin and Teutonic races, was rendered inevitable by the fact that the policy of Napoleon and Bismarck alike demanded it. Bismarck needed war to consolidate the union founded in 1866. No progress had been made towards bridging Germany north and south of the Main. Among the southern States, Bavaria and Würtemberg especially showed themselves antagonistic to the object Bismarck had in view, though while France held Strassburg and controlled the Upper Rhine, South Germany viewed her neighbour with some nervousness. Bismarck knew well that nothing so effectually would heal German divisions and hasten German unity as a challenge of the "hereditary enemy." Even North Germany murmured at the heavy calls Prussian militarism made upon it. A motion for disarmament was made in the *Reichstag* in 1869, when votes for the military contingents were passed only for a limited period, which expired in 1871. Here also war was the obvious antidote. Again, Prussia's recent contest with Austria and France's relations with Italy threatened a possible anti-Prussian combination whose force Bismarck thought it better to anticipate before France's potential allies could gather strength to assist her. France herself recognized Königgrätz as a defeat, and Napoleon's failure to strike in 1866, at a crisis so favourable to France's interests, was bitterly

criticized. The Empress and the *Mameluks* of the Court insisted that war alone could restore the *prestige* of France and assure the continuance of the Second Empire beyond the lifetime of its founder. Still, on the eve of the Franco-German War, the French government had to encounter the dangerous delusions of pacificists who scouted the idea of war with Germany as a *péril imaginaire*, and spoke grandiloquently of France as *la grande nation de la paix*. In the *Corps Législatif* in 1870, as in the *Reichstag* the previous year, the burden of armaments roused bitter complaint, and the sums demanded for strengthening the eastern fortresses were cut down by two-thirds. So late as July 1, 1870, a French Deputy enlarged on the *sentiments fraternels* with which France regarded *le grand peuple allemand*, and begged the Ministry to establish relations with the German government which would permit France to curtail her military expenditure. In 1914 French and English pacificists spoke in similar tones on the eve of a war which they had refused to regard as possible or imminent.

During the four years that intervened between the Treaty of Prague and France's declaration of war upon Germany in July, 1870, the two countries displayed obvious though repressed hostility. Even before the signature of the Prague Treaty Bismarck's defeat of Napoleon's attempt to secure compensation for his recent neutrality produced bitterness at the French Court. The Emperor's suggested encroachment on Rhenish Bavaria and Hesse not only was refused, but was used adroitly by Bismarck to inflame South Germany against France. Napoleon's attempt to acquire Belgium for France in 1866 also was rejected by Bismarck, who eventually published (1870) the proposal in the *Times* in order to alienate British opinion from his adversary. No better fortune attended Napoleon's efforts (1867) to purchase the Grand-Duchy of Luxemburg after the dissolution of the *Deutsche Bund*. Holland was anxious to sell it, the Luxemburg population approved, and the King of Prussia consented, though Prussia had maintained a garrison in the fortress since 1815. But in March, 1867, Bismarck intervened, and gave Holland to understand that German public opinion would not permit the bargain to be carried out. Once again France was thwarted and had to rest content with the establishment (1867) of the neutrality

of Luxemburg (grossly violated by Germany in 1914) and the withdrawal of the Prussian garrison from the federal fortress. Two years later (February, 1869) French policy encountered another check, attributed to the same sinister influence, in the refusal of the Belgian government to conclude a railway convention with the French Eastern Company. A year later (February, 1870) a proposal in the *Reichstag* to admit the Grand-Duchy of Baden to the *Norddeutsche Bund* added fuel to France's rising wrath against Prussia, and brought Austria-Hungary and Italy for the moment into relations with her.

The pretext for war was found neither on the east nor the west of the Rhine, but in Spain. In September, 1868, the Spanish Captain-General Prim led a revolt which drove Isabella II from the throne. Isabella's son Alfonso, afterwards Alfonso XII, her brother-in-law the Duc de Montpensier, and the pretender Don Carlos, were not agreeable to the victorious Liberals. A proposal to unite Spain and Portugal was entertained and abandoned, and in the spring of 1869 the Crown was offered to Leopold of Hohenzollern-Sigmaringen, elder brother of Prince Charles of Roumania and a relative of the King of Prussia. The fact that his grandmother was a Beauharnais failed to gain Napoleon's approval of his candidature. Bismarck, who wished to embarrass France on her Pyrenean frontier, instigated the offer, and on July 3, 1870, the Duc de Gramont, the French Foreign Minister, learnt that the prince consented. Two days later (July 5) the Minister was interpellated in the Chamber. The matter was rather for discussion between Paris and Madrid, or between the French government and the prince's father. But de Gramont directed his voice toward Berlin. "We are of opinion," he told the Chamber (July 6) after attending a Cabinet, "that respect for the rights of a neighbour does not oblige us to permit a foreign Power to set one of its princes on the throne of Charles V, to disturb the balance of Europe to our detriment, and to imperil the interests and honour of France. We do not anticipate that such an eventuality will arise; for we rely on the good sense of the German people and the friendship of Spain. But should the situation fall out otherwise, strengthened by your support and the resolution of the nation, we shall know how to do our duty

without hesitation or faltering." On his side, William, who was drinking the waters at Ems, refused to treat the matter as one between Germany and France. To Madrid, he held, and not Berlin, Paris ought to address herself. None the less the receipt by Prim of a telegram from the prince's father on July 12, announcing that Leopold abandoned his candidature, could be represented as a success for French diplomacy over Germany. It would have been well had the French government been content with that advantage. But the *Mameluks* were intractable. *La Prusse cane* the newspapers announced jubilantly, and insisted that the government should demand from Germany a guarantee not to revive the Hohenzollern candidature. Benedetti, the French Ambassador at Berlin, was instructed to ask an audience of William at Ems. On the morning of July 13 it was accorded. Benedetti requested a categoric undertaking that a Hohenzollern candidature would not be renewed. "You are asking me to give a promise without limitations of time or condition," William replied; "I cannot do so." He had not yet received confirmation of the prince's withdrawal. Later in the day it reached him, and with it news that the French government insisted on the guarantee which he had refused Benedetti. William at once cancelled a promised interview with the Ambassador, and sent his aide-de-camp to him to say that, the Prince of Hohenzollern-Sigmaringen having confirmed his son's resignation, the incident was at an end. Next day (July 14) the king left Ems, and informed Benedetti, who attended at the railway station, that if he wished to pursue the matter he must address himself to the German Foreign Office.

On the evening of July 13, while Bismarck, Moltke, and Roon were at dinner in Berlin a telegram arrived from the king at Ems giving an account of Benedetti's persistence, and of the French government's insistence that William should give a guarantee. The telegram gave Bismarck permission to communicate the news to the Press. Bismarck realized the opportunity to rouse the passions both of Germany and France, the former by revealing the unreasonable demand of the French government, the latter by an adroit phrasing of his communication to the Press. It ran: "The French Ambassador requested His Majesty to authorize him to

telegraph to his government that the king will withhold his consent in case the Hohenzollern candidature is revived. His Majesty thereupon refused to grant an audience to the French Ambassador and sent the aide-de-camp on duty to say that he had not any farther communication to make to him."

The *communiqué*, telegraphed to every German embassy in Europe and read next morning, insinuated to France that her Ambassador had been insulted, and to Germany that an unwarrantable demand had been pressed upon her Sovereign. On July 15 the French Chamber took up Bismarck's challenge. "We accept the responsibility," said Ollivier in a historic phrase, *d'un cœur léger*. Lebœuf, the War Minister, gave an assurance that the army was ready *jusqu'au dernier bouton de guêtre*. The Foreign Minister, challenged as to France's possible supporters in the contest, misled the Chamber by remarking that he had just left the Austro-Hungarian and Italian Ambassadors. France miscalculated the demeanour of her neighbours as completely as Germany did in 1914. Thiers, who objected to the war as "supremely imprudent," was not listened to, and had his windows broken by a mob shouting *à Berlin!* By a majority of almost two votes to one the Chamber rejected a proposal to invite the Ministry to produce documents. Orders were given to mobilize (July 15). Germany took the same course that evening. On July 19 France declared war, and on the same day William invited the German people to "fight like their fathers for their liberty and their rights."

The catastrophe which the war, so confidently challenged, brought upon France was due to causes operative since 1815. The Napoleonic Wars bred aversion from a principle which constituted the strength of Germany, and planted in the nation a detestation of conscription which gravely compromised the strength and *moral* of the army on the eve of its struggle with Germany. After the fall of Napoleon I the French army was nominally a voluntary force. But the flow of volunteers was too scanty to permit the government to use that source of supply alone. The annual contingents therefore were supplemented by men chosen by lot, *appelés*. Gradually the volunteers dwindled and the army became more and more conscriptive.

At the same time measures were adopted which struck at the principle of personal service underlying conscription. The upper and middle classes and members of the learned professions easily escaped the duty of service. The Military Law of 1818 permitted *remplacement* or substitution. *Agences de remplacement*, or *marchands d'hommes*, provided substitutes for *appelés* who desired to evade military service and were able to pay someone to take their place. In 1869 the annual contingent contained considerably more than fifty *per cent.* of *remplaçants*. The evil was aggravated by an innovation during the Crimean War (1855), which permitted time-expired men to re-engage, the *appelé* thereby released paying a fine to the government. Consequently men were tempted to serve beyond their prime and kept out the younger and more active. But these blemishes were not apparent to the army or the nation. The glorious record of the First Empire was too recent to permit France to doubt that her army was the first in Europe, and Solferino, Magenta, and the Crimea encouraged the conviction that her confidence was solidly based. Actually the General Staff was non-progressive. Its members had little experience of active command, and the army's irregular warfare in Algeria and elsewhere produced a tendency to underestimate details of organization, in which the German Staff was expert.

The French Military Law of February, 1868, was designed to meet the system of conscription which, after Prussia's victory over Austria, was extended throughout the *Norddeutsche Bund*. It provided on paper an army of about 250,000 men serving five years with the colours and four years with the Reserve. The re-engagement system was abolished. Those who escaped military service by exemption or by providing a *remplaçant* were formed into a *Garde Mobile*, liable to be called up on a special summons, but not to serve abroad. But when the Franco-German War broke out this reserve of the active manhood of France had not been organized. Marshal Niel, appointed Minister of War in January, 1867, endeavoured to place France in a posture of strength. He strengthened the eastern fortresses, appointed a Railway Commission to organize the transport of troops and *matériel*, and drew up a detailed plan for an offensive campaign

which contemplated three armies in the field: one in Alsace under MacMahon; a second in Lorraine under Bazaine; and a third in reserve under Canrobert. Niel died in August, 1869. Lebœuf, his successor, yielded to the pacificists and economists, denied the fortresses their batteries, suppressed the Railway Commission, and took no measures to organize the *Garde Mobile*. The French artillery was inferior to Germany's, but much was expected from the new *mitrailleuses*. Like Niel, Lebœuf thought that the first offensive shock of France's regular army would decide the issue. But the order to mobilize on July 15 brought clearly into view its ill-preparedness. The railway and transport service was unorganized. Regiments were carried to wrong destinations. A party of hospital attendants bound for the eastern frontier arrived in Algeria! Railway stations were cumbered with transport of which no one on the spot knew the contents, and the armies suffered from lack of ammunition with plenty actually close at hand. Regiments being non-localized, reservists wasted precious time in travelling great distances to their mobilization depot, and back again to join their regiment. When Napoleon joined the army at Metz, on July 28, the thirteenth day of mobilization, it was still incomplete. He had proposed to combine the French forces in an offensive advance which would overawe and detach South Germany and bring over Italy and Austria-Hungary. But the unsatisfactory situation at the front compelled him to abandon the idea. MacMahon therefore was placed at the head of about 35,000 men in Alsace; Bazaine in Lorraine commanded about 128,000 men, the "Army of the Rhine"; and in the rear at Châlons Canrobert held in reserve about 35,000.

In marked contrast to the French were the German preparations. Mobilization began in North Germany on July 15, and in South Germany on the following day. Regiments were territorial; mobilization was quickly effected; the railways consequently were not congested by the transport of reservists seeking their distant equipment. The system was common to the States of the *Norddeutsche Bund*, and their entire manhood was organized for military service. Since the campaign against Austria the German General Staff had been formed by Moltke, and a campaign in France had been

worked out in detail. Its strategy was governed by the existence of the Vosges Mountains on France's eastern frontier, which compelled the French to fight in two fields with a difficult country intervening, the approach towards them being along the Moselle-Saar into Lorraine, and along the Rhine to the north-east angle of Alsace. Against these two areas the Staff dispatched three armies. The First and smallest, 60,000 strong, under Steinmetz, moved on Metz along the Moselle. The Third, or Army of the Rhine, 130,000 strong, was under the Crown Prince. The Second Army, also about 130,000 strong, under Prince Frederick Charles, advanced midway between the wings, in a position to support both and to bring superior force to bear upon either side of the Vosges as the situation might require. The king and the reserves, about 63,000 strong, followed the Second Army. Thus the Germans had in line about 400,000 troops, and were able to take the offensive in numerical superiority.

France was woefully deceived in her hopes of a European coalition against Germany. She miscalculated entirely the situation in South Germany, where fear of herself outweighed suspicion of Prussia, while her Bavarian and Hessian proposals of 1866 and more recent treatment of the Hohenzollern candidature inflamed opinion against her. Without hesitation Würtemberg, Baden, and Bavaria joined the Crown Prince and upset the original French plan of operations. Instead of conducting an offensive movement into South Germany to encourage the co-operation of Austria-Hungary and Italy, France was compelled to defend herself along the Moselle-Saar line against a strong German offensive. Denmark, whose alliance would have enabled France to take Prussia in the rear, feared to risk her existence by striking for the recovery of Schleswig, and declared her neutrality (July 25). On the same day Bismarck's revelation in the *Times* of Napoleon's proposals regarding Belgium confirmed the British government in the neutrality which it had declared on July 19. Between Russia and Bismarck an interested agreement existed. In return for Germany's complacence towards Russian designs in the East, Gorchakoff agreed to engage Austria-Hungary should she show a disposition to join France.

With Austria-Hungary and Italy no alliance had been made when Napoleon joined the army, though conversations between their governments produced an agreement which the rapid course of the war rendered inoperative. With the proviso that their forces could not take the field before the middle of September, the two Sovereigns agreed to place armies in Bavaria and Silesia, provided France took the offensive in South Germany. Italy stipulated also that Napoleon should consent to her acquisition of Rome. But even in this crisis the Clericals and the Empress refused the bitter need of France. Napoleon rejected Italy's conditions, and France fought single-handed: "France," said de Gramont, "cannot defend her honour on the Rhine and abandon it on the Tiber." On July 20 and 25 Austria and Italy declared their immediate neutrality. Once more Bismarck had gauged the European situation with shrewd accuracy. To crush France he needed an unobstructed field, and particularly, a good understanding with his powerful Russian neighbour. Napoleon's huckstering policy had placed France in the situation which Germany herself held in public estimation on the outbreak of war in 1914: "It appeared," said Gladstone in 1870, "that the advisers of the Emperor knew nothing of public rights and nothing of the sense of Europe." The historian Heinrich von Treitschke even ventured to represent Germany as fighting a holy war in behalf of the purity of international life, and to reproach Great Britain for her neutrality!

The Franco-German War began on August 2, 1870, with a characteristic *coup de théâtre* on the part of Napoleon. It continued until February 2, 1871, when Bourbaki's troops were disarmed in Switzerland. Short as it was, the war presented two distinct phases; the *guerre impériale*, which concluded with the overthrow of the Empire on September 4; and the struggle conducted by the Republican *Défense nationale* for five months longer. The *guerre impériale* has a record of swift and complete disaster. The first shot was fired on August 2 in a *reconnaissance* upon Saarbrücken, undertaken by Bazaine partly to feel the approaching enemy, partly to hearten Paris, which was chafing at the army's inactivity. Though a small German force was compelled to evacuate Saarbrücken, the French were in no position to push

their success. But the news, flashed to Paris, roused great enthusiasm, and the Prince Imperial's *baptême de feu* was celebrated. In a spirit of derision the Germans marked the spot with a tablet inscribed *Lulu erstes début.* His cavalry having located the main French strength on the frontier of Lorraine, on the day after Saarbrücken the Crown Prince and the Third Army crossed the frontier into Alsace, covering the flank of the Second Army, which was advancing upon Lorraine. On August 4 a French division encountered the Crown Prince's advance at Weissenburg and was driven back upon MacMahon at Wörth. On the 6th, following up his success, the Crown Prince defeated MacMahon at Wörth, and put the Army of Alsace out of action on the third day of the campaign. MacMahon's beaten force streamed in ignoble flight westward through the Vosges to Châlons, whence, reinforced and reformed, it moved out later to the greater disaster of Sedan.

Simultaneously Moltke delivered heavy blows in Lorraine. On August 6, while the Crown Prince was engaging MacMahon at Wörth, the Second Army attacked the French in a defensive position on the Spicheren heights east of Forbach, a few miles within the French frontier. The numbers engaged were not unequal, but superior initiative won the day, as at Wörth. The effect of the two defeats was to expose Lorraine and Alsace to the advance of victorious armies, to compel the abandonment of a Baltic expedition which France's naval supremacy otherwise would have permitted her to conduct against Prussia's rear, and to close the door upon Italy's and Austria-Hungary's intervention on the French side. The *moral* of the French armies also was compromised seriously. Leaving a division to besiege Strassburg (which surrendered on September 28), the Germans moved forward to seek out and destroy the retreating enemy before striking at Paris, where events expressed the dismay with which the French reverses had been received. Ollivier's Ministry fell, and the Empress Regent gave (August 10) the presidency of a new Cabinet to the Comte de Palikao, an ardent Imperialist who had acquired the reputation of a good organizer in the Chinese Expedition of 1860. The *Garde Mobile* had been called up on July 15.

A week after Spicheren Napoleon handed over the command to Bazaine (August 12). The latter, abandoning the idea

of defending the line of the Moselle about Metz, ordered a retreat upon Verdun. By the 13th the greater part of his troops were under the shelter of the Metz forts on their way westward. On the same day the German First Army was on the line of the Nied, the advanced guard of the Second Army was at Pont-à-Mousson on the Moselle, and the Crown Prince's army was approaching Nancy and Lunéville on the Meurthe. While the Crown Prince was groping for traces of MacMahon's hurried retreat, Moltke employed the First and Second Armies in an enveloping movement which drove Bazaine conclusively under the walls of Metz, and put his army out of action little more than a fortnight after the Germans crossed the frontier. On August 16 Napoleon and the Prince Imperial deemed it prudent to get out of Metz and join MacMahon at Châlons while the roads were still open—a rearguard action already had been fought at Colombey. West of the Moselle three roads were available for Bazaine's use. The most southerly passed through four villages, named, in order from east to west, Gravelotte, Rezonville, Vionville, and Mars-la-Tour. On the 16th the French held Gravelotte and Rezonville. But at Vionville and Mars-la-Tour the advancing French were held up by the Brandenburg Corps, moving rapidly from Pont-à-Mousson to head them off. Bazaine therefore abandoned the idea of pressing on to the Meuse, and by the 17th fell back on Metz in his rear, with Gravelotte on his left (south) flank and St. Privat on his right. The engagements on the 16th closed two roads to the west against Bazaine's advance. The Battle of Gravelotte on the 18th closed the third; for Bazaine fought with his back on Metz and with the Germans between him and the goal of his retreat. He was concerned chiefly to hold his left, fearing to be cut off from Metz. But Moltke, wheeling Prince Frederick Charles' Second Army round to envelope Bazaine's right at St. Privat, forced the position, and Bazaine, still 120,000 strong, drew back upon Metz.

Bazaine's retirement upon Metz doomed his army. For the precision and range of breech-loading artillery, and the efficiency of quick-firing rifles, which met in warfare for the first time, proved at Metz and Sedan that the strongest army must encounter grave hazard in an attempt to break through an encircling force. Moltke took no risks. His original plan

had allowed for the masking of Metz by *Landwehr* troops—an adequate siege-train was not immediately available. He now directed Prince Frederick Charles with the First Army and about two-thirds of the Second, a force 175,000 strong, to contain Bazaine's inferior strength. The Imperial Guard and the remaining corps of the Second Army were formed into the "Army of the Meuse" and constituted with the Crown Prince's Third Army a force nearly 250,000 strong to deal with MacMahon and the Emperor. On August 22 the Armies of the Meuse and the Crown Prince united in their advance from the Meuse upon Châlons.

At Châlons, since his retreat from Wörth, MacMahon had been endeavouring to fashion an army out of heterogeneous and unsatisfactory materials. He had there a few corps of the first line, one of which, the 12th, was numbered so in order to suggest (what in fact was not the case) the existence of a ninth, tenth, and eleventh corps. He possessed also some newly formed regiments, and the Parisian *Garde Mobile*, whose conduct proved so unsatisfactory that MacMahon sent them back to the capital. The army entirely lacked cohesion, and its numbers, though formidable (about 150,000), were far inferior to the force which Moltke could employ against it. MacMahon resolved to retire upon Paris in order to await the large reinforcements which France could still provide. But the Empress Regent, anxiously watching the Paris *boulevards*, forbade the Emperor to return until a success of some sort crowned his standards. Palikao supported her representations, and directed MacMahon to attempt the relief of Bazaine. With full knowledge of the danger of a movement which exposed his flank to attack, MacMahon perforce obeyed orders. On August 21, the day before the German advance from the Meuse began, he abandoned Châlons for Rheims. A message from Bazaine, suggesting a junction on the Belgian frontier near Montmédy or Sedan, drew MacMahon and the Emperor to their doom. They had a few days' start of the Germans, who did not obtain precise information regarding their movements until the 25th. Moltke at once swung round northwards to intercept the threatened junction with Bazaine. So rapidly did the Germans march, and so slow was MacMahon's advance, that by the morning

of the 30th the Crown Prince was in touch with the Army of the Meuse and the line of that river was held. Cut off from Metz on the east, imperilled by an enveloping movement which threatened to close his retreat to the west, and with neutral Belgian territory hemming him in on the north, MacMahon found himself at Sedan in a confined basin whose surrounding hills offered effective positions for the German guns. On September 1 the battle opened. MacMahon having been wounded by a shell, an attempt was made to extricate the army towards Mezières. MacMahon's successor, Wimpffen, a *protégé* of Palikao, ordered an equally ineffectual effort to reach Bazaine. But no gap could be found in the German lines closing in upon their prey, and heroic cavalry charges failed to carve an avenue for the doomed army. Napoleon, seeing the position to be hopeless, raised the white flag over Sedan, and Wimpffen visited the German head-quarters to arrange terms. Moltke was inflexible and insisted upon the unconditional surrender of the army and its *matériel*. The terms perforce were accepted, and on September 2 the Emperor, MacMahon, and over 80,000 officers and men surrendered. Adding those killed, wounded, or made prisoners in the battle, a French army 140,000 strong was wiped out of existence at a cost to the victors of less than 9000 men. The Emperor was carried a prisoner to Wilhelmshöhe, once Jerome Bonaparte's Westphalian residence. He joined the Empress at Chiselhurst in March, 1871, and died less than two years later (1873).

News of the disaster at Sedan reached Paris that day. It was received with consternation, and in the *Corps Législatif* the Left clamoured for the deposition of the Emperor. On September 4, Palikao, working to save the Empire, brought forward a proposal, with the Empress's sanction, for the appointment of a Council of five Deputies under himself as Lieutenant-General during the crisis, a position which Louis Philippe had held in 1848. Thiers, aiming at an Orleanist restoration, proposed that the *Corps Législatif* should summon a Constituent Assembly. The Chamber was suspended to permit the two proposals to be examined. During the interval the mob invaded the Chamber. Encouraged by their presence, Gambetta, upon the resumption of the session, made his voice heard above the tumult: "Louis Napoleon

Bonaparte and his family have ceased for ever to reign over France." Accompanied by Jules Favre, he led the demonstrators to the Hôtel de Ville, where a Republic was proclaimed. Bordeaux, Marseilles, Lyons, and other places took similar action without waiting for the guidance of the capital. As in 1848, the Moderates needed to forestall the Socialist enemies of the fallen *régime*. Gambetta and his friends therefore lost no time in setting up a provisional "Government of National Defence," which included all the Republican Deputies elected for Paris in 1869, excepting Thiers, who was not in sympathy with a Republican Constitution, and denounced the authority which the Hôtel de Ville arrogated to itself. The presidency of the new government, in which Gambetta took the portfolio of the Interior and Favre that of the Foreign Office, was given to General Trochu, Military Governor of Paris, in order to enlist the sympathy of the army in the chief task which lay before it, the expulsion of the invader from the soil of France. The Senate was abolished and the Legislative Chamber was dissolved on the same day (September 4).

The Government of September 4 outlived the war. Divided into two sections, the majority of its members remained in Paris and conducted the city's defence against the investing Germans. The smaller body, a "Delegation" of three members, eventually reinforced by Gambetta after his escape from Paris in a balloon (October 7), directed the rest of France, first of all from Tours, and later from Bordeaux. Called upon to free the soil of France from the German invader, within the capital the new government had to measure its strength against Socialism. It triumphed, as the Second Republic had triumphed in 1848, and with less difficulty, over that wing of the forces arrayed against the fallen dynasty. After Bazaine's surrender of Metz (October 27) the Socialist National Guards invaded the Hôtel de Ville and held the government prisoner (October 31), demanding a Commune in its stead, elected by universal suffrage as in 1792. But the government was rescued by the other National Guards of the city, and a *plébiscite* of Paris confirmed its authority by an overwhelming majority. In the last days of the siege the *drapeau rouge* again challenged the government, and with no better fortune.

The Ministry countered the attack by closing the Clubs (January 22, 1871). The country at large had no immediate opportunity to give its verdict upon the events of September 4; for though elections for a Constituent were directed to take place on October 16, the continuing warfare forbade them to be held. Not until Paris had fallen did the elections for a Constituent take place (February 8, 1871).

The government's accession to office was marked by an uncompromising declaration on the part of Favre, who declared that France would yield *ni un pouce de territoire ni une pierre de nos forteresses*. The circular disappointed Germany's hope that Sedan would end the war. But she was determined to exact precisely what Favre declared his resolution to withhold. Bismarck already was engaged in negotiations with the Empress in London, and with Bazaine at Metz, which aimed at using Bazaine to play Monk's part and restore the Empire in return for the territorial cessions which Germany demanded. The negotiation was also useful since it held Bazaine inactive. Meanwhile, on September 19, Favre had an interview with Bismarck at Ferrières, on the east of Paris. As the price of an armistice Bismarck demanded the immediate surrender of Bitche, Toul, and Strassburg, and the occupation of Fort Mont Valérien, between Saint-Cloud and Neuilly, on the west of Paris. The government refused the proferred terms: "The enemy," it announced, "places us between dishonour and our duty. Our choice is made. Paris will resist to the last extremity. The provinces will rally to her aid, and God willing, France will be saved." A month later (October 23) the Empress conclusively rejected Bismarck's overtures and his dupe Bazaine forthwith capitulated at Metz (October 27). Bismarck thereafter recognized Trochu's government as the authority with which he had to deal.

By September 19, 1870, when Favre visited Bismarck in the German Headquarters at Ferrières, the lines of investment were drawn round Paris. At the beginning of November about 250,000 men and 900 guns were in position. The capital was not expected to prolong its resistance beyond four weeks, but in fact held out for more than four months. In Louis Philippe's reign Paris had been protected by a continuous *enceinte*. Its fifteen detached forts now were strongly held by naval guns and marines. Within Paris were about

80,000 regulars, with 215,000 of the *Garde Mobile* and *Garde Nationale*, the latter force, men of 31 to 60, having been called into existence on September 15.

Cut off from the provinces the Paris troops tried on two occasions to break through the German lines and join the armies in the field. The first effort was planned for November 29, after the battle of Coulmiers and the approach of the Army of the Loire threatened the German position on the south. The *sortie* was arranged to take place on the southeast from Vincennes across the Marne in the direction of Villiers and Champigny. But bad management and failure to bridge the Marne destroyed its chances of success. Ducrot, who led the *sortie*, failed to pierce the investing force, and on December 4 re-entered Paris with a loss of about 10,000 men.

Meanwhile, the delay in reducing Paris raised the danger of intervention by neutrals. But Moltke refused to open a bombardment until siege guns and adequate stores of ammunition were in position, a task of difficulty in view of the heavy traffic upon his lines of communication. Not until December 27 did the bombardment of the forts begin, and on January 5, 1871, the German artillery opened fire upon the city itself. The bombardment caused the final *sortie* of the siege, the *trouée en masse* of January 19, 1871. About 90,000 men massed under the shelter of Mont Valérien on the west and threw themselves upon the German lines at Versailles. Some fought their way to Saint-Cloud and Buzenval. But the greater number failed to break through and the survivors drew back into Paris, whose situation was precarious and provisions were nearly exhausted. Horse flesh was sold at twelve *francs* a pound and rats at two *francs* each. Paris also realized that foreign intervention was not forthcoming, though Thiers had set out on a tour of the European Courts. Italy was occupied in Rome. Great Britain and Austria-Hungary refused to intervene to mitigate the harsh terms Prussia was resolved to impose. The sole gain of Thiers's mission was the recommendation of an armistice to permit France to declare her will at the polls. By January 19, 1871, all hope of succour from the provincial armies had been abandoned. On January 23, therefore, Favre once more visited Bismarck, and on January 28 a capitulation was

signed at Versailles: Paris surrendered her outer forts. The garrison became prisoners of war. At the price of £8,000,000 the city secured escape from German occupation. The assembling of a Convention on February 12 was provided for.

While the troops within Paris were attempting to break out and join the armies in the field, the latter were operating to compel the Germans to raise the siege. The situation on September 4, 1870, seemed irredeemably hopeless. France's immediately effective army had been put out of action at Sedan and Metz. Twelve battalions of infantry, nine regiments of cavalry, and a single artillery battery were all that the government could muster. But great numbers of the *Garde Mobile* and *Garde Nationale* were available, and with indomitable spirit Gambetta, aided by a young engineer, de Freycinet, the future Premier, set himself to organize France's resources. He arrived at Tours on October 9, and in four months put into the field and equipped more than 500,000 men and nearly 1500 guns. The provincial operations which he directed were undertaken by the three Armies of the Loire, the North, and the East, the operations on the Loire being the most important. On October 11 the Germans occupied Orleans to confront the troops which the "Delegation" was collecting in the Loire valley. On November 9 the latter won France's single and conclusive victory at Coulmiers, and compelled the Germans to evacuate Orleans, an event which perturbed the German Staff, who had discredited the new French formations. The *levée en masse* also threatened the German communications, and a system of reprisals was initiated, which Germany repeated in a more barbarous mood in 1914. Villages and cities were terrorized and fired, and prominent citizens were seized and shot. Meanwhile Coulmiers, in Gambetta's words, gave France her *premier rayon d'espérance*. But Bazaine's surrender a few days earlier (October 27) increased the German menace to the capital. Freed from before Metz, Prince Frederick Charles threw himself between Paris and the Army of the Loire and frustrated the Champigny *sortie*. On the day before that effort was planned to take place the Prince fought the Army of the Loire at Beaune-la-Rolande (November 28). Four days later (December 2) he had greater success at Loigny, and on

December 4, Orleans was again in German hands. General Chanzy, however, rallied his division at Beaugency and took the command of a new Army of the Loire. Most skilfully he retired on Le Mans, recruited, and resumed the offensive towards the end of the month. But on January 10–12, 1871, the Army of the Loire lost its last battle at Le Mans, and the country west and south of Paris was cleared of French armies.

In the north of France General Faidherbe commanded an army of about 40,000 men, which contained a large proportion of refugees from Sedan and Metz and was superior in *moral* to the other provincial armies. To arrest the German approach to Havre, Faidherbe advanced upon Amiens, compelled the German garrison to evacuate the city, and on December 23 fought an indecisive battle on the Hallue east of Amiens. On January 3, 1871, at Bapaume, he successfully engaged the German forces covering the siege of Péronne, whose fall, however, gave the invaders the line of the Somme. Moving eastward with the object of threatening their communications, Faidherbe was defeated on January 19 at St. Quentin. In the north, as already in the south and west, the Provisional Government's efforts to save the capital had failed.

The operations in the east, designed to repeat the strategy of Napoleon in 1814, failed to relieve the pressure on Paris by threatening the German communications. The nucleus of the Army of the East was detached from the Army of the Loire, augmented to 120,000 by other troops, among them a force of 40,000 volunteers under Garibaldi. General Bourbaki, who received the command of the new force, marched eastward to relieve Belfort, which had been besieged since the beginning of November. At Villersexel on January 9, 1871, he inflicted heavy loss on the enemy. But a week later (January 15–17) at Héricourt he failed to dislodge an army covering the beleagured fortress. In consequence Bourbaki began a retreat which eventually hemmed him in against the Swiss frontier. To save himself he crossed it on February 1, and on the following day his army, over 80,000 strong, was disarmed by the Swiss. Belfort maintained its valiant resistance until February 16, and saved itself from the wreck of France's fortunes in Alsace.

Both belligerents welcomed the armistice of January 28, 1871, as the preliminary to a decisive vote by the French people in favour of peace. The Provisional Government, the mouthpiece of the Paris revolution of September 4, had no power to bind the country. It had been constituted to continue strenuously a war declared by lawful authority on July 19, and a similar authoritative act was necessary to bring the war to a conclusion. Hence, concurrently with the armistice, Trochu's government laid down its powers and summoned a National Assembly, whose election (February 8, 1871) followed the precedent of 1848. Very few Imperialists presented themselves at the polls to defend a war which their chief had provoked. The Republicans, identified with the war by Gambetta's vigorous personality, secured only 350 out of 750 seats. They were successful chiefly in Paris, the regions wasted by the German invasion, and the south-east area directly under the influence of the Bordeaux Delegation. Elsewhere the electors preferred Orleanists and Legitimists, and, generally, men of position and substance who could be counted on in the crisis. Thiers himself, whose warning to the nation in July made him the most popular man in France, was elected in not less than 26 Departments.

On February 12, 1871, the Assembly met at Bordeaux, and chose Jules Grévy, a Republican opponent of Gambetta, as its President. The Republicans and Monarchists were too evenly divided to permit a settlement of the new Constitution, which indeed was secondary to the need to make peace with Germany. On February 17, Thiers was elected *chef du pouvoir exécutif de la République française*, and two days later announced his programme to be "pacification, reorganization, restoration of credit, and revival of industry." He undertook not to prejudice a settlement of the form of government which the country eventually might determine, and later (March, 1871) called on all parties to hold to their principles in the assurance that victory would fall to *le plus sage*. The undertaking is known as the *Pacte de Bordeaux*. In accordance with the powers vested in him, Thiers chose a Ministry from the moderate Republican wing, and retained Jules Favre at the Foreign Office. Thiers immediately left Bordeaux for Versailles to negotiate terms with Bismarck. On February 26 Preliminaries were agreed to. Bismarck

demanded the cession of the Rhenish provinces. It was against his own judgment. But the General Staff insisted that military considerations made the removal of France from the Upper Rhine absolutely necessary. Thiers, however, obtained two concessions ; a reduction of the war indemnity from six to five *milliards* of *francs*, and France's retention of Belfort. But the latter was gained at a heavy cost—the occupation of Paris by 30,000 Germans pending ratification of the Preliminaries was the price. So rapidly were they confirmed, however, that the Germans only remained two days (March 1–2) in the city, where they occupied the Champs Elysées.

On March 1, by 546–107 votes, the Assembly at Bordeaux ratified the Preliminaries of Versailles. Twenty-three members abstained from voting, and a protest was made against the abandonment of the five Departments. " There is no power in the world that can make us other than what we are, Frenchmen," an Alsatian declared. " I call on every one to prevent us from being sold like so many cattle. I appeal to every man of spirit to use the sword to destroy instantly this monstrous treaty." Thus the policy of *la revanche* was inaugurated. In attributing the cause of the disaster the Assembly was almost unanimous, and to the Bonapartists in the Assembly Thiers addressed the words, " Heaven ordains as your punishment that you shall listen here and now to the condemnation of the nation. Its judgment will be the verdict of posterity." Excepting the six Imperialists the Assembly unanimously declared Napoleon III responsible for the humiliation the Preliminaries laid upon France, and confirmed the decree of deposition pronounced upon him on September 4.

On March 3, 1871, ratifications of the Preliminaries of Versailles were exchanged, and the brief German occupation of Paris came to an end. The two nations agreed to continue at Brussels the discussion of matters still undecided, which related to the payment of the indemnity, the purchase of the railways of the ceded districts, and the commercial relations between the two States. Towards the end of March negotiations were resumed at Brussels and, interrupted by the Commune, were concluded in May. On May 10 the Treaty of peace was signed at Frankfort.

The choice of the spot was significant. It was the capital of the old *Deutsche Reich*, the scene of the first public act of the new one, associated through its treatment at Prussia's hands in 1866 with the policy of " iron and blood " of which France was the latest victim. The Treaty ceded to Germany Alsace, excepting Belfort, and the greater part of Lorraine, including Metz and Thionville. France lost entirely one Department (Bas-Rhin) and portions of four others (Moselle, Haut-Rhin, Meurthe, Vosges), which passed into the German Empire as *Reichsland*, or Imperial Territory. France was mulcted in an indemnity of 5,000,000,000 *francs* (£200,000,000), 1,500,000,000 *francs* payable in 1871, 500,000,000 on May 1, 1872, and the remaining 3 *milliards* on March 2, 1874. Upon the exchange of ratifications the Germans undertook to evacuate the left bank of the Seine and to withdraw from the country as the remaining payments were made. Bismarck agreed to purchase the railroads from the Eastern Company for three times the amount he had suggested at first. But to France's chagrin, the commercial tariff between the two countries was adjusted to the standard of the most favoured nation.

On the soil of her beaten enemy and in the palace of one of France's greatest kings Germany, seizing the moment of her victory, " re-established " her Empire. The war had brought home to South Germany the need to settle her relations with the *Norddeutsche Bund*. Baden was not averse from entering the larger body. The fact that her frontier touched France throughout almost all its length weighed with her to that resolution. Bavaria and Würtemberg, on the other hand, feared to compromise their rank by a step which Baden faced with more equanimity. Bismarck approached the situation with the cautious and conciliatory demeanour that marked his earlier negotiations with the North German States. He preferred to take South Germany on its own terms, provided they were reasonable, rather than disappoint Prussia of the Empire whose creation inspired his policy. After the battle of Sedan, Baden approached Bismarck with proposals for inclusion in the *Bund*. Her two royal neighbours followed her example, and by November 25 negotiations with the four South German States were completed. Bavaria, it was agreed, should have six votes in

the *Bundesrat*, Würtemberg four, Baden three, and Hesse three. Bavaria failed to gain all that she desired. But she retained larger independence than the other members of the German body, and the presidency of the *Bundesrat's* rarely summoned Foreign Committee. To the *Reichstag* the four States, on the basis of population adopted in 1867, were qualified to send 85 representatives. Thus the 22 members of the *Norddeutsche Bund* were increased by the addition of two Kingdoms, one Grand Duchy (Baden), and the remainder of another (Hesse), which was already in the North German *Bund* in respect to its territory north of the Main. The Treaty of Frankfort (1871) added a twenty-sixth member to the Germanic body, Alsace-Lorraine, which, while sharing the Federal Constitution and sending Deputies to the *Reichstag*, received no representation (until 1911) in the *Bundesrat*, but was administered as Imperial Territory (*Reichsland*) by an *Ober-präsident* or (from 1874) *Staathalter* appointed by the Imperial Government.

After November 25, 1870, the date of the treaty of union between the North German *Bund* and Bavaria, the former adopted the style "*Deutsches Reich*," and on December 18 invited William to assume the title Emperor. The South German Diets, except Bavaria, quickly fell into line. Bavaria held back until January 21, 1871, and then agreed by only a small majority. The precise title to be conferred on William constituted a difficulty. William demanded the style "Emperor of Germany." The Crown Prince preferred "King of the Germans." Bismarck objected that a territorial title did not fit the situation, and that the other kings would only accord the *Präsidium* to a superior dignity. To placate opposition, Article XI of the Constitution was revised to read, "The Presidency of the Confederation belongs to the King of Prussia, who bears the title German Emperor (*Deutscher Kaiser*)." On January 1, 1871, the new Constitution came into force, before it received the formal approval of Bavaria, and on January 18 in the *Salle des glaces* at Versailles the Empire was proclaimed. The date was appropriate: it was that of the coronation of Frederick I, the first royal Hohenzollern, at Königsberg in 1701. On March 21, 1871, the first *Reichstag* of the German Empire was opened at Berlin. On the same day Bismarck was created a Prince (*Fürst*).

Though the federal agreements provided: "The *Bund* henceforth shall bear the name *Reich*," the Empire none the less remained a *Bund*, a federation of nominally coequal States. The institutions created in 1867, the *Bundesrat*, with its standing Committees, and the *Reichstag* were retained without modification, excepting the expansion of their membership. The *Bundesrat* was increased by the additional 16 votes assigned to the South German States, bringing up its total to 58. The *Reichstag* received an additional 85 members (it now (1915) contains 397). The franchise was not affected by the change in the *Bund's* style. The President of the Empire retained the autocratic power which was his as King of Prussia and as head of the *Norddeutsche Bund*. He exercised a preponderating influence in the *Bundesrat* through Prussia's 17 votes, and the Imperial Chancellor (*Reichskanzler*) remained subservient to him. Created by war, the "Constitution of the German Empire" (April 16, 1871) laid down the duty of every German to bear arms in the active army, *Landwehr*, and *Landsturm*. The whole military resources of the Empire were placed under the Emperor's control; Saxony, Bavaria, and Würtemberg, the three kingdoms, being permitted a certain amount of autonomy in the control of their forces in peace time, and their units retaining a territorial character. Bavaria's corps were not numbered in the roll of the Imperial army. Saxony and Würtemberg gave their name to the XIIth and XIIIth Corps respectively. Baden provided the XIVth Corps. In time of war these contingents were to be absolutely under Imperial control.

German and Italian unity were achieved within a few months of each other. But the two differed in character. The German populations were not consulted regarding their destinies, whereas a *plébiscite* marked every stage of Italy's progress towards union. In Germany unity was prescribed by statesmen and carried in the teeth of popular opposition over which Prussian interests rode rough-shod. Unlike Italy, Germany, an Empire in name, remained a *Staatenbund*, a bundle of States, autonomous in all matters affecting their internal economy. It included districts and peoples which were German neither in race nor sentiment, Danes of Schleswig, French of the *Reichsland*, Poles of Posen.

Italy achieved unity by expelling the foreigner from her soil. Germany expedited hers by filching French territory to which she had no claim except on the score of convenience. Hence, while Italian unity founded no permanent grievance outside the Vatican, German unity threw down a challenge to France which for nearly half a century held Europe on the brink of a threatening volcano. From 1871 to 1914 no Great Power drew the sword against one of its peers. But the Armed Peace was more burdensome than earlier periods of open war, and concealed a quarrel that sooner or later was bound to seek the sword's arbitrament. Both France and Germany watched for the inevitable conflict, and their neighbours grouped themselves round the potential belligerents. Intrenched in two armed camps, Europe witnessed in 1914 the epilogue of 1870.

Hence the Treaty of Frankfort is a distinct and sinister landmark in the history of Europe. It affected Germany, France, and Italy profoundly, and altered the tenor of European politics. Founded by military force and planted in the heart of Europe, the German Empire became at once the menace and the model of its neighbours. Russia, France, Italy, and Austria-Hungary reformed their military systems in order to be able to speak in terms of guns and battalions to a nation that understood no other language of public law. The new German Empire proved to be old Prussia writ large, and the most disturbing consequence of the Franco-German War was the fact that Prussian diplomacy gained a wider arena in which to exercise itself, and Prussian militarism a larger State to corrupt with its medieval ethic. The Treaty set France upon a course which could have but one ending, the challenge of the enemy who robbed her in 1871. It involved her in the new system of war to whose perfection Germany gave her chief care. Italy, caught up also in the competition of armaments, owed her completed unity to the Second Empire's fall, and drifted doubtfully into an agreement with the Power by which that event had been accomplished. Russia, Great Britain, and Austria-Hungary were immediately involved in the circumstances of the war by Russia's repudiation of the Black Sea Articles of the Treaty of Paris (1856). On March 13, 1871, the London Treaty annulled the Articles forbidding warships and armaments on the

Black Sea, while affirming the Sultan's power to exclude all warships from entering it. Three days later Russia signed an agreement with Turkey which asserted the right of each Power to maintain fleets of any size on those waters. Thus the Eastern Question was reopened. Side by side of these menacing questions the increasing influence of democracies throughout Europe, even in such autocratic societies as Russia and Germany, built up after 1871 a body of public opinion which forbade any Power wantonly to break the peace of Europe by offensive war. The fact did not prevent the outbreak in 1914 of the greatest conflict that Europe had seen. But the strenuous efforts of every belligerent, even Germany, on whom almost the entire civilized world laid the responsibility for the war, to convince its nationals and neighbours that it was resisting unprovoked aggression, proved how deeply the lessons of 1870–71 had taken root, and how repugnant to the conscience of Europe was the doctrine of Heinrich von Treitschke's disciple General Bernhardi: "War is not only an unqualified necessity, but justifiable from every point of view."

The Commune and the Third Republic.

The war of 1870–71 was followed by an extraordinary revelation of France's recuperative powers and by the emergence of the most durable Constitution she has possessed since the fall of the *ancien régime*. But the Third Republic came slowly into existence, after a bloody civil war in Paris and a stubborn Parliamentary struggle. From the fall of the Second Empire on September 4, 1870, throughout the Presidency of Thiers and part of that of his successor, Marshal MacMahon, France obeyed a provisional *régime*. The National Assembly sitting at Bordeaux or Versailles had been elected solely to ratify the Treaty with Germany, and the Monarchist majority was most anxious that the odium of it should rest upon the provisional Republic and not upon the Monarchy which they had in mind ultimately to establish.

But the impossibility of uniting the Monarchist sections, the rooted Bourbonism of the Comte de Chambord, and the

influence eventually exerted by Thiers himself, a Monarchist by conviction, procured in 1875 the victory of Republican principles. The Constitution of that year is still (1915) in force.

Between the Monarchist Assembly and Socialist Paris a contest was almost inevitable. The prolonged siege stimulated the capital's patriotic and Republican passions, and its sufferings seemed to consecrate its traditional right to act for France in demanding the victory of which the *drapeau rouge* had been cheated in 1848. Suspicious and sensitive, the mob of the capital regarded the National Assembly's majority as its own and France's enemy. It had other grounds of complaint. One of the early acts of the Assembly was to discontinue the pay (one and a half *francs* a day) of the *Garde Nationale*, which, pending the resumption of civil employment, was for many the only means of subsistence, action which was not less resented because those who could present a certificate of poverty were exempted. Again, on the eve of its transference to Versailles, the Assembly put an end to the *moratorium* which, while the siege lasted, suspended the payment of rent and commercial debts. In consequence a large number of persons were involved suddenly in legal processes and without the means to satisfy their creditors.

Soon after the National Assembly met at Bordeaux the National Guards in Paris, particularly those of the eastern quarters, formed a "Republican Federation of the *Garde Nationale*" in defence of the interests of the force and to resist attempts against the Republic. Its management was entrusted to a *Comité central* of about 30 members, which was constituted on March 15. One of the first acts of the Federation was the removal to Montmartre and Belleville of a large quantity of artillery from other parts of the city, a step inspired by indignation at the Assembly's permission to the Germans to enter Paris. On March 18 Thiers sent a couple of regiments to recover the guns. Their appearance produced a riot in which the commander of the troops and another officer were shot summarily by the mob. Thiers acted in accordance with the advice he had given Louis Philippe in the crisis of February, 1848. The troops and the Government withdrew to Versailles from the capital

as a preliminary to organizing the military coercion of its citizens.

Left in possession of the city by the withdrawal of the civil executive, the *Comité central* installed itself in the Hôtel de Ville, and called on Paris to elect a *Conseil général de la Commune de Paris* of 90 members. About half of the voters, chiefly supporters of the insurrectionary party, went to the polls on March 26, 1871. Those elected for the better-to-do districts resigned at once. None the less the Council constituted itself the government of Paris and claimed authority to speak for France, the *Comité central* acting as a link between the Council and the National Guards, who formed the military support of the Commune. The new authority set up Committees of government, annulled the acts of the Versailles executive, adopted the *drapeau rouge* and the Republican Calendar, established a *moratorium* of three years' duration for commercial debts, and remitted the payment of rent due at October, 1870, and the two following quarters. By proclamation on April 19, it declared "absolute Communal authority extended to all parts of France," and reversing the traditions of the French revolutionaries, discarded the idea of a powerful central government, and invited the other autonomous Communes throughout France to unite with Paris under a federal tie. Outside Paris, however, Communism failed to establish itself.

The rival governments of Versailles and the Hôtel de Ville soon came into conflict. On April 3 a force of Communist soldiery (*Communards, Fédérés, Gardes nationaux fédérés*) marched out towards Versailles to exact reprisals for an attack by the *Versaillais* the evening before. Thiers dealt summarily with those who fell into his hands, and the Commune, retaliating, seized and eventually murdered the Archbishop of Paris and other prominent citizens. But the attempt to organize a Communist polity outside Paris had no success. Thiers was free to concentrate upon the capital the troops that were available. They numbered about 150,000, drawn from Bourbaki's army released from Switzerland and others whom the Frankfort Treaty set free. Thiers gave the command to MacMahon, and on May 21 the second siege of Paris, *la semaine sanglante*, began. A battery established on the Montretout heights succeeded in breaching the walls at the

Point du Jour on the south-west angle, and the troops entered. For a week the fight was carried right across Paris to Montmartre in the north-eastern angle. The Communists fought with desperation and the soldiery with equal determination. The Tuileries, Louvre, Palais Royal, Hôtel de Ville, and other public buildings were fired by the mob as it retreated, and brought to bay at Père La Chaise, on May 28, at least 17,000 insurgents were killed. About 40,000 remained prisoners, over 13,000 of whom were condemned to death or transportation.

The extinction of the Commune encouraged the Monarchists and Republicans to agitate for the settlement of France. They had used their majority to rescind the exile and confirm the elections to the Assembly of the Duc d'Aumale and the Prince de Joinville, sons of Louis Philippe. But the party was not united. All of its three sections, Legitimists, Orleanists, and Bonapartists, were inferior in number to the Republican minority, while the Comte de Chambord, the Legitimist candidate, was so reactionary as to make his candidature unacceptable to the Orleanist and Bonapartist wings. Thiers himself, a Monarchist by conviction, divined the impossibility of a Monarchist restoration and accepted a Republic in a historic phrase: *La République est le gouvernement qui nous divise le moins.* "There is," he added, "only one throne. Three men cannot sit on it." Throughout France Thiers' view of the situation gained increasing assent, and the supplementary elections in July, 1871, strengthened the Republican party in the Assembly.

The signature of the Treaty of Frankfort (May 10) cleared the way for the settlement of the Constitution. But none of the Monarchist sections was in a position to assert itself, and all were therefore ready to prolong the interim *Pacte de Bordeaux*. Delay also advantaged the Republicans. On August 31, 1871, by a majority of nearly 400 votes (491 to 94), the *Loi Rivet* was passed. It decreed that the head of the Executive should take the title *Président de la République française*, with power to appoint and dismiss Ministers, who, like himself, should be responsible to the Assembly.

Thiers' Presidency lasted for less than two years (August 31, 1871, to May 24, 1873). But in that short period he accomplished a remarkable work, liberated France from

German occupation, and put her into a military posture against a repetition of the humiliation which befell her in 1870. In imposing a war indemnity of five *milliards* Germany thought to lay upon France a burden which should cripple her for years and furnish a pretext for prolonged military occupation, if necessary. But when, on June 30, 1871, Thiers obtained a vote for raising nearly half the indemnity at five *per cent.* it was subscribed twice over. Three months later (September) one and a half *milliards* were paid off and two-thirds of France's soil was released from German occupation. France gladly would have paid the remaining instalments instantly. But the arrangements with Germany to that end were not completed until the end of June, 1872, and a final loan raised a fortnight later was subscribed seven times over. The last instalment of the indemnity being paid, in the autumn of 1873 the Germans evacuated Belfort and Verdun and marched off French soil.

The Assembly, voting its obligation to Thiers, declared him to have *bien mérité de la patrie*, and hailed him *Libérateur du territoire*. He already (July 12, 1872) had obtained a Law (amended in 1889 and 1912) which founded the military strength of the Third Republic. It established the principle of compulsory military service for all males between twenty and forty years of age: (1) five years with the active army, (2) four years in the reserve of the active army, (3) five years in the territorial army, (4) six years in the reserve of the territorial army. The Law exempted certain categories (clergy, bread-winners, teachers) from service in times of peace and reduced to one year the active service of young men studying for University degrees, and apprentices. Simultaneously a Committee of Defence was formed and the eastern frontier was covered with a protective shield of fortresses, whose strength moved Germany to infringe the neutrality of Belgium and Luxemburg when she again attacked France in 1914.

The *loi Rivet* gave a legal sanction to Thiers' authority, limited to the life of the Assembly itself. The Departmental elections in the following October and January bore testimony to the growing strength of Republicanism, which, as in 1848, was damaged by association with the *drapeau rouge*, though Gambetta, who had thrown France's

whole energies into the war, was now acting as *commis voyageur de la République*, the "tireless bagman of the Republic," assuring the nation that Republicanism and Socialism were not synonymous. Many Monarchists, like Thiers, had brought themselves to regard a Monarchy as impracticable, and supported the Left Centre's preference for a Republic based on Conservative principles. Outside Parliament the country showed itself increasingly out of patience with the Monarchist majority, who were marking time, merely, and was ready to dissolve the *Pacte de Bordeaux*. To this growing body of moderate Republican opinion Thiers determined to appeal in order to convert the provisional *loi Rivet* into a permanent system. On November 13, 1872, revealing his Republican bias for the first time, he invited the Assembly to recognize the Republic in principle and to draft a Constitution. The Assembly in reply appointed a *Commission des trente*, about one-third of whose members was drawn from the Left Centre, to draw up a scheme. But the Monarchists, concentrating, accomplished Thiers' downfall. They compelled the Republican Jules Grévy to resign the Presidency of the Assembly (April, 1873), and a Republican electoral victory in Paris over Thiers' intimate friend and supporter Rémusat was seized on to suggest that the President no longer controlled a party which was stigmatized as the fomenter of "Radicalism, anarchy, and moral chaos."

In conformity with Thiers' proposal to bring the provisional situation to an end, the Ministry introduced bills for organizing the powers of the State under a President and two Chambers. The Assembly countered with a demand for a President and Executive hostile to a Republic, and on May 24, 1873, by a majority of 16 votes (360 to 344), voted an Order of the Day calling on the President *à faire prévaloir dans le gouvernement une politique résolument conservatrice*. Vainly hoping that the Assembly would go back upon its action, Thiers resigned. The Monarchists had wished to put the Duc d'Aumale in his place. But that being impracticable, the majority, on the evening of Thiers' fall, elected Marshal MacMahon, a Legitimist, to the vacant Presidency.

In electing MacMahon the Monarchists intended to ease the course for a Bourbonist or Fusionist Restoration. The new Ministry purged the public service of Republicans.

The Clericals pursued an eager campaign in behalf of the Comte de Chambord, "Henri Cinque." The Bonapartists, owing to the Prince Imperial's minority, were not in a position to push his candidature. But the country at large was sceptical as to the wisdom of a Monarchist restoration, and the Bourbon pretender by his own action proved it to be impracticable. Early in August, 1873, the Orleanist Comte de Paris visited the Comte de Chambord at Frohsdorf in Austria to greet "the Head of the House of France and sole representative of the Monarchist party in France." The *fusion* promised to make the Monarchists a united party. But Chambord refused to make a vital concession. It was impossible, he declared (October 17, 1873), for Henry V to abandon the *drapeau blanc* of Henry IV and by accepting the Tricolour to become *roi légitime de la Révolution*. His action doomed his cause; for, as MacMahon declared, "If the *drapeau blanc* is unfurled in front of the Tricolour, the *Chassepots* will go off of themselves." The situation had reached a deadlock. The Bourbon candidate was impossible. The Bonapartist pretender was inexperienced and unwelcome to all but the Imperialists. For the Monarchist majority, therefore, no better course offered than to prolong the interim situation by extending the powers conferred on MacMahon. In November, 1873, therefore, the Assembly passed the *loi de septennat*, which extended his powers as President to a period of seven years, and welcomed the declaration of his purpose to safeguard *ordre moral* against Radical and Republican attacks.

The Septennate was a sign of its authors' recognition that relations between a Conservative Assembly and a Republican nation could not be maintained indefinitely. The Municipal and Departmental Council elections in 1874 displayed the advance of Republican sentiment in the country, and in the Assembly the position of the Right sensibly weakened. The external situation also prejudiced the chances of a Monarchical Constitution. The Clericals pursued an active campaign against Germany and Bismarck as the authors of the *Kulturkampf*, and against the Italian government for its assault on the Temporal Power. A great pilgrimage to Paray-le-Monial in 1873 pleaded for the restoration of France's king and the Church's Head, and MacMahon, in 1874, thought it advisable

to apologize to Germany for the marked antagonism of the Monarchists.

The Assembly at length extricated France from a dangerous situation. On January 30, 1875, by a majority of one vote it accepted a Republican Constitution in principle. On the following February 24 it established a Senate. On February 25 it created a Chamber of Deputies. On July 16 it defined the relation of these public authorities. On August 2 and November 30 it passed Organic Laws prescribing the method of electing Senators and Deputies respectively. These measures, along with those of 1871 and 1873 defining the powers of the President, make up the "Constitution of 1875." It differs from earlier French Constitutions in that it was not drafted by a Constitutent Assembly and was essentially a compromise. Neither fact has prevented it from being permanent.

On December 31, 1875, the National Assembly dissolved. The elections for the new Senate and Chamber produced a large Republican body in the former and a majority of more than two to one in the Chamber of Deputies. With that encouraging welcome the Third Republic began its career.

The apparatus of the Constitution of 1875 consists of a President, Senate, and Chamber of Deputies. Discarding the precedent of 1848, the *President* is elected by the two Chambers sitting together as a National Assembly at Versailles. The term of his office, in accordance with the *loi de septennat,* is seven years. He is immediately re-eligible (another variation from the practice of 1848). In the event of decease or resignation during his period of office his successor is elected for the full term, and not, as in the United States of America, for the incompleted period of the ex-President's authority. His position is that of a constitutional Sovereign. He shares initiatory power with the Legislature, appoints his Ministers, negotiates and ratifies treaties, controls the army and navy, is personally irresponsible except through his Ministers, and on a vote of the Senate can dissolve the Chamber of Deputies. By a later amendment (1886) members of families that have ruled France are excluded from the Presidency.

The *Senate* consists of 300 members, forty years and upwards of age. Of that number 75 were nominated by the National

Assembly in 1875. In 1884 the permanent or *inamovibles* Senators were suppressed, their places being filled by elected members as vacancies occurred. The elected Senators sit for a term of nine years, one-third of the Chamber being renewable every three years. Unlike the institutions of 1799 and 1852 the Senate of 1875 was thrown open to the elective principle, but not to the electorate by which the Chamber of Deputies is chosen. Its members are elected by the Departmental bodies, *conseillers généraux*, *conseillers d'arrondissement*, and a delegate from each *conseil municipal*. The powers of the Senate do not differ from those of the Chamber of Deputies, except that it can vote the dissolution of the latter and resolve itself into a High Court for the trial of Ministers and others accused of treason to the State.

The *Chamber of Deputies* is elected for a period of four years on a system of universal suffrage and *scrutin uninominal*, in which every Frenchman participates who is twenty-one years of age and possesses a six months' domicile. A second ballot is required if the candidate does not secure an absolute majority of the votes cast and the support of at least one-quarter of the electors inscribed on the roll of the constituency. At the second ballot a relative majority is sufficient. The elections are held on the same day (Sunday) throughout the country, and, unlike the Senate, there are no intermediate renewals of the Chamber's membership. The Chamber possesses no powers that differentiate it from the Senate, except that the Budget must first be voted in it. Both Houses are bound to meet annually in January and to sit for at least five months. They can be adjourned, for one month only, by the President, who also can convoke them in extraordinary session.

The French Constitution is a compromise between Bourbon autocracy and a Democratic Republic. It gave France a responsible Sovereign, a responsible Ministry, and a bi-cameral Parliament. But the Sovereign is elective and has only a qualified power of dissolution. The upper House is elective, and its members, like the Deputies, are paid for their services. Owing to its wider electoral basis the lower Chamber has become the predominant power in the State. The initiative in legislation is used by it almost exclusively, but does not solely belong to it. France secured the principles

of government for which she had been striving since 1789—sovereignty of the nation, universal suffrage, liberty for the Press, trial by jury, and the right of public assembly.

Though the framers of it meant to hold the door open for future revisions, possibly in a Monarchical direction, the Constitution has been modified but slightly. The suppression of the *Sénateurs inamovibles* in 1884, and the exclusion of the princes from the Presidency, have been the chief amendments. The root Republican principle has not been challenged seriously, and by an important *addendum* of August 18, 1883, it is declared to lie outside the scope of any proposal for revision.

CHAPTER XVII

THE TREATY OF BERLIN

Russia under Alexander II

Since 1815, Russia and Turkey on four occasions have met in war; in 1828 (Treaty of Adrianople, 1829), in 1854 (Treaty of Paris, 1856), in 1877 (Treaty of Berlin, 1878), in 1914. Between the first and the second wars Turkey conducted her *Tanzimat*. Russia followed her example between the second and the third, her era of "transformation" coinciding with the reign of Alexander II, who succeeded his father Nicolas I in 1855, and was assassinated in 1881. Alexander did not play a prominent part in Europe, unlike his father and his uncle Alexander I; stood aloof from the big events which transformed Germany and Italy during his reign; and merely used the Franco-German War to obtain (1871) the erasure of the Articles of 1856 which forbade Russia to maintain arsenals and warships on the Black Sea. The activities of his reign were on his southern frontier and completed Russia's expansion in the Caucasus. Its domestic significance lies in the tardy effort of Russia, the last country within the European system to do so, to Liberalize her Constitution and reform the social condition of her people.

On her western frontier Russia reached the limit of her expansion in 1815. The achievement was the reward of Alexander I's activities. His alliance with Napoleon gave him (Treaty of Frederikshamm, 1809) the Grand-Duchy of Finland and the Aland Isles. Bessarabia was gained in the Treaty of Bucharest (1812). The remnant of the Kingdom of Poland was his share of the spoils of Napoleon's shattered system (Treaty of Vienna, 1815). Finland and Poland were separate from the Empire when Alexander II came to the throne. Finland still constitutes a Grand-Duchy;

its relations with Russia form one of the urgent problems of Baltic politics. Poland was placed (1867), after the second Polish insurrection in 1863, under a Governor-General administering the "Ten Governments on the Vistula." The rest of Russia in Europe consists of a congeries of populations and provinces acquired at different times. They form seven areas: (1) *Greater Russia*, the nucleus of the original kingdom, lies round Moscow, the old capital. Its population is Russian and Orthodox, leavened with the sect of the "Old Believers," who separated from the Orthodox Church upon the reform of the Liturgy in the seventeenth century. (2) *Lesser Russia* or *Little Russia* consists of the Ukraine, which Russia absorbed towards the end of the eighteenth century. Its population is Russian, and for the most part Orthodox. (3) The *Volga-Ural Provinces*, the Tartar region of Astrakhan, with a mixed population. (4) *South Russia*, contiguous to and won from the Turkish Empire, possesses neither linguistic, ethnic, nor religious unity. (5) *Caucasia*. The conquest of this region, lying between the Black and Caspian Seas, begun by the acquisition of Georgia in 1800, was completed by the Treaty of Berlin (1878), and established the military frontier of the Empire on that face. (6) *West Russia* is the old Grand-Duchy of Lithuania annexed by Catharine II. It consists of Lithuania proper, a Slav country, Catholic, and by tradition Polish, and *White Russia*, Orthodox. (7) The *Baltic Provinces* are Esthonia, Livonia, and Courland. The first two were acquired from Sweden in 1721 (Treaty of Nystad). Courland was gained at Poland's expense in 1795. Lutheran Germans form the upper classes and townspeople. The peasants are Finns and Lithuanians.

Russian society was based on ideas which the French Revolution had expelled from the rest of Europe. It contained four classes, only two of them important, one of the two being subject to the other. The negligible classes were the *bourgeois* and the clergy. The former, chiefly consisting of tradesmen, was small and without political influence. The secular clergy (*popes*) belonged socially to the peasants and shared their political impotence. The two classes which made the bulk of the population were the nobles and the peasants. The nobles consisted of about 100,000 families. They were exempt from the poll-tax and military service to

which the peasants were liable. Comparatively few of them sprang from the *boiars* of Peter the Great's era. The majority, like the French *noblesse de robe* of the eighteenth century, were *chinovniks* and derived their nobility from public offices under the State. The peasants formed about nine-tenths of the population; in 1857, out of a total of 61,000,000, they numbered 50,000,000. Their position did not differ materially from that of the French peasantry before the French Revolution. Public law did not protect them. With customary rights in the soil, they still were the slaves of their master, tied to his estates, and subject to his jurisdiction. They paid a poll-tax to the State, and were liable to military service for twenty-five years.

The Russian government was an autocracy, the Tsar's residence being the administrative centre. He was assisted by a Council of State and a body of Ministers, of whom the chief was the Chancellor, who directed foreign affairs. Legislation was effected by Imperial Decree (*ukase*); there was no deliberative Assembly (*Duma*) until 1906. The Empire was divided into Governments (*guberniya*) or Provinces (*oblast*), each divided into a varying number of districts. Within each "government" the nobility had the right to assemble under their "marshal," and the privilege of access to the Sovereign. Otherwise there was no right of public meeting, and no free Press to instruct public opinion. Under Alexander I Russia's illiberal system was maintained with little mitigation. Nicolas I attempted to close Russia against the Western influences which Peter the Great so readily admitted. Foreigners were admitted only under police supervision, and Russians rarely and for limited periods were permitted to leave the country. Thrown back on herself Russia's literature developed distinctive characteristics which appear in the writings of Nicolas Gogol (1807–52), Ivan Turgenieff (1818–83), Feodor Dostoievski (1822–81), and Lyof Tolstoi (1828–1910). Alexander I had boasted that Russia alone of the Continental Powers held her own against "Westernism." Nicolas was defeated by it. Alexander II took the lesson to heart and the era of "transformation" began.

The Treaty of Paris (1856) opened a new chapter in the history of Russia, and, as was the case after her Manchurian

defeats fifty years later, directed searching enquiry upon her internal state. Turgenieff and other writers already urged that reform was essential to Russia's well-being, and the demand for it became general after the Crimean War, which was held "the bankruptcy of Autocracy," "a national disaster," the more galling when set against the triumph of 1812. The peasants were impressed by the conviction that their service in the war deserved the instant alleviation of their lot. Alexander II, without deep convictions, assured himself that reform was inevitable, and that it was better to guide the movement than to be broken by it. In a Manifesto (1856), upon the conclusion of the Treaty of Paris, he spoke in favour of equal laws for all, but without specifying emancipation as urgent. A little later, addressing a deputation of nobles from the Moscow *guberniya*, he denied intention to proclaim emancipation, yet admitted that he was not entirely opposed to it. "But," he added, "it is bound to come. I imagine that you agree with me. If so, it is better that it should come from above than from below." The *Intelligenzia* (Intellectuals) held the opinion to which the Tsar referred, but were divided upon the character of the reforms which they postulated to be necessary. All concurred in advocating emancipation of the serfs, freedom of the Press, encouragement of education, and control of the Executive. But while the Slavophils, or nationalists, preferred to build on Russian foundations, the larger body, Westernizers (*zapadniki*), looked to recent constitutional experiments in France and Belgium for the institutions that Russia seemed to need.

The reforms of Alexander II's reign, apart from the emancipation of the serfs, the greatest of them all, affected many departments of Russian life. They founded a system of local government, and reformed the judicature, the system of education, and the army. To the question of emancipation Alexander turned upon the conclusion of the Crimean War. Before the end of the year (1856) he appointed a secret Commission to examine the subject, the majority of whose members, while in favour of ameliorative measures, was not agreeable to emancipation. During 1857 Alexander issued rescripts to the nobility in various *guberniye* directing them to formulate schemes for "the amelioration of the condition of the peasantry." Early

in 1859 two Constructive Committees were formed to sift the materials which the "governmental" inquiries had supplied. Almost the whole of Russia was owned between the Crown, the State, and the nobles, except in the extreme north, where peasant ownership existed, and the extreme south, which was peopled by Cossacks and foreign colonies. The general body of serfs fell within two categories. More than half of them were public serfs on lands belonging to the State or the Imperial family. The rest, who numbered about 23,000,000, belonged to private masters. The Crown and State serfs presented no difficulty. They already occupied an intermediate position between serfdom and freedom, having been converted recently into rent-paying occupiers. By separate settlements they were permitted to buy up the Crown (1863) and State (1866) rights, and to acquire the proprietorship of the soil. On February 19, 1861, the emancipation of the private serfs was decreed formally. They consisted of three classes, two of which presented little difficulty: (1) The *dvorovuye*, serfs attached to their lords in domestic service as gardeners, cooks, body servants, were literally their master's property; an announcement "For sale, a barber and a well-bred cow," would excite no surprise. The class numbered about 2,000,000, whom the Act of Emancipation converted into free men. (2) Like the *dvorovuye*, in that their service was not rendered in agricultural employments, were peasants from whom their lords derived profit by permitting or compelling them to make a livelihood elsewhere than on their estates. They paid a periodical rental of their earnings, technically called *obrok*, which varied in amount from £1 to £2. In the case of nobles who had little or no land the *obrok* was their main source of revenue. The Act of Emancipation constituted peasants of this class free labourers.

(3) The majority of the peasants were agricultural labourers closely tied to the soil. Their case constituted the *crux* of the problem. They lived in villages (*mir*) on their lord's property, each family inhabiting a cottage (*isba*) standing within its plot. For three days of the working week each man laboured upon his master's estate. The other three he could devote to the village lands which the peasants cultivated for a yearly payment. To their master they looked for justice, and through him they were responsible

to the State for the payment of their taxes and rendering of military service. The emancipation of the agricultural serfs presented several problems. Merely to emancipate them would have benefited them in no material degree. Deprived of their customary right of access to the soil they would be at the mercy of their old masters and exposed to the unaccustomed competition of the labour market. That solution was the more out of question seeing that the peasants were convinced that the land belonged to them. Generations of their families had lived upon it and tilled it. There was a saying among them, "Our backs are your property, little master, but the land is ours." Yet the settlement of individual peasant proprietors certainly would have defeated the object of the reform; for it would have facilitated alienation and provoked greater misery than existed under the old system. The nobles would have preferred the peasants to receive adequate guarantees without infringing their own tenure. But as their tenure was not freehold, but by service, the land could be resumed in whole or part by the State.

The *ukase* of February 19, 1861, timed to celebrate the anniversary of Alexander's accession, set forth the conditions of serfdom, the causes which had contributed to set it up and aggravate it, and the efforts that had been made by the Tsar's predecessors to ameliorate them. It complimented the nobility and the peasants on their forbearance, and declared the serfs of Russia free. But the gift of freedom was conditioned. The *dvorovuye* were not to receive liberty until two full years later, and precautions were taken to prevent the old and infirm among them being thrown upon the world when liberty was acquired. Serfs liable to *obrok* became masters of their own actions and labour. The agricultural peasants also received personal liberty. Henceforth their lords could neither exact old services, hinder the movements of their peasants, nor sell them. The *isba* and its enclosure became the property of the peasant occupier, and the communal lands, hitherto the property of the lords, the collective property of the *mir*, with power of assignment to individuals. Like the *isba* they were purchasable at a valuation. The amount was determined by a judicial enquiry conducted by a new class of magistrates. Four-fifths of the purchase-money

was advanced at request by the State on loans repayable within a term of forty-nine years. So great a transaction necessarily was attended by delay and disappointment. Twenty years later (1882) about 1,500,000 peasants had not redeemed their holdings. In principle the *ukase* assigned the appropriated land to the *mir*, giving its assembly power to allot it as private property to individuals. But the amount of land at the *mirs'* disposal was limited and the growth of population made it increasingly inadequate to the needs of the peasants. In 1882 it was computed that ten *per cent.* of the peasant families of the *guberniya* of Moscow were without land. Grants to individual families varied from $5\frac{1}{2}$ to $27\frac{1}{2}$ acres, and the average allotment of the private serfs was about eight acres; the Crown serfs got more. It was also a matter of complaint that the valuation placed upon the land was high; but it is doubtful whether the nobles actually got more than the four-fifths guaranteed by the public loan.

The freedom of the serfs made possible the institution of constitutional reforms. A good deal of preparative work upon the emancipation scheme was done by local committees, whose desire for a central body at Petrograd to discuss the matter had been received coldly by Alexander. But as the result of cautious inquiries dating from 1859 he instituted in 1864 a system of local government from which, forty-two years later, Russia passed to a representative Assembly (*Duma*). The materials for a system of local government existed in the provincial assemblies of the nobles, in the village communities (*selskoye obshchestvo*) or *mir*, and in the cantons (*volost*), an aggregation of a varying number of *mir*, whose householders elected their Elder (*starshina*) and tribunal (*volostnoi sud*) for administering customary law. The scheme of 1864 brought all these bodies, as well as the towns, into an elected assembly (*Zemstvo;* the word has the meaning of the German *Landtag*) in each of thirty-four out of forty-eight *guberniye* of European Russia, and in each of their sub-divisions or Districts. The District *Zemstva* are elected by the three recognized classes—the nobles, the townsmen, and the peasants; the nobles and townsmen exercising a direct vote, the peasants voting for electors to choose for them. The Provincial *Zemstva* are elected by the District *Zemstva*. Their duties

vary in extent rather than in character. They are elected once in three years and meet to appoint a standing paid committee or bureau (*uprava*) to overlook all matters bearing on "the economic interests and needs" of the people. They are charged with the duties of English District Councils—the upkeep of highways, public buildings, and bridges, relief of the poor, public health, control of primary education (until 1869 only), and the levy of rates for the purposes of their commission. They are also charged to observe the condition of the crops, to take steps against famine, and to elect (the privilege was withdrawn in 1892) Justices of the Peace. At the outset their deliberations were subject to official veto, and the election of the peasant deputies especially was liable to official influence. Their financial situation also was not satisfactory. The greater part of the local rate fell on the rural districts, and the peasants contributed to it more than half. But the innovation on the whole worked satisfactorily, and provided the foundation on which the culminating experiment of 1906 was laid. In 1870 the principle of local government was applied tentatively to Petrograd, Moscow, and Odessa.

In 1864 Alexander sanctioned a carefully matured scheme of judicial reform; the existing system being arbitrary and corrupt. To the disappointment of the Slavophils the Tsar took Western codes as his guide, the principles on which he laid stress being, the release of the judiciary from administrative pressure, equality of civil rights, the independence of the Bench, public and oral procedure in law-courts, and the association of the people with the administration of justice. The last object was attained by instituting trial by jury in criminal cases and by establishing Justice of the Peace Courts of magistrates elected by the District *Zemstva* (until 1892). The Justice of the Peace Courts were only competent to try civil and criminal cases when a sum or fine not exceeding £50 and £30 respectively were at stake. Appeal lay from an individual Court to the monthly sessions of the Justices, thence again to a Court of Appeal, and finally to the Senate. The public courts were similarly graded; their judges held office by Crown appointment. But the reform was handicapped by the want of competent men on the Bench and at the Bar, and by the officious activity of the Third Section (Police) of the Imperial Chancellery. Political

offences were withdrawn from the cognizance of a jury, and officials could be tried only with the consent of their superiors. But the new institutions survived the stress of the Terrorist period.

A Press Law was needed owing to the great increase of journalistic activity in Alexander's reign. Until the *ukase* of 1865 the Ministries of the Interior and Public Instruction divided the duties of the Censorship. A secret Committee controlled literature. Even upon so important an event as the emancipation of the serfs the newspapers dared not comment. The most outspoken of them, the *Kolokol* (*Bell*), was published in London, and was forbidden to circulate in Russia. After the appointment of a Commission (1863) to examine the Press laws of England, France, Germany, and Belgium, Alexander promulgated (1865) a law which established for Russia the conditions which held in France after 1852. The censorship was withdrawn, and newspapers were made liable to punishment for bad behaviour, the discipline being vested in the Minister of the Interior acting independently of courts of law. After the attempt upon the Tsar's life in 1866, the Law was administered somewhat feverishly, and between 1865 and 1870 fifty-two publications were stopped. In regard to books the *autorisation préalable* was no longer required; but the government retained the right of confiscation.

The subject of education received attention from the beginning of the reign. The restriction which Nicolas I had placed upon the number of students attending the Universities was removed. A Commission was appointed to consider the question of *curricula* and text-books. The University of Odessa was founded (1865), the fourth since the beginning of the century. In 1863 a code of regulations for the Universities was issued which accorded them some release from police control, a considerable measure of autonomy in their discipline and finance, and in the nomination of candidates for vacant Chairs. The number and stipends of the latter and the revenues of the Universities were augmented. In 1864 popular and secondary education received attention. Secondary schools were divided into two classes—*gymnasia* (classical), and *realschulen* (modern). But after the reaction began, the former alone were permitted (1871) to feed the Universities, and the *curriculum* of the latter was revised.

Lastly, the military system was reorganized (1874) on the Prussian model. The whole male population without distinction was made liable to service: six years with the colours, nine in the militia, with liability to be called to the Reserve up to forty years of age.

The Crimean War discredited the system of Nicolas I, and convinced even the bureaucrats of the imperative need for reform. But the conviction hardly survived the first and greatest reform, the emancipation of the serfs. That achievement, and the reforms that followed it, directed attention to public affairs to a degree that was unwelcome to authority. The government's interest in a dangerous experiment flagged, while the Polish insurrection of 1863 and the help which it had from Michael Bakunin and other enemies of Russian autocracy weakened the Liberal counsels surrounding the Tsar. Excepting the timid grant of municipal reform in 1870, the era of reform ended in 1865 with the half-hearted Press Law. On the other side, the failure of reform instantly to create a new Russia hardened the *Intelligenzia* and drove it towards the bloody courses which it adopted. After Michael Bakunin returned from Siberia in 1864, the advanced section of the *Intelligenzia* developed a gospel which Turgenieff, in his "Fathers and Children," called *Nihilism*, "the negation, in the name of individual liberty, of all the obligations imposed upon the individual by society, by family life, and by religion" (Stepniak).

In 1865 the Moscow nobility petitioned the Tsar to "crown his edifice" by summoning an Assembly. Alexander replied that it belonged to him exclusively to initiate "this gradual work of completion," and begged that he might meet with no more "embarrassments of this kind from the nobility of Russia." A few months later (1866) the first attempt on the Tsar's life was made by Dmitri Karakozoff, a young and impoverished noble who had been excluded from two Universities for lack of means, and avowed his desire to avenge the people who had been duped by the gift of emancipation. Moderate Liberalism was thoroughly alarmed by the outrage. The arch-reactionary, Count Dmitri Tolstoi, was called to the Ministerial body, and remained in power for a quarter of a century. A few months later a young Pole made a second attempt on Alexander's life during his visit to Paris

(1867). Reaction hardened into a system. The Press was dragooned; the Universities were deprived of most of the privileges conferred on them by the *ukase* of 1863; the *real-schulen* and their modern *curricula* were revised; their scholars were denied access to the Universities; the elementary schools were taken from the supervision of the *Zemstva;* the *Zemstva* and the judicial courts were submitted to the closest observation and interference. In 1869 the Nihilists held a Congress at Basle.

The Treaty of Berlin (1878) set all Russia against bureaucracy and turned Nihilism into Terrorism. The boldness of a young girl, Vera Zasulich, who fired at General Trepoff, the head of the Police, for illegally condemning to the knout a young student who failed to take off his hat to him (1878), and her acquittal by a jury, revealed the new spirit abroad. In June, 1879, an inner revolutionary organization called "The Will of the People" was established and a remorseless *vendetta* against the Tsar began. In 1879 the conspirators attempted to destroy the royal train. In 1880 an explosion of dynamite below the dining-room of the Winter Palace killed and wounded over sixty persons and only failed in its object through the Emperor being detained elsewhere. In 1881 he sanctioned a Commission to consider the project of a Constitution, and on the afternoon of the day he signed the order (March 13) he was struck by a bomb as he drove along the Catharine Canal in Petrograd. He died the same afternoon, and the Terror with him. For a quarter of a century, through the reign of his son Alexander III, and for the first eleven years of his grandson Nicolas II's, reaction held its ground. Not until the humiliations of the Russo-Japanese war, and their revelation of official incompetence and venality, did the pendulum swing again towards Alexander II's abandoned project. In August, 1905, Nicolas summoned a representative *Duma.* It assembled in May, 1906, and as an effective institution is still in the experimental stage.

Turkey and her Christian Subjects

The Treaty of Paris (1856) created a new situation inside the Ottoman Empire and in its relations with Europe.

Embodied in the Treaty was the *hatt-i-Humayun* of February, 1856, which consequently became an integral part of the public law of Europe. It promised not only personal security to the Christian subjects of the Porte, and to suppress all legal distinctions between Christian and Muslim, but in its provisions threatened to denude Ottoman rule of its traditional character. The decree proclaimed the equality of religions and nationalities, and their uniform liability to taxation and military service. It admitted Christians freely to administrative office. It undertook to create mixed tribunals on which Christians and Muslim could associate; to revise the Civil and Criminal Codes; to reform the police and prison systems. It promised Christians representation on the Council of State. It proposed to reorganize the provincial administration, to recast the monetary system, to establish banks, and to improve the roads. It promised annual budgets. Short of conferring a Constitution the scheme could not have been fuller. But its promise was illusory. However sincere the Porte may have been, the Muslim population was not ready to abandon its tyranny over the *rayah*. It disliked serving in the army under Christian officers. It feared that Christians, if armed, would retaliate upon their oppressors. Nor did the Muslim alone criticize the decree. The Christians reflected that the policy which dealt with them as a conquered race gave them a satisfactory position at least on two matters of great concern. If Islam and Christianity were placed upon a common footing, the considerations which permitted the authority of the Patriarch to circulate through a hierarchy of bishops would exist no longer. The bishops opposed the decree on that ground. The Christians also were unwilling to accept the obligation to recruit the armies of the Crescent. They preferred to pay the poll-tax (*kharaj*); in fact, it was restored under another name (*bedel-i-askeriyeh*), as a tax upon the Christian population exclusively in lieu of military service.

But the Porte had no intention to rend the Empire by carrying out a programme whose fulfilment could have no other result. The Treaty of 1856 admitted Turkey to the European system from which the Treaty of 1815 excluded her, and the rivalries of the other members of the system made it

easy for her in the future to evade her promises. Abd-ul-Aziz, who began to reign in 1861, posed at first as a reformer, but merely created new officials and two new Ministries (Justice and Public Instruction). After the Cretan rebellion the Powers conducted an investigation (1867) and discovered that the reforms of 1856 had not been initiated. Christians had been admitted only to offices of subordinate importance; mixed Courts were rare, Christians were afraid to sit on them, their testimony against a Muslim was not listened to, and to obtain justice it was necessary to bribe Muslim witnesses; the army remained Muslim; the prisons and the police retained their evil character; the taxes still were farmed; annual budgets had not been established. Europe protested, but without avail, against the Porte's failure to proceed with "a gradual and sustained application of reforms." France and Russia showed themselves particularly insistent, and Fuad Pasha and Ali Pasha tried to accelerate the fusion of races that France advocated.

But France's defeat in 1871 destroyed her influence at Constantinople. Austria-Hungary, backed by Germany, developed an interest in Balkan politics which increasingly threatened her relations with Russia. Great Britain and Russia also were estranged. Turkey made the fullest use of the situation, and until Bosnia and Herzegovina blazed into rebellion in 1875 the *hatt-i-Humayun* of 1856 was pigeon-holed out of sight.

More than one incident in the years 1856–1875 revealed the Eastern Question's obstinate characteristics. In the summer of 1860 the Syrian Druses organized a massacre of the Christian Maronites, in which the Turkish troops, especially at Damascus, participated. France protested in virtue of her Protectorship of the Syrian missions, and the Governor of Damascus and a number of accomplices were shot. In 1861 an International Commission assembled at Beirut to examine the situation. Its deliberations resulted in the signature at Constantinople of a Convention (1861) which appointed a Christian Governor (nominated by the five Powers in conjunction with the Porte) of the Lebanon as a region distinct from the *vilayet* of Syria.

Simultaneously the state of affairs in Montenegro claimed the Porte's attention. In 1852 Prince Danilo had assumed

the title *Gospodar* (Sovereign Prince) with the approbation of Russia. Consequently at the Conference of Paris (1856) the Turkish plenipotentiary invited the Powers to declare Montenegro "an integral part of the Ottoman State." Danilo repudiated Turkish suzerainty and demanded Antivari. Without a declaration of war the Turks (1858) invaded Montenegro, and at Grahovo were signally defeated. At the instance of Napoleon III, Turkey accepted a Commission to delimit the Turco-Montenegrin frontier, which had not concluded its labours when Danilo was assassinated (1860). His nephew, the present (1915) King Nicolas, to whom Napoleon had stood godfather, succeeded him. The victory of Grahovo stirred the hopes of the Slav race, and particularly of Herzegovina. In a petition to the European Consuls they demanded permission to build churches and schools, to have the guidance of a bishop, and protection against the tax-farmers and the tyranny of the *zaptieh* (police). In sympathy Montenegro reopened her war with Turkey. But the prospect of a Balkan conflict alarmed the Powers. They addressed an *ultimatum* to Prince Nicolas, who submitted to the Convention of Scutari (1862) which forbade Montenegro to build forts or to import arms. The revolt of Herzegovina was suppressed without difficulty. Five years later (1866) Crete also rose, demanding redress of grievances and union with her "mother, Greece," and obtained a measure of local government (1868). The Powers used the occasion to draw the Sultan's attention to the unfulfilled *hatt-i-Humayun* of 1856, and under the guidance of Ali Pasha, Abd-ul-Aziz made an effort to fulfil forgotten promises. He created a council of State, to which, and to public offices from the Grand Vizirate downwards, he declared his Christian subjects to be eligible on the sole test of merit (1868). He organized a Ministry of the Interior, and published the first instalment of a Civil Code (1869).

The hope of autonomy still animated the Balkans. But comparatively little progress towards it was made between the Crimean and Russo-Turkish Wars. In 1859 Moldavia and Wallachia, whose affairs engaged the Powers at Paris in 1856, elected the same ruler and formed the Principality of Roumania. In 1866 they deposed him and chose as their hereditary Prince Charles of Hohenzollern-Sigmaringen. In

Serbia the rivalry of Obrenovich and Karageorgevich was marked by two incidents which foretold the greater tragedy of 1903. In 1858, Alexander Karageorgevich, who had guided Serbia through the Crimean crisis with a caution of which his subjects disapproved, was deposed. Milosh Obrenovich, Kara George's rival, was recalled from exile to the throne. Ten years later (1868) his son Michael, who succeeded him in 1860, was assassinated by the rival faction after a brief reign which carried Serbia a step nearer her complete release from the Turkish yoke. In 1867 the Turkish garrisons were recalled from Serbia, on the stipulation that from the castle of Belgrade the Turkish flag and Serbian Tricolour floated together. Ten years later (Treaty of Berlin) this mark of Turkish bondage was removed. Egypt also succeeded in restricting the discipline of the Porte. By decrees in 1866, 1867, and 1872 Ismaïl Pasha received the title *Khedive* (Prince, or Lord), the right of succession in the dignity from father to eldest son, and a large measure of autonomy in the internal administration of the province—power to conclude customs, police, and postal conventions with foreign Powers.

Greece rose against her Bavarian king in 1862, and compelled his abdication. In 1863 she called the Danish Prince William to her throne as George I (1863–1913), and in 1864 adopted her present single-Chamber (*Boulé*) Constitution. The Franco-German War gave Russia opportunity to press for modification of the Balkan situation in two important particulars. She procured from Abd-ul-Aziz in March, 1870, the establishment of a Bulgarian Exarchate as a religious system distinct and separate from the Patriarchate, which hitherto, without distinction, had included the Christian subjects of the Porte. The Bulgarians welcomed the concession; for, restive under Greek control, they had even contemplated joining the Latin Church. Russia approved it, since it permitted her to influence the Balkan Slavs more directly. The Porte conceded the measure to destroy the unity of Balkan Christendom and to introduce animosity between its Greek and Slavonic sections. Though the Patriarch protested and excommunicated the Exarch, whose appointment was delayed until 1872, he resided at Constantinople until December, 1913, when he withdrew to Sofia from the capital of Turkey's diminished European Empire. In March, 1871, also at

Russia's instance, the Powers (Treaty of London) annulled the Articles of 1856 restricting her naval rights on the Black Sea. A supplementary Russo-Turkish Convention permitted both countries to maintain fleets on its waters. But the Russo-Turkish War followed too quickly to allow either to benefit by the agreement.

A climax in the relations of the Porte and its Christian subjects was reached in 1875, when Herzegovina blazed into revolt. Galling oppression, grinding taxation, heartless and incredible cruelty impelled it to dare its oppressor. Nearness to almost emancipated Serbia and Montenegro made its lot particularly unbearable. It was aggravated by the fact that its Muslim population, like the Christian, was Slavonic, and included few Turks other than officials. The accident of religion alone placed one part of the population in subjection, and exposed it exclusively to Turkish tyranny.

The harvest of 1875 was a poor one; yet the tax-farmers perpetrated their usual exactions and attempted, in some cases, to take their toll of the crops twice over. In July, 1875, the peasants issued a manifesto: the *rayah*, it declared, was "a dumb creature, less than an animal, born into eternal slavery," but determined to fight for liberty. Serbians, Montenegrins, and the Dalmatian Slavs made common cause against the oppressor. In August, 1875, the three eastern Powers, intervening, proposed that their Consuls should elicit the grievances of the insurgents and transmit them to a Commissioner appointed by the Sultan. The Porte agreed, appointed a Commissioner, and in September the insurgents communicated to the Consuls the concessions which they demanded—complete religious liberty; the right of Christians to give evidence at law; the organization of a local military force for their protection; the abolition of the tax-farmers; and absolute fixture of the imposts to which they were liable. The Porte replied in October, outlining a large scheme of reform, and in December issued a *firman* which conferred upon the Empire a new administrative system, and admitted Christians to elective district boards. It promised to institute local *gendarmerie*, abolished forced labour, and proclaimed full religious liberty.

The Sultan's promises satisfied neither the insurgents nor

the Powers. Austria-Hungary, vitally interested in the Bosnian situation, suggested that her Minister Andrassy should frame a Note expressing the policy of the three Powers, and submit it with the approval of Europe for the Porte's serious attention. Russia and Germany approved, and on December 30, 1875, Andrassy circulated a Note to the Powers. It asserted that reform was essential " to put an end to a fatal and bloody contest." It demanded " facts, not programmes," and in particular, amelioration of the grievances of Herzegovina. It specified the *desiderata :* complete religious liberty, abolition of the tax-farming system, the application of taxes raised locally to local purposes, the institution of a mixed local assembly to superintend the execution of reforms, and facilities for the peasants' acquisition of the proprietorship of the soil. The Note had the approval of France and Italy. Great Britain accepted it in January, 1876, but on the understanding that she was not pledged to a policy of action. " I have considered it my duty," the Queen's Speech ran, " not to hold aloof from the efforts being made by allied and friendly governments to bring about the pacification of the disturbed districts." Towards the end of the month the Note was communicated to the Sultan. Since it merely committed him to one set of promises in lieu of others already made he had no difficulty in accepting it, and in February its suggestions were embodied in a new decree. Correctly interpreting the Porte's policy, the insurgents resumed the war, which had languished during the winter.

As the winter passed into spring the danger of a wider outbreak increased. Serbia and Montenegro prepared to take the field openly. Bulgaria was restless. Turkey began to concentrate troops on the Serbian and Montenegrin frontiers. Russia, where the war fever was rising, forbade her to cross them. But in May, 1876, the assassination of the French and German Consuls at Salonika made resolute action against Turkey imperative. A few days later the three Ministers of Germany (Bismarck), Austria (Andrassy), and Russia (Gorchakoff) met at Berlin to frame a Memorandum. It demanded an immediate armistice, during which the insurgents were to retain their arms, while the Porte instituted reforms under the supervision of the Powers and withdrew

from the insurgent provinces, except from certain fortresses to be named. Italy and France gave the proposed intervention their approval. But the hand of Russia in the Berlin Memorandum (it was drafted by Gorchakoff) prejudiced the British government against it. Disraeli, who recently had been created Earl of Beaconsfield, repudiated the idea of armed intervention as contrary to treaty engagements with the Porte, and by his abstention frustrated the policy which the three Powers had in mind to carry out; there was not the slightest chance now that Turkey would pay attention to it. In fact the Memorandum was not presented at Constantinople. Germany and France moved their squadrons into Turkish waters, but the British fleet's appearance in Besika Bay encouraged Turkey's obstinacy.

The situation was interrupted by a revolution at Constantinople. For some time past increasing discontent had been felt at the Sultan's extravagance and incompetence. On May 11, 1876, a large number of theological students (*softas*) demonstrated before the palace of the Grand Vizir and Sheik-ul-Islam, denounced their incompetence, and compelled their resignation. Obtaining the necessary *fetva* from the new Sheik-ul-Islam, Midhat Pasha, one of the leaders of the Young Turks, planned a revolution for the night of May 29–30, 1876. Abd-ul-Aziz was deposed in favour of his nephew Murad V, and later it was given out that he had committed suicide. Probably he was assassinated. The brief reign of his successor was filled with war and atrocities. In reply to Turkey's demand for an explanation of her demeanour, Serbia declared war, and Montenegro followed her example (July, 1876). But the indignant gaze of Europe was fixed chiefly on Bulgaria. Economically she had been fairly administered by Turkey. But for years the condition of her Christian population had been made intolerable by the immigration of Muslim fugitives from Russian rule in the Caucasus. Their atrocities led to an outbreak of the Bulgarian peasantry in the spring of 1876. It was punished with ruthless cruelty by Bashi-Bazuks, irregular soldiery whom Turkey used in lieu of her regular army, which was required elsewhere. Wholesale massacres took place. In a single village five out of seven in a population of 7000 were done to death in cold blood. Gladstone published a

pamphlet entitled *Bulgarian Horrors and the Question of the East*, and conducted a vigorous autumn campaign of speech-making in order to compel Beaconsfield to modify his pro-Turkish policy. Elsewhere the situation in the Balkans was critical. Serbia had made a poor fight, and begged the Powers to intervene. Bosnia and Herzegovina were given over to fire and sword. Murad V, too, went the way of his uncle Abd-ul-Aziz. He was deposed in August, 1876, and his place was taken by his brother Abd-ul-Hamid II—"Abdul the Damned," an English poet called him later. Beaconsfield, influenced by the excited state of public opinion in England, and anxious to remove any excuse for Russian intervention, suggested terms for the Porte's consideration; an armistice, restoration of the *status quo ante bellum* in Serbia; a measure of autonomy to Bosnia and Herzegovina, and possibly to Bulgaria. But the Turkish government rejected the endeavours of its most friendly critic to extricate it, and to the suggestion of particular reforms opposed the promise of a Parliamentary Constitution for the Empire at large. Beaconsfield once more urged a short armistice and submission of the situation to a conference of the Powers signatory to the Treaties of Paris (1856) and London (1871). Neglecting the suggestion of a conference, the Sultan demanded that the armistice should last for six months, and that the insurgents should receive no succour during its continuance, a proposal which offered Turkey time to recuperate during the winter.

At this point Russia lost patience. In the middle of October, 1876, the Tsar dispatched General Ignatieff to Constantinople to insist upon the Porte's acceptance of the British terms and the grant of autonomy to the insurgent provinces under guarantee of the Powers. Simultaneously the collapse of Serbia at Djunis and Aleksinats opened the road to Belgrade, and exposed her to Turkey's vengeance. On October 30, Ignatieff delivered an *ultimatum* to the Porte, demanding an unconditional armistice within forty-eight hours. On November 1, it was accorded, and subsequently was extended to March 1, 1877, when peace was concluded between Turkey and Serbia. Montenegro was left to stand alone.

Russia's intervention caused a reaction from the indignation which the Bulgarian atrocities aroused in England. A

popular song, applauded later in the Music Halls, vociferated "We don't want to fight, but by Jingo if we do, the Russians shall not have Constantinople." In November, at the annual Lord Mayor's Banquet, Beaconsfield, speaking directly at Petrograd, declared that in her Empire's cause Great Britain "was not a country that would have to inquire whether she would enter into a second or third campaign." The Tsar expressed himself with equal determination to the Moscow nobles. He had assured Great Britain already that his Eastern policy was disinterested, but that the Balkan situation being "intolerable," Russia could not countenance it. Beaconsfield again suggested a Conference, which alone could prevent the situation from becoming acute. Russia agreeing, it opened at Constantinople in December, 1876, and was attended by the Marquess of Salisbury on behalf of Great Britain. Its first session was marked by a solemn farce. The plenipotentiaries were intimating their demands when the thunder of artillery was heard announcing, the Turkish plenipotentiary informed his colleagues, "the promulgation of the Constitution which the Sultan confers on the Empire, an act which changes a form of government consecrated by the usage of six centuries, and inaugurates a new era of prosperity for the Ottoman people." The Constitution was mildly Liberal in type, with a responsible Council of Ministers and a bicameral Parliament. It never came into effective operation, and was not intended to do so. But it enabled the Porte to reject the proposals of the plenipotentiaries on the pretext that they were actually assured by the Constitution. In the middle of January, 1877, the Conference broke up after the Porte had rejected two sets of propositions for ameliorating the condition of Bosnia, Bulgaria, and Herzegovina.

The failure of the Conference compelled Russia to act. From France and Italy no opposition threatened. Germany was not yet committed to pro-Islamism in the Balkans, and Bismarck in 1885 declared that the Balkan situation was not worth the bones of a Pomeranian grenadier. The neutrality of Austria-Hungary had been promised in July, 1876; Bosnia and Herzegovina were to be her share of the Turkish spoil. Assured of the countenance of the Continent, Gorchakoff, on January 31, 1877, invited the Powers to state

by what measures they contemplated overcoming Turkey's obstinacy, and declared that in default of other means Russia would act alone. Once more the Powers assembled in conference, at London. On March 31, they issued (the London Protocol) their last word of advice to the Porte. It took note of the peace recently made between Turkey and Serbia, and invited the former to come to terms with Montenegro also. It insisted on the institution of reforms. It required Turkey to reduce her army to a peace footing. It warned her that the institution of reforms would take place under the observation of their representatives, and that if they failed in their purpose the Powers held themselves free to take steps to " assure the well-being of the Christian populations and the interests of the peace of Europe." Great Britain signed the Protocol, but with a declaration of her freedom to act in accordance with her interests in the event of it failing to keep Russia and Turkey apart.

The Protocol was presented to the Porte early in April. In spite of Great Britain's positive statements to the contrary, Turkey believed that, as in 1854, she could rely on British help. Abd-ul-Hamid's Parliament therefore summarily rejected the European *ultimatum*, anticipating friendly intervention in case of conflict with Russia. But Russia, as it proved, more correctly interpreted Great Britain's disposition. Having concluded an agreement with Roumania which permitted his troops to march through her territory and promised complete independence in return, the Tsar, on April 24, 1877, declared war.

The Russo-Turkish War

In previous wars with Turkey, in 1829 and 1853, Russia's maritime superiority on the Black Sea enabled her to obtain important initial successes. In 1829 it nullified Turkish preparations in Bulgaria between the Balkans and the Danube, and enabled Russia to land within striking distance of Constantinople. In 1854 the presence of the French and English at Varna forbade repetition of the earlier plan, but Russia's fleet already (1853) had destroyed the Turkish squadron. In 1877 she had no fleet on the Black Sea, but proposed to repeat the triumph of 1829, thrust

herself between Constantinople and its outlying defences, and impose peace. Operations were planned to take place simultaneously in the Balkans and in the Caucasus. In the former Constantinople, in the latter Erzerum, were the objectives. On the Danubian front the Tsar's brother, Grand-Duke Nicolas, was in command; in the Caucasus, where the capture of Ardahan and Kars strengthened the Russian frontier, Grand-Duke Michael was associated with General Loris-Melikoff. The operations in Europe chiefly influenced the objects of the war.

Though war was declared at the end of April, it was not until two months later that the Russians invaded Turkish soil; partly owing to defective administration, partly to the activity of the Turkish gunboats on the Danube, partly to the flooded condition of the river. The Turkish army was considerably distributed. A large force in the west was operating against Montenegro and the insurgent provinces. Between the Danube and the parallel Balkan range a force of about 200,000 men was quartered in the quadrilateral of fortresses, Rustchuk and Silistria, both on the Bulgarian bank of the Danube, and Shumla and Varna to the south of it. A smaller Turkish army was stationed under Osman Pasha at Widdin on the Danube close to the Serbian frontier, overlooking Calafat on the Roumanian side of the river. Between Widdin and the quadrilateral the Danube practically was undefended. In the last week of June a Russian force crossed the Danube near Galatz, close to its junction with the Pruth, occupied the Dobrudja, drew the attention of the Turkish right, and permitted the main Russian army to enter Bulgaria. A few days later it occupied Sistova, and within a fortnight the capture of Nicopolis on the west and of Biela on the east secured its position. Once established on the south bank of the Danube the Russians advanced with startling rapidity which the operations of the Bulgarians in 1912 recalled. Aiming a conclusive blow at Constantinople, General Gurko crossed the Balkans by a defile which the Turks supposed to be impregnable, and took in the rear an Ottoman force holding the important Shipka Pass (July). The road into Roumelia along the Maritsa to Philippopolis and Adrianople was open. But the situation suddenly changed. Suleiman Pasha hurried back with reinforcements from the west, while

Osman Pasha took a step which for five months held the issue in suspense. Forestalling the Russians, he threw himself into Plevna on July 16. The town, which commanded the intersection of the principal Bulgarian high-roads, lay somewhat to the south-west of Sistova, on the right flank of the Russian advance, and in Turkish hands placed the Russian communications in grave peril. Roumania, who, driven into a formal alliance with Russia, had declared herself independent (May 21) in reply to the bombardment of Calafat by the Turks, now joined the Russians under her Prince Charles. Two determined and bloody assaults upon Plevna in the last fortnight of July failed to dislodge Osman. Another on the Tsar's name-day (September 11) also was unsuccessful. Todleben, the hero of Sebastopol, was ordered to direct a regular siege, which became a strict investment in October. Not until December 10 did the defenders capitulate, after an attempt to cut their way through the investing lines. Meanwhile Suleiman had beaten Gurko at Stara Zagora (August) and had driven him back on the Shipka Pass. But on the fall of Plevna Russia continued her interrupted advance. Crossing the Balkans in an intensely cold winter her armies converged on Adrianople, and after a last rally by Suleiman near Philippopolis, entered the city unopposed. Before the end of January, 1878, their columns, as in 1829, were at Rodosto on the Sea of Marmora and Constantinople's days seemed numbered. In Asia Minor Kars had fallen (1877). Montenegro had possessed herself of Antivari, Spizza, and Dulcigno on the Adriatic. Serbia, who declared war two days after the fall of Plevna, had wiped out the record of Aleksinats by her capture of Nish and Pirot.

After vainly invoking the intervention of the Powers, Turkey consented to treat directly with Russia. On January 3, 1878, her envoys signed Preliminaries of peace at Adrianople under threat of a Russian occupation of Constantinople. The conditions imposed were hard:—the gift of independence to Serbia and Roumania; the creation of Bulgaria as an autonomous principality; the guarantee of administrative autonomy to Bosnia, Herzegovina, and the other Christian provinces of the Porte; increase of territory for Serbia, Montenegro, and Bulgaria.

British and Austro-Hungarian diplomacy was seriously concerned at the thoroughness of Russia's success. In England opinion was divided; Gladstone continued to fulminate against the "unspeakable Turk," while the public favoured war in Turkey's defence. The Queen's Speech (January 17, 1878) warned Russia that "some unexpected occurrence may render it incumbent on me to adopt measures of precaution." A week later the British fleet was ordered from Besika Bay to enter the Dardanelles. The Foreign Minister (Lord Derby) at once resigned, but withdrew his resignation upon the cancellation of the order. The signature of the Preliminaries of Adrianople made the position infinitely more critical. Three days later (February 3) Austria-Hungary, who found the Adrianople terms inimical to her interests, made known that she held null and void any modification of existing treaties affecting Europe at large and herself. She suggested a conference at Vienna, and meanwhile mobilized her army. The British fleet was again ordered to the Dardanelles, and on February 15 anchored off the island Prinkipo, within ten miles of Constantinople and the Russian headquarters at San Stefano. Greece and Crete were becoming restive, and trouble threatened in Epirus and Thessaly. It was clear that a good many interests desired to scrutinize the text of the treaty which Russia was about to impose on Turkey. Russia herself realized the fact, but counted on the support of Bismarck, who, in a speech to the Reichstag (February), offered the services of Germany as "honest broker" between the belligerents.

In 1878, as in 1913, the issue of a disastrous war condemned Turkey to a humiliating treaty which was mitigated in her favour by subsequent revision. On March 3, 1878, she signed the Treaty of San Stefano with Russia. Its most striking feature was the erection of Bulgaria into a nominally vassal principality with an area very little less than that left to Turkey in Europe by the treaty. Turkey, in fact, was dismembered almost to the extent of her losses in 1913. Bulgaria was extended westward to the confines of Albania, and on the east held the Black Sea littoral from the Roumanian frontier very nearly to Midia, the boundary of Roumelian Turkey under the Treaty of London of 1913. On the Ægean

she received the coast between the peninsula of Salonika and the Bay of Lagos, overlooking Thasos. Serbia and Montenegro also were enlarged at Turkey's expense; Montenegro receiving the captured ports on the Adriatic. The independence of Montenegro, Serbia, and Roumania was recognized. Crete, Bosnia, and Herzegovina, Thessaly, and Epirus were to receive a measure of autonomy suited to their local requirements. Armenia was promised reforms. The Danube fortresses were to be demolished.

For herself Russia exacted the cession of part of the Dobrudja (Sanjak of Tultcha) with a view to compulsorily exchanging with Roumania southern Bessarabia, of which she had been deprived in 1856. Russia imposed on Turkey an indemnity of about £140,000,000, but compounded all but about £30,000,000 in exchange for the Dobrudja, along with Batum, Ardahan, Kars, Bayazid, Alashgerd in the Caucasus.

The Treaty of San Stefano has been described as "a wholly Slavonic settlement of a question which concerned other races as well." It failed to satisfy any but Russia. The Greeks saw their hopes of Macedonia frustrated. The Serbians objected to the inclusion of Serb territory in Big Bulgaria. The Roumanians complained of Russia's shabby bargaining, which took from them southern Bessarabia and gave the inhospitable Dobrudja in exchange. Austria-Hungary detected in the Treaty's Big Bulgaria Russia's intention to exclude her from the Ægean. Turkey, though still the most considerable of the Balkan States, was reduced almost to the size of the new Bulgaria, and was partitioned into four separated areas. The Thracian portion, lying between the Rhodope Mountains and the Sea of Marmora, was cut off by land from the peninsula of Salonika and the southern stretch of Macedonia-Epirus-Thessaly, the second area. On the west, what remained to her of Herzegovina and Bosnia was only in touch with Albania through a narrow isthmus which Montenegro and Serbia controlled. The constitution of the Bulgarian principality was to be elaborated under the control of a Russian Commissioner. Russia's approval was stipulated for the reforms in Thessaly, Epirus, and Armenia. Clearly, the emancipated Christians, like Turkey herself, would be completely under the influence of Petrograd.

So drastic a disturbance of the balance of power in the Balkans alarmed Europe and procured Turkey's temporary salvation. Great Britain and Austria-Hungary had particular reasons for contesting Russia's position under the Treaty. France, to whose Foreign Office the Anglophil M. Waddington had been appointed recently, regarded Russia less warmly than his predecessor. Germany, less concerned than the other Powers, was concerned to support the interests of Austria. Italy, since the attainment of her unity in 1870, was inclined to follow the lead of Germany. In these circumstances, fortified by the Austro-Hungarian Note and mobilization, Great Britain, a few days after the signature of the Treaty, insisted that it should be submitted entire to a Conference, whose locality already had been suggested as Berlin, since Germany was least affected by the matters at issue. On Russia's refusal, Beaconsfield called out the Reserves and ordered a body of Indian troops to proceed to Malta. Derby again resigned (March), and the Marquess of Salisbury took his place. In a Note the new Foreign Minister summarized the government's opposition to the Treaty—it left Turkey existing on Russia's sufferance, a situation which did not accord with Great Britain's interests. Not daring to provoke war, Gorchakoff inquired what modification of the Treaty Great Britain desired. Negotiations followed, and on May 30, Count Shuvaloff, the Russian Ambassador at the Court of St. James, signed a secret agreement which enabled Great Britain and Russia to present themselves at Berlin in general accord.

The agreement was made public in the *Globe* after Beaconsfield and Salisbury had started for Berlin, and constituted a victory for British diplomacy. Russia abandoned the scheme of a Big Bulgaria. She admitted the Powers to share the supervision of reforms in Armenia and the Greek provinces, which the San Stefano Treaty reserved for herself exclusively, and reduced her demands in the Caucasus. Beaconsfield adroitly came also to a secret understanding (June 4) with Turkey. He accepted the charge of defending Turkish interests, which to a large extent were Great Britain's also, in Asia Minor. In return he secured for an annual tribute the right to occupy Cyprus as " a place of arms," a valuable *point d'appui* in the eastern Mediterranean from which to

observe Asia Minor, and equally convenient to the Suez Canal, of which Great Britain had purchased the Khedive's shares in 1875. The agreement was terminable in the event of Russia's evacuation of her Caucasian acquisitions. But in 1914 Great Britain annexed the island in answer to Turkey's alliance with the German Powers against her.

The Treaty of Berlin

On June 13, 1878, the plenipotentiaries of Turkey and the six Powers assembled at Berlin under Bismarck's presidency in the most important European Conference that assembled between the Congress of Vienna in 1815 and the Conference of London in 1913. The Powers were represented by their most influential Ministers: Great Britain by Beaconsfield and Salisbury, France by Waddington, Austria-Hungary by Andrassy, Italy by Corti, and Russia by Gorchakoff. Working with commendable rapidity the Conference rose, exactly a month after its first session, on July 13, 1878. A preliminary point which caused some friction related to the claim of Greece to be present. Bulgaria's expansion was calculated, possibly designed, to accentuate the ill-feeling between Greece and herself which the institution of the Exarchate in 1870 had produced. Bulgaria was not represented at the Conference, but her interests were looked after by Russia. For that reason Great Britain, whom dynastic ties bound to the Greek kingdom, urged the presence of its representatives. The suggestion was not welcome to Gorchakoff, and in the result a compromise proposed by France was adopted; both Greece and Roumania were permitted to represent their views to the Conference, but without the right of voting.

The first and most important matter for settlement in a document which has been called a *monument d'égoïsme* was the position of Bulgaria. Russia came into the Conference with her hands tied, and Great Britain's objections to Big Bulgaria prevailed. The Conference cut down to about one-third of its area and population the imposing Principality created by the San Stefano Treaty. Big Bulgaria fell into three portions. The Macedonian section was condemned to another generation of Turkish misrule. Bulgaria proper, bounded by the Danube, the Balkans, the Black Sea (with Varna as its

port), and the Serbian frontier on the west, was erected into a comparatively small "autonomous and tributary Principality under the suzerainty of the Sultan." Its Prince was to be "freely elected by the population and confirmed by the Porte, with the consent of the Powers," members of reigning European dynasties being excluded expressly. The drafting of an Organic Law was reserved for an Assembly of Bulgarian Notables. Pending the fulfilment of that task, the administration of the province was committed to a Russian Commissioner, his authority being restricted in any circumstances to a period of nine months. Both tasks were fulfilled within a few days of the stipulated period. On April 28, 1879, the Notables approved the Bulgarian Constitution (a responsible Ministry and single-Chamber *Sobranje* elected by universal suffrage). On the next day they elected Alexander, Prince of Battenberg, a nephew of the Tsar, Alexander II. The portion of Big Bulgaria below the Balkans was purposely labelled "Eastern Roumelia"; the name Roumelia having been applied heretofore to the whole area of Macedonia and Thrace. To have created a "Southern Bulgaria" would seem to invite the union with Bulgaria proper which was achieved seven years later (1885). Eastern Roumelia was constituted a separate province "under the direct political and military authority of the Sultan," but with a local militia of its own. Its administration was committed to a Christian Governor-General nominated by the Porte, with the approval of the Powers, for a term of five years. The organization of the province was entrusted to an International Commission which gave it its short-lived Constitution. The reduction of Big Bulgaria was regarded in 1878 as a triumph for British diplomacy and a rebuff to Russia. By a curious reversal of interests, the union of Bulgaria and Roumelia in 1885 was accomplished with the goodwill of Great Britain, in opposition to the wishes of Russia, and without bloodshed.

Passing from the eastern area, which more closely concerned Russia, the Congress turned to Bosnia and Herzegovina, in which Austria-Hungary was interested particularly. The Powers disregarded the claims of nationality, and no consideration was paid to the natural desire of Serbia and Montenegro to link the fortunes of the Serb race. Europe,

in fact, did not welcome an uninterrupted area of Slavdom on the south of the Danube, and was not accustomed to the thought that the stronger the Balkan principalities were, the more easily they would hold their own against Russia and Turkey alike. The secret understanding between Austria-Hungary and Russia therefore had the approval of the Conference, which regarded the presence of the Dual Monarchy in the Balkan peninsula as a necessary counterpoise to Russian intrigue. Already, between the Treaties of Passarowitz (1718) and Belgrade (1739), Austria actually had been in possession of part of Bosnia. She now received the right to "occupy and administer" Bosnia and Herzegovina for an indefinite period. By a subsequent (1879) Convention with Turkey, under whose sovereignty nominally the provinces remained, Austria-Hungary agreed to place troops only at Priepolye, Priboy, and Plevlye in the Sanjak of Novibazar, in which the Treaty permitted her to maintain military and commercial roads and garrisons. The effect of the Treaty and Convention was to give to Austria-Hungary a commanding position *vis-à-vis* Montenegro and Serbia, the two principal Slav States, in the interests, the Congress proposed, of the balance of power in the Balkans.

Grievously disappointed by severance from their Serb brothers in the two provinces, Montenegro and Serbia had other grounds for dissatisfaction with the Treaty. Both received recognition of their independence; an act which was purely formal in Montenegro's case, for she never had surrendered it. Both States received slight additions of territory, and became liable proportionally to the Ottoman Debt in respect to them. In both cases independence was conditioned by an undertaking to grant civil and religious equality to their subjects. Serbia was increased by about one-fourth of her former area. But instead of obtaining Old Serbia (Stara Serbia) on the south-west, she received Vranya, Nish, and the Bulgarian-speaking Pirot on her south-eastern frontier. Montenegro doubled her territory, but remained still the smallest of the Balkan States. Her disappointment regarding Herzegovina was mitigated by the cession of the port of Antivari on the Adriatic. But she was made to restore Dulcigno to Turkey, and to hand over Spizza to Austria-Hungary. Thus her narrow outlet on the Adriatic was

closely watched by two unfriendly neighbours. The fortress of Spizza actually dominates Antivari and in 1914 remained in the hands in which the Treaty of 1878 placed it. Dulcigno was recovered from Turkey in 1880. The Treaty closed the restricted Montenegrin waters to the warships of all nations, forbade the Principality to maintain a fleet or to fly a naval flag, and committed the maritime policing of its coast to Austria-Hungary.

Roumania received recognition of her independence on the same conditions as Serbia and Montenegro. But gratification at her release from the suzerainty of the Sultan was tempered by enforced acceptance of the bargain which Russia had arranged at San Stefano. The recognition of her independence was made dependent on her receiving the Dobrudja (to a point slightly below the forty-fourth parallel) in exchange for southern Bessarabia, which had been retroceded by Russia in 1856. Against the wishes of Russia, the Conference added coterminous territory taken from Bulgaria to the portion of the Dobrudja received by Roumania. The effect of the concession was to give Roumania possession as far as (but not including) the dismantled fortress of Silistria on the Danube and to Hanlik on the Black Sea littoral, her south-east boundary until 1913. South Bessarabia, which the Conference gave to Russia, was racially and historically Roumanian. But the Dobrudja contained large Turkish and Bulgarian elements, and was an inhospitable and apparently valueless region. Roumanian enterprise has made good the deficiencies of Nature; but the circumstances under which it was forced upon her left an abiding mark upon her relations with Russia. Thirty-five years later Roumania wrung from Bulgaria, exhausted by her struggle with the Turk, territory which carried her frontier up the south bank of the Danube westward from Silistria to Turtukai, and on the Black Sea coast to below Baltchik (Treaty of Bucharest, 1913).

The Danube next engaged the attention of the Conference. In 1856 it had been made free and a Commission (the Five Powers, Sardinia, Turkey) had been appointed to clear its navigation below Isatcha. Roumania was now added to the Commission, whose sphere was extended to Galatz. Men-of-war were excluded from below the Iron Gate through which

the Danube penetrates the Transylvanian Alps. The effect of the prohibition was to remove Bulgaria and Roumania from the supervision of Russian gunboats, but to leave Austria-Hungary to police the Serbian stretches of the river. The Danubian fortresses were to be dismantled. The improvement of the channel at the Iron Gate was committed to Austria-Hungary, and the work was completed eighteen years later (1896). The Treaties of 1856 and 1871 affecting the Dardanelles and Black Sea were maintained, and Turkey retained the power to close the Straits against warships.

In view of Russia's proposals in the San Stefano agreement, the Congress forbade her to compound a war-indemnity in the form of territorial concessions by Turkey. In respect to an indemnity she was to rank with the existing creditors of the Porte.

In the Caucasus, Russia received Ardahan, Batum, and Kars—less than the San Stefano agreement had made over to her. She agreed to maintain Batum as an "essentially non-military commercial" port, a promise which she repudiated in 1886. In Armenia the Porte undertook to initiate reforms in favour of its Christian subjects and to furnish the Powers with periodical statements of their progress. The Cyprus Convention between Great Britain and Turkey laid on the former in a particular degree the guardianship of the Armenian Christians, an obligation which she permitted to sit lightly on her conscience.

Greece, who demanded Thessaly, Epirus, Albania, and Crete, was referred directly to Turkey, with a recommendation by the Congress in favour of an extension of the Greek frontier to the Salambria-Kalamas line. The Porte pursued its usual dilatory tactics. It was not until 1881, as the result of a Conference of the Powers at Constantinople, that Greece obtained Thessaly and the Arta district of Epirus. Turkey guaranteed the application of the Organic Law of 1868 in Crete. But the island waited thirty-five years for international sanction of its union with Greece (Treaty of London, 1913).

The most cursory review of Balkan history between the pacifications of 1878 and 1913 is sufficient to show the inconclusiveness of the earlier treaty. Bulgaria, cheated of trans-Balkan Roumelia in 1878, acquired it in 1885, threw off

Turkish suzerainty in 1908, and proclaimed her Prince Ferdinand King or Tsar in the same year. In 1913 the jealousy of her allies alone prevented her from realizing the Big Bulgaria of San Stefano. In 1908 Austria-Hungary converted her indefinite administration and occupation of Bosnia-Herzegovina into full sovereignty, and at the same time withdrew from the Sanjak of Novibazar. Her retirement left Serbia and Montenegro free in 1913 to make good their claims on that Serb area. Not until 1913, therefore, were the hopes of Serbia partially satisfied by the acquisition of Old Serbia. In the interval (1882) she raised herself to the rank of a kingdom in imitation of her Roumanian neighbour. Montenegro in 1880 secured Dulcigno from the Turks. She raised herself to the rank of a kingdom in 1910 upon the regnal Jubilee of her present (1915) ruler King Nicolas. In 1913, though frustrated by the Powers from acquiring Skutari, she extended her borders over the Sanjak eastward beyond the Tara river. Roumania, with no hope of rectifying her Danubian frontier against Russia, set the example to her neighbours by proclaiming herself a kingdom in 1881. Greece in that year obtained only part of the territory proposed for her in 1878. That fact and the Cretan question drove her into a " Thirty Days' War " with Turkey in 1897 which cost her a slight rectification of her 1881 Thessalian frontier. In 1913, though she gained great additions of territory in Macedonia and the islands, she failed to realize all her hopes in Epirus, and the Powers created Albania (1913) a principality under Prince William of Wied as Mpret (1914). Crete continued to resent the Turkish connection to which the Treaty of 1878 recommitted her. The Powers placed her under a Greek Commissioner in 1898 and fifteen years later (Treaty of London, 1913) permitted her long-desired union with Greece.

Thus, between 1878 and 1912 European Turkey lost Bosnia, Herzegovina, Bulgaria, Eastern Roumelia, Thessaly, part of Epirus, and, practically, Crete. She was reduced to Thrace, Macedonia, Albania, and part of Epirus. Outside Europe, Cyprus and Egypt practically were British possessions. Tunis was a French protectorate. Italy took Tripoli in 1912 (Treaty of Lausanne, or Ouchy, October 18). The Balkan War of 1912–13 actually restricted Turkey in Europe to the south-east corner of Thrace, bounded by Sveti Stefan (Treaty

of Constantinople, 1913) in place of Midia (Treaty of London, 1913) on the Black Sea, and Enos on the Ægean (Treaties of London and Constantinople). She retained in 1914, before the outbreak of the German War, only houseroom, as it were, for her two European capitals, Constantinople and Adrianople. In the Ægean her position was greatly weakened by the Powers' allocation to Greece of the islands off the coast of Asia Minor (excepting the Sporades, which Italy had occupied in 1912), leaving in Turkey's hands only Imbros and Tenedos to guard the mouth of the Dardanelles. That Turkey survived the collapse of 1878 for so long was due to the divergent interests of the Powers, to the disinclination of all of them, until 1914, to provoke an international war by raising Balkan issues, and to the increasing identification of Turkish with German interests.

CHAPTER XVIII

THE ARMED PEACE

From the moment that Russia sheathed her sword in 1878 to Germany's challenge of her in 1914, no European Power struck a blow against an equal, and Russia alone adventured a war of the first magnitude, against Japan in 1904–5. Spain, embarrassed by the Cuban insurrection of 1895, was drawn into a brief and inglorious naval duel with the United States of America (1898). The Herero revolt (1904–5) in German South-West Africa, and the international expedition of 1900 against the Chinese Boxers, gave Germany her only military experience. Italy's ambition led her into an Abyssinian adventure and defeat at Adowah in 1896. Sixteen years later a short war with Turkey gave her Tripoli (1912), the only unappropriated Ottoman territory on the Mediterranean. France's military activities were confined to her colonial spheres in Africa and the Far East. Of the minor States the Balkans alone experienced war. Bulgaria defeated Serbia at Slivnitsa in 1882. Fifteen years later (1897) Greece unsuccessfully challenged Turkey in hope of acquiring Crete. Roumania looked back upon a period of unbroken peace when war involved the Balkan world in 1912–13.

In contrast to the other Powers stands Great Britain's record in the period. Until the Russian *entente* in 1907, her policy was instructed by grave suspicion of Muscovite designs upon her Indian frontier. In 1879 the murder of Sir Louis Cavagnari compelled a punitive expedition to Kabul under Sir Frederick Roberts. In 1895 a rising in Chitral inaugurated an arduous tribal war, of which the storming of Dargai (1898) was the most brilliant incident. In 1904 a British force entered Lhassa, the mysterious capital of Tibet. Upper

Burma was annexed in 1886 after an expedition to Mandalay. Equally persistent was British activity in Africa, whose partition is the chief event in the colonial history of Europe after 1815. In 1879 the Zulu War took place, in which the French Prince Imperial lost his life. A premature attempt to annex the Transvaal led to the first Boer War in 1880, the defeat of Sir George Colley at Majuba Hill (1881), and the restoration of Boer independence under the Sand River Convention (1881). In Egypt the rising of the Mahdi (1881) was followed (1882) by the revolt of Arabi Pasha, the battle of Tel-el-Kebir, the defeat of Hicks Pasha's rabble Egyptian army at El Obeid (1883), the dispatch of General Gordon to Khartoum (1884), and his heroic death (1885). For thirteen years the Sudan submitted to the Mahdi and his lieutenant, Osman Digna, until the Sirdar, Sir Herbert Kitchener, avenged Gordon, captured Omdurman (1898), and began the development of the Sudan, one of the remarkable achievements of British administration. The Matabele War of 1893, the obstinately fought second Boer War (1899–1902), and the Somali War of 1903 complete the record of British military activity.

The long cessation from European war and the growth of democratic opinion encouraged a movement for promoting international peace and the restriction of armaments. The conviction gained converts that, as an instrument of policy, war was a weapon which the Great Powers were not likely again to employ against each other. Arbitration was invoked increasingly to solve international quarrels. In 1862 difficulties had arisen between Great Britain and the United States of America regarding the Confederate cruiser *Alabama*, built and dispatched from Liverpool. Ten years of diplomatic conversation discussed Great Britain's liability as a neutral before the matter was referred to and settled by a Court of Arbitration sitting at Geneva in 1872. Twelve years later (1884) the Conference of Berlin, assembled to delimit European spheres in Africa, resolved that differences arising in the Congo and Niger basins should be submitted to arbitration. In 1885 a difficulty between Spain and Germany over the Caroline Islands (Spain sold her rights in 1899) was referred by Bismarck to Pope Leo XIII.

On the invitation of Tsar Nicolas II in 1899, delegates from twenty-six States assembled in a Peace Conference at

the Hague. A pious resolution for the reduction of "the excessive armaments which weigh upon all nations" was registered. But the abiding result of the Conference was the constitution of a permanent Court of Arbitration at the Hague for the settlement of international disputes. A second Peace Conference in 1907 was attended by forty-four States. In the interval Great Britain concluded arbitration Conventions with every European State (outside Belgium and the Balkans) except Russia. The Conventions, however, excepted from their scope "the vital interests, the independence, or the honour" of the contracting parties. Hence, the dangerous situation created by the panic exploit of the Russian fleet on the Dogger Bank during the Russo-Japanese War, when a fleet of British fishing vessels was fired upon (1904), was cleared by the award of a mixed naval Commission formed at Paris on the model of the Hague Court. The long dispute between Great Britain and the United States of America regarding American fishing rights off Newfoundland and Nova Scotia was referred to the Hague Tribunal in 1910, and the Waterways Treaty of that year established a permanent Court of Conciliation for the settlement of difficulties arising in boundary waters. France, Germany, Norway, Sweden, Russia, Italy, Turkey, and outside Europe, Japan, Mexico, Venezuela, Peru, Chile, and Bolivia also have taken advantage of the Hague machinery for the solution of their differences. As a supplement to the work of the Hague Conferences the maritime Powers promulgated the Declaration of London in 1909, which proposed to modify the law of contraband and the rights of seizure and search, a Declaration to which Great Britain did not adhere.

But these pacific tendencies are delusive. Democracy did not extinguish the militant instincts of governments. No progress was made towards discovering some other means than war whereby to maintain international equilibrium. Even the States who signed arbitration Conventions excluded from their purview precisely those objects for which nations are most prone to fight. The prospect of peace also was disturbed by the appearance in 1871 of a new State in Central Europe, with an external policy of its own, the means to enforce it, and after Bismarck's fall in 1890, increasingly disposed to employ in the larger arena of *Weltpolitik* the aggressive

methods which gave it birth. Hence Europe lavished increasing proportions of her wealth on the mechanism of war, condoning armaments as the surest pacificators. In 1872 France passed the first of a series of laws to strengthen herself against her late assailant. In 1886, by the " Boulanger Law," she raised her peace effectives to over 500,000 men. Germany, Russia, Austria-Hungary, Italy, and the smaller States followed her lead, and after William II's accession in 1888 the rapid growth of the German navy drew Great Britain also into the race of armaments. In 1914, immediately before the outbreak of the German War, the six Powers (Great Britain, France, Germany, Russia, Austria-Hungary, Italy) were maintaining naval and military establishments of 4,250,000 men, costing annually £360,000,000, about 30 *per cent.* of their joint annual revenue.

The root cause of the international tension which the War of 1914 resolved was the foundation of the German Empire in 1871. For the first time in the experience of medieval and modern Europe Central Europe was filled by a powerful unified State. It was the creation of " iron and blood " and showed a resolution to secure its expansion by the same agents. Its people were *siegestrunken*, drunk with the heady wine of victory, and chafed at their restricted *imperium*. As early as 1874 Heinrich von Treitschke's Chauvinism began to fire his listeners with the conviction that World Dominion was Germany's appointed destiny. The progress and the welfare of the world, he taught, were to be found in the predominance in it of German *Kultur*, the German mind, the German character. *Weltmacht oder Niedergang*, universal power or downfall, were placed before the young Empire as alternatives. As long as Bismarck ruled, these ambitions were held in leash. But after his retirement in 1890 they more and more instructed public policy. There grew up with them a rankling grudge that Germany's late arrival among the nations had permitted her elders to occupy the " place in the sun " which, she held, her ability and *Kultur* reserved for herself. To win it she prepared the methods which Bismarck had used in 1864, 1866, and 1870. Marking the fact, Europe, looking back regretfully to the Germany of Goethe, Heine, Beethoven, and Schiller, leagued to meet the danger with its own weapons.

For Europe and Germany alike the fall of Bismarck in 1890 divides the period between the founding of the German Empire in 1871 and its challenge *urbi et orbi* in 1914. After the rapid events that gave the Empire shape Bismarck realized the need for pause and consolidation. Foreseeing that France would regard the Treaty of Frankfort as a truce, the absorbing object of his policy was to safeguard the Empire by isolating her, and by preventing in particular her conjunction with Russia, an alliance which would place Germany in grave jeopardy. The European situation in 1871 favoured his purpose. Between Russia and Germany a good understanding had been traditional for generations, excepting the Tsaritsa Elizabeth's enmity towards Frederick the Great and Prussia's unwilling participation in Napoleon's campaign in 1812. There seemed little prospect, also, of an understanding between France and Russia. Their recent antagonism in the Crimea, and France's openly expressed detestation of Russia's repressive policy in Poland, held the two nations apart. Neither Italy nor Austria-Hungary, whom the swiftness of Germany's blow in 1870 prevented from coming to France's help, were inclined to risk the victor's enmity. Nor was Great Britain in a mood to ally herself with France, whose new colonial interests revived the suspicions of the previous century. The increasing menace of German militarism alone brought the two countries into line.

Secure on his western flank, Bismarck sought to protect the Empire on its eastern and south-eastern frontiers. Russia could be counted on for the moment. Austria-Hungary, whom Bismarck wisely refrained from dismembering in 1866, accepted the *fait accompli*. Socialism was the common enemy of all three. Hence in September, 1872, the three Emperors met at Berlin to pledge the stability of the new European situation and to welcome the latest kingdom of Imperial rank. "I have thrown a bridge over to Vienna," Bismarck boasted, "without breaking down the old one to Petersburg." But the agreement was an *entente* rather than a league, a *Dreikaiserverhältnis* rather than a *Dreikaiserbündnis*, a confirmation of the European situation, but neither a defensive nor an offensive alliance. Two of its members, indeed, were on the verge of a conflict of ambitions. And in order that Germany should not find herself isolated in her hour of need, it was advisable to attach herself

in particular to one of them. Tradition pointed to Russia; practical considerations to Austria-Hungary. Both Empires were German. They had stood together for centuries of common history. They formed the core of the Continent, and united were strongly posted for offence and defence. Bismarck had no interest to oppose Austria's policy towards the Serbs. He did not move in 1877, and in 1885 declared the Bulgarian crisis not worth the bones of a Pomeranian grenadier. Nor did friendship with Austria-Hungary threaten to complicate German interests elsewhere. With the Western Powers she had no quarrel, and was not likely to give France opportunity to introduce her policy of *revanche*. On the other hand, unless she were bound in a *liaison* with Germany, it was not impossible that she and Prussia's other recent victim would draw together.

Circumstances solved Bismarck's dilemma; for the understanding between Russia and Germany, concluded in 1872, rapidly cooled. It received its first check in 1875, when a second Franco-German war briefly threatened. The danger arose out of the French Military Law of 1875, which alarmed the German General Staff, and inspired a semi-official Press article "Krieg in Sicht." Perhaps Germany felt that France had been let-off too easily in 1871, or that it was advisable to "bleed her white," or that she could be frightened into fresh humiliation. Bismarck sent an indirect but alarming menace, which the French government communicated to London and Petrograd. Russia and Great Britain exerted their moderating influence, and in May, 1875, Alexander II, visiting Berlin, was able to announce that peace was assured. Russian intervention was not agreeable at Berlin, and three years later the Russo-Turkish War interposed a more serious difference.

Bismarck's plans provided for a *rapprochement* with Austria-Hungary, along with good relations with Russia. In 1876 Russia, however, raised the question of German neutrality in the event of Austria's intervention in the impending war. Though Bismarck in a famous speech to the *Reichstag*, early in 1878, repudiated the notion that Germany was called upon to take sides, and suggested "a humbler *rôle*, more like that of an honest broker who means to put business through," he left Russia in no doubt that German sympathies

inclined towards Austria. Bismarck's philo-Austrian diplomacy was amply patent in the Treaty of Berlin, which conveyed to Austria Bosnia, Herzegovina, and the Sanjak of Novibazar, planted her on Slav territory, pointed her towards Salonika, gave Bulgaria political shape, and embroiled Russia with Roumania, her single ally. Slav Russia was deeply moved, and found in Bismarck's action an ill requital of her benevolent neutrality in 1866 and 1870.

Under the stress of her indignation Russia made overtures to France, and Bismarck, hesitating no longer, concluded an alliance with Austria-Hungary. Wiser than his master, he had refrained in 1866 from the territorial spoliation which Moltke insisted upon as a military precaution against France five years later. Its relations with Russia prepared the Dual Monarchy to meet Bismarck's approach. It had agreed already (1878) to waive Article V of the Treaty of Prague, which gave the Schleswig Danes the protection of a *plébiscite* before their attachment to Prussia, a stipulation which Bismarck had disregarded. Hence, in August, 1879, Bismarck and Andrassy, the Austro-Hungarian Foreign Minister, met at Gastein and discussed a treaty of alliance, whose conclusion was delayed for two months owing to the Kaiser's aversion from an agreement of an anti-Russian complexion.

The treaty was signed on October 7, 1879. It was defined as an "alliance for peace and mutual defence," and was directed frankly against Russia, to whom William insisted upon communicating its existence. Revealed in November, 1887, and published on February 3, 1888, it bound the contracting parties to assist each other in the event of an attack upon either by Russia. It pledged them to neutrality should their assailant be another nation than Russia, though in the event of Russia supporting him "actively or by military measures" each ally's obligation to assist remained binding. The agreement was the first step in the marshalling of the European Powers in armed camps, the feature of the period of peace that ended in 1914. Enlarged to the Triple Alliance three years later (1882), the compact of 1879, the "solid and probably unbreakable core" of the Triple Alliance of 1882, realized the ideas of the patriots of 1848, who advocated an alliance of the two German bodies even while they proposed to drive

Austria from the *Bund*. Now that the hegemony of the German world was settled irrevocably in Berlin there was no large controversy dividing the two States, and Germany was agreeable to Austria resuming her watch on the Danube. Austria-Hungary welcomed help in the prosecution of an ambition which threatened trouble from Russia, and Germany also was feeling alarm at the "warlike, revolutionary tendencies of Panslavism." The agreement terminated a seventy-seven years' alliance (1802–1879) between Prussia and Russia, "the longest alliance which has ever existed between two Great Powers" (Treitschke), and marked the beginning of a prolonged rivalry between them.

The Dual Alliance was converted into the Triple Alliance by the adherence of Italy in 1882. Upon her acquisition of Rome in 1870 Italy wavered irresolutely between two courses. She cherished resentment towards France, who, excepting Napoleon's help in 1859, had opposed her efforts to attain unity. France, too, was not pleased to see a single State replacing the impotent Octarchy of 1815. The French Clericals and Monarchists also could not forgive the young kingdom its treatment of the Holy See. Indeed, until towards the end of 1874 a French frigate was stationed at Civita Vecchia at the Pope's service. Until the Republic routed the Clerical and Monarchist reactionaries in 1877 Italy was not relieved of the fear that France might strike at her under pretext of a Papal restoration. Austria-Hungary was also suspect. She retained the Trentino and Istrian peninsula, and alliance with Germany strengthened her possession of them. But the rout of the French reactionaries in 1877 allowed Italy to abandon the cautious policy which marked the early years of the kingdom. King Humbert, who succeeded in 1878, was more disposed than Victor Emmanuel to listen to Bismarck's promptings, and the Berlin Treaty of 1878 provided a stimulus to decision. Alone of the Powers who went to Berlin Italy gained no spoils. France was entrenched in Algeria since 1830, and any extension of her colonial interests in the Mediterranean would be prejudicial to Italy. But at Berlin both Germany and Great Britain encouraged France to take Tunis, the former desiring to divert her from her "policy of recollection," the latter wishing to counter objections to her own acquisition of Cyprus. On May 12,

1881, the Treaty of Bardo with the Bey of Tunis gave France the protectorate of the country. Italy's chagrin was the greater, seeing that she had looked upon Tunis as her own in reversion, and had been encouraged in the hope by Russia and Austria-Hungary. Isolated, it seemed that she had little chance of receiving consideration from Europe in the prosecution of her ambitions. Isolated, also, she was in danger of the Ultramontane party throughout Europe, and could not regard as fanciful the prospect of a Habsburg-Vatican Alliance to expel her from Rome. The Dual Alliance was the one solid fact in the then alignment of international forces. Nor had it displayed the assertiveness which characterized it after 1890.

Moved by these considerations, Italy enrolled herself in the Dual, now enlarged to a Triple Alliance (May 20, 1882; renewed in 1887, and after Bismarck's fall, in 1891, 1902, and 1912). It strengthened her to prosecute a Mediterranean and colonial policy, which planted her at Massowah (1885) and in Somaliland (1889), the former developing into the colony of Eritrea. To her partners Italy's friendship was valuable. Berlin welcomed her as another potential ally detached from France, and added her forces to those of Austria-Hungary as being at her disposal should Germany simultaneously face enemies on the Rhine and the Vistula. Austria-Hungary, intent upon her Balkan ambitions, was relieved of the fear of Irredentism assailing her in the rear. In fact, the resources of the Triple Alliance were used persistently to promote German and Austrian policies, and Italy's heavy sacrifices to maintain her army and navy at the pitch her allies required supported the truculence with which those policies were pursued. After Bismarck's fall, therefore, Italy increasingly followed an independent course, composed her differences with France, declined to act with Austria as Germany's "brilliant second" in 1906, challenged Turkey for the possession of Tripoli in 1911, and compromised the relations with the Young Turks which Germany was cultivating assiduously. The outbreak of war in 1914 gave her a not unwelcome opportunity to break from an alliance which, so far as she was concerned, had outgrown its usefulness.

Bismarck insisted that the Triple Dual Alliance did not threaten Russia. He had no intention, he said, *den Draht*

nach Petersburg abreissen zu lassen (to let the wire to Petrograd be cut), and in 1884 he strengthened the communication between the two capitals by the Skiernewicze agreement, which bound Germany, Russia, and Austria to neutrality in a war waged by any of them against a fourth. Along with the Triple Alliance it seemed to provide Germany with protection in every eventuality and to leave France no possible ally in the event of her challenging the verdict of 1871.

The discoveries of Livingstone and Stanley in Africa roused absorbing interest throughout Europe, and stirred Germany to participate in the partition of the Dark Continent. In 1871, the year of the Empire's birth, the interior of Africa was tightly shut against Europe. On its northern coast France possessed Algeria. Great Britain owned the opposite extremity, and the Dutch were settled between the Orange and Limpopo rivers. Along the coast Great Britain, France, Spain, and Portugal held detached "spheres of influence," between which there remained three large spaces into which Germany might push herself: on the Guinea coast; between Cape Colony and Portuguese West Africa (Angola); and between the Mozambique coast and the Gulf of Aden.

Already a colonial policy was regarded as anti-British and was pushed by the German Press in that spirit. Bismarck refused to endorse it until failure to induce Great Britain to support his *Einkreisungspolitik* towards France was patent. Also, his establishment of Protection in 1879 stimulated a need for new markets. In 1882 the *Deutsche Kolonialgesellschaft* and in 1884 the *Gesellschaft für deutsche Kolonisation* were founded. In 1884–85 Berlin was the seat of a Conference summoned to delimit the spheres of the European Powers in Africa. The Congo Free State was launched under the sovereignty of King Leopold of the Belgians (it became a Belgian colony in 1908), and Germany established herself (1884) as a colonial Power by her occupation of Togoland and the Cameroons on the Gulf of Guinea; of Damaraland and Namaqualand (German South-West Africa); and of German East Africa. In the Pacific she began to expand at the same time. In 1884 she annexed part of New Guinea (Kaiser Wilhelms Land). In 1885–86 she came to an

agreement with France and Great Britain which extended her influence in that locality over the Caroline, Pelew, Ladrone, Marshall Isles, and part (Bismarck Archipelago) of the Solomon Isles. But colonial Germany acquired little beyond the spoils of the Bismarck period. Kiao Chao was obtained on lease from China in 1898, and a division of the Samoa Isles was made in 1899 with the United States of America.

The Roumelian movement of 1885 and the Boulangist episode in France produced a conjunction of events which inspired the last act of Bismarck's diplomatic career. In 1887 he renewed the Skiernewicze agreement of 1884, and bound his eastern neighbour for three years longer in a " Re-insurance Compact " (*Rückversicherungsvertrag*). The effort of the two Bulgarias to tear up the Treaty of Berlin roused strong opposition in Russia. But Bismarck refused to take action and in a remembered phrase declared the business " not worth the carcase of a single Pomeranian grenadier." The theatrical career of General Boulanger, Minister of War in 1886–87, for a moment threatened Germany with war, and the arrest of Schnaebele (April 20, 1887), a French Commissioner of Police on the frontier, placed the two countries within measurable distance of an outbreak. But Alexander III's intervention proved as effective as his father's. Schnaebele was released. Simultaneously suggestions of a Franco-Russian *entente* were mooted, and when the Skiernewicze agreement expired in 1887 Alexander was not disposed to renew it. Bismarck persuaded him to do so, and on that characteristic note of caution the Chancellor's career as the autocrat of German policy came to an end. In 1888 the old Kaiser William I and his son Frederick III died. At the age of twenty-nine, the latter's son, William II, came to the throne. With him a new chapter in the history of the Empire opened.

Bismarck's policy had been frankly defensive. His absorbing purpose was to regulate the European situation in such a way that Germany could count on allies or neutrals while her " hereditary enemy " remained isolated. His policy was entirely successful; partly because the European situation did not favour the formation of an anti-German combination; chiefly because the Triple Alliance had not assumed as yet an aggressive attitude towards its neighbours. But under the

new Kaiser Germany revealed herself in another guise. A desire to stand clear from Bismarck's towering record and to carry the Empire into the arena of *Weltpolitik* lay at the root of the most significant development of the new reign—the building of a fleet which in fifteen years raised Germany to a place second only to Great Britain as a naval Power. "Our future lies on the water," the Kaiser proclaimed at the opening of the Port of Stettin in September, 1890, six months after Bismarck's dismissal. The *Deutsche Flottenverein* (Navy League) was founded in 1898, and the mission of the Kaiser's brother to take possession of Kiao Chao in that year was used to educate the nation to the need for a powerful navy.

The first Navy Law was passed in 1898, and German naval expenditure mounted rapidly from £2,300,000 in 1888, the year of the Kaiser's accession, to £23,000,000 in 1913, on the eve of his challenge to Europe. So sudden and overwhelming an accession of naval strength to a Power already superlatively powerful on land excited apprehension, especially in Great Britain, since it was in excess of what the peaceful assurance of Germany's interests required. It was reasonable that she should secure her economic future, an outlet for her growing population, a widening market for her industry. But Germany did not permit her neighbours to doubt that she contemplated aggressive trespass upon them. Kaiser and people drank in the teaching of Heinrich von Treitschke, postulated the Empire's destiny to *Weltmacht*, and justified the ambition on the vaunted superiority of German *Kultur* and the supposed decadence of Great Britain, at whose expense it was to be achieved. The cult of *Machtpolitik* was sedulously pressed. By its employment Germany had become an Empire, and by its means she meant to enlarge it; not content to await the operation of circumstances, but with determination to force an issue, and at once. Prussia's "pedantic militarism" took complete possession of her and impelled her confidently to challenge her neighbours in 1914. When Russia, France, and Great Britain drew together to balance the armaments which the Triple Alliance controlled, hoping by that means to preserve the peace of Europe, Germany, constitutionally suspicious, convinced herself that she was the object of *Einkreisungspolitik*, the victim of a jealous plot to frustrate her legitimate

development. Her military and naval preparations increased, and her diplomacy became increasingly truculent. Hence, the reign of the second Kaiser moved rapidly towards a conflict between her aggressive ambitions and the older interests which they loudly challenged.

William II at once signified his breach with Bismarck tradition. The old Chancellor, while weaving his web round Russia, had been careful to " reinsure " with her in 1884 and 1887. In 1890 the compact was not renewed. Bismarck, whose conduct in retirement lacked dignified restraint, communicated the discarded agreement to the *Hamburger Nachrichten* in 1896, the paper suggesting that British interests, threatened by a Russo-German agreement in Asia, had guided the Emperor's resolve. In fact, three months after Bismarck's retirement the British and German governments came to an agreement under which Great Britain ceded Heligoland, and Germany abandoned her inconvenient claims in Uganda and Zanzibar (1890). But, consideration for Great Britain did not weigh with Germany to " cut the wire " to Petrograd. She was on the verge of an economic and political development in South-East Europe which brought her into active rivalry with Russia. In 1888 the Berlin money market had hardened against Russian loans.

With Germany bound to her no longer and thwarting her policies, Russia was free to range herself by the side of France. For fifteen years Franco-Russian relations had moved towards an agreement. In 1870 the memory of the Second Empire's policy in Poland and the Crimea was too recent to permit Russian sympathy with France's misfortunes. But in 1875 and again in 1887 Russia intervened between France and Germany. The Treaty of Berlin impelled her farther towards an *entente* with France. In 1889–91 Paris took up the Russian loans rejected by Berlin. In 1891 the French fleet visited Cronstadt. In his telegram to the President of the Republic the Tsar spoke of " the profound sympathies that unite France and Russia." A defensive agreement forthwith was drafted, and in 1893 a Russian squadron was received with enthusiasm at Toulon ; the Tsar's telegram spoke of " the bonds which unite our two countries." A military convention was signed in 1894. Nicolas II visited Paris in 1896, the first crowned guest of the Third Republic, and President Faure,

who returned the Tsar's visit in 1897, was greeted as the representative of a *nation amie et alliée*. The alliance proved mutually useful. It rescued France from dangerous isolation and encouraged her in the knowledge that in the event of German aggression she would not take the field alone. To Russia, whose economic development needed generous capital, the *entente* offered the resources of a wealthy and thrifty people.

Concurrently with the conclusion of the Franco-Russian *entente*, Germany embarked upon a course which added Great Britain to her suspicious neighbours. The first decade of William II's reign was marked by only moderate expenditure on the navy. But the completion of the Kiel Canal in 1895 provided the necessary preliminary to an assertion of sea-power. The *Flottenverein* began its activities, and an advertisement of Germany's new enterprise was given by the voyage of Prince Henry to the Far East to acquire Kiao Chao (1898). The Emperor used the occasion for a speech containing a phrase which became famous : " Should any one attempt to affront us or to prejudice us in our valid rights, then strike with your mailed fist, and, God willing, weave round your young brow the laurel wreath which no one in the German Empire will grudge you." The language was characteristically extravagant, since no dangers awaited the Prince on an unadventurous voyage.

A few months earlier (March, 1897) the *Reichstag* had reduced the naval estimates, and the Naval Secretary of State resigned (November, 1897). Admiral von Tirpitz took his place to superintend the creation of a navy, and the first Law was passed in 1898. It authorized the maintenance of a considerable Battle Fleet and Foreign Service Fleet, provided for the automatic replacing of out-of-date vessels at fixed periods, and declared the government's resolve " to create within a definite time a national fleet of strength and power sufficient to protect effectively the naval interests of the Empire," a statement which remained the official *apologia* of the new policy. But Treitschke (d. 1896) already had taught his countrymen that Great Britain, the ultimate and greatest foe, was moribund and her *Weltherrschaft* ripe for the German sickle. Excepting the Socialists, *Weltpolitik* captured the nation, which began to covet a world Bismarck had not

disclosed. "I am stirred and moved. This indeed is a new age, a new world," he remarked in his eightieth year, when he visited for the first time a great vessel of the Hamburg-Amerika Line. The outbreak of the Boer War in 1899 found Germany willing but impotent to annoy Great Britain. "The trident must pass into our hands," the Kaiser declared in that crisis, while the *Deutsche Flottenverein* pursued a vigorous campaign. Germany replied to the Tsar's invitation to the Hague Conference of 1899 by the Navy Law of 1900, which practically doubled the fleet and avowed its purpose to be to make it dangerous "even for the greatest naval Power" to challenge the German navy. Well aware that Great Britain would not strike against a potential danger, Germany rapidly augmented her fleet by successive amendments of the Law of 1900, and repelled the well-meant but misunderstood proposals of the British Cabinet from 1906 onwards for a reduction of armaments or for a "naval holiday."

It has been said with truth that Great Britain's insular position leaves her no choice between omnipotence and impotence. She must either be "mistress of the seas or be swallowed up by them." What has been termed the "national egoism" of British policy is simply a consistent determination not to permit her maritime supremacy to be challenged by a European Power. The Elizabethan wars against Spain, the Commonwealth and Restoration struggle with the Netherlands, the Hundred Years' War with France in the eighteenth century, were waged because the existence of the island kingdom was threatened by a neighbouring and unfriendly maritime Power. The same instinct converted Great Britain's friendly interest in the birth of the German Empire into growing suspicion as its policy unfolded under William II. When opportunity arose, as on the occasion of the Jameson "Raid" in December, 1895, and of the Boer declaration of war upon Great Britain in October, 1899, the Kaiser was quick to seize an opening that promised to promote the ambitions of Pan-Germanism. In the circumstances it was impossible to accept Germany's reiterated assurance that her growing navy carried no challenge. Hence, after a momentary pause, the British government abandoned the old "Two Power" standard of superiority at sea, based on the possible alliance of the French and Russian fleets against the British navy, and adopted

instead (1911) a programme designed to give an outright British naval superiority of 60 *per cent.* in capital ships over the German navy in any year.

The German menace revolutionized Great Britain's foreign relationships. The Franco-Russian agreement left the Triple Alliance still the dominating force in Europe. For Britain, maintaining her "splendid isolation," began the twentieth century in a mood hostile towards both France and Russia. The latter's claim to Penjdeh in 1885 revived British apprehensions for Afghanistan. Her acquisition of Port Arthur in northern China in 1898 roused suspicions which Great Britain's lease of Wei-Hai-Wei (1898), for so long as Russia held Port Arthur, did something to calm. With France British relations were not less difficult. In Egypt France virtually had withdrawn (1882) from the Dual Control established in 1876. The suppression of Arabi Pasha and the recovery of the Sudan fell to Great Britain, and France repeatedly demanded the termination of the British occupation. But the work of reconstruction she had undertaken made it impossible for Great Britain to act as France desired without injury to the interests of Egypt. In 1895 she announced that she would regard the occupation of any part of the Nile valley by another Power as an unfriendly act. In 1898, however, Captain Marchand, who had started two years earlier from the French Congo to establish a position on the Upper Nile, reached Fashoda. The critical situation was handled with tact by the Sirdar, Lord Kitchener, and Marchand was withdrawn by his government. But the event wounded France, and the strong sympathy which British opinion showed towards Major Dreyfus (1898), accused of betraying his country to Germany, removed the neighbour nations farther apart. The Boer War in 1899 also furnished an opportunity for the display of anti-British feeling across the Channel.

The early years of the twentieth century healed the differences which held Great Britain aloof from France and Russia, and weakened the Triple Alliance by producing a *rapprochement* between Italy and France. In 1896 Italy recognized France's position in Tunis, and two years later (1898) a commercial treaty composed their differences. In 1901 France gave Italy a free hand in Tripoli in return, and in 1903 and 1904 Victor Emmanuel III and President Loubet

visited each other's capitals. On April 8 of the latter year (1904) also the long standing differences between France and Great Britain were composed. The result was due partly to the necessity in the interests of European peace to oppose a balancing force to the resources controlled by Berlin, and in no small degree to the influence of King Edward, *persona gratissima* in Paris. The agreement, which also included five secret articles made public in November, 1911, bound Great Britain not to alter the political state of Egypt, and France not to impose a limit of time upon the British occupation of that country. Similar stipulations were made in regard to Morocco, in which France's preponderant interests were admitted. The two countries bound themselves to maintain the " principle of commercial liberty " in Morocco and Egypt, and assured the free passage of the Suez Canal and the Straits of Gibraltar. Both recognized the interests of Spain in Morocco, and France undertook to come to an arrangement with her in regard to them. The secret Articles defined the territory which Spain should receive in Morocco " whenever the Sultan ceases to exercise authority over it."

The conclusion of the Anglo-French agreement of 1904 passed without adverse comment from Germany. The German Ambassador at Paris declared it " natural and perfectly justified." Prince von Bülow, the Chancellor, insisted that " German interests are in no way imperilled by it "—German exports to Morocco amounted only to a few thousand pounds a year. But Germany's first opinion was not maintained. At Karlsruhe the Kaiser appealed to his people to remember Sedan and to " steel their courage so that we shall be found united if we are obliged to interfere in *Weltpolitik*." Opening a bridge at Mainz, he assured his hearers that it would prove adequate, if required, " for transport of a warlike nature." The new attitude was due primarily to Russia's entanglement with Japan. War between the two countries had broken out in February, 1904, and its course convinced Germany that France could not count on support in the event of a challenge from Berlin. The moment, therefore, was opportune to Germany's purpose, and to test the nature and strength of the recent Anglo-French *entente*. Action over Morocco also promised to promote the Empire's Pan-German policy. In 1898, during his tour in Palestine, the Kaiser

had assured the Mohammedan world ostentatiously that he could be counted on " at all times," and the German Ambassador at Constantinople urged that the promise must be redeemed. Behind these considerations was a hope that France might be induced to divide Morocco rather than risk losing all in a war with Germany, whose fleet, thanks to the Navy Law of 1900, would be in a position, the *Flottenverein* hoped, to give a good account of itself.

Germany justified her intrusion in Morocco on the plea that her " national credit " forbade her to be " treated as a *quantité négligeable* in an international decision," in other words, the Anglo-French *entente* of April, 1904, and based her right to intervene upon the Madrid Convention (July 3, 1880), by which all the Powers represented there had been accorded most-favoured-nation treatment in Morocco.

Carefully timing his arrival by events in the Far East, the Kaiser visited Tangier on March 31, 1905, three weeks after Russia's retreat from Mukden. He asserted the independence and sovereignty of Morocco, and that before disposing of its future Germany must be consulted. France reluctantly accepted the proposal of an international Conference, but at the price of the resignation of her Foreign Minister, M. Delcassé, whose success in breaking down France's international isolation Germany especially resented. The agreement to hold a Conference was a success for German diplomacy, and the *Kreuz Zeitung* bluntly attributed it to the fact that " the *ultima ratio*," in other words the German army, " was visible in the background." But the assembling of the Conference at Algeçiras in January, 1906, put a period to Germany's elation. The conclusion of the Russo-Japanese War (Treaty of Portsmouth, August, 1905) released Russia to back France. Italy, in view of her agreement with France, showed no eagerness to support the Triple Alliance. France and Spain therefore emerged from the Conference with international recognition of the special interests which the Anglo-French agreement of 1904 asserted, and the former received a mandate to proceed with the " Tunification " of Morocco which Germany, though covertly, had hoped to prevent. In February, 1909, Germany herself, by a separate agreement, recognized the political interests of France in Morocco.

The crisis of 1905 conveyed an obvious hint to the Powers

outside the Triple Alliance to compose their quarrels. Meanwhile, the relations between Great Britain and Germany did not improve. The Kaiser's telegram to President Krüger in 1896, on the occasion of the Jameson " Raid," and Germany's attitude during the Boer War, incensed Great Britain. On her side Germany regarded the Anglo-French *entente cordiale* as an act of *Einkreisungspolitik*, which she blindly attributed to the enmity of jealous neighbours. The Anglo-Japanese alliance concluded in 1902, amplified and renewed in 1905, she interpreted as blocking her interests in the Far East, while the agreement freed the British fleet in those waters in case of an Anglo-German conflict. To a nation in suspicious mood British attempts to restrict naval armaments seemed a fresh and sinister plan for retarding Germany's destiny. In April, 1907, Prince von Bülow publicly refused to discuss the limitation of armaments in the Second Hague Conference of that year, declaring the proposal " unpractical, even if it did not involve risk " to Germany.

Hence the Dual expanded into the Triple *Entente* on August 31, 1907, when Great Britain settled her differences with Russia. Russia's obligation to Great Britain for moderating the terms of her settlement (1905) with Japan, the domestic complications attending her plunge into Constitutionalism, the improved relations of France and Great Britain, the former's good offices over the Dogger Bank incident in October, 1904, and the united front of the three Powers at Algeçiras in 1906, all contributed to extinguish the suspicion with which each country regarded the other in Asia. Both had been associated with the movement in favour of arbitration and disarmament, and the constitutional experiment which Russia was attempting in her *Duma* inclined her sympathetically towards the country on whose example the experiment was modelled. Also, German designs in the Balkans and Asia Minor being patent, Great Britain shared Russia's interest in circumventing them. Hence on August 31, 1907, a treaty cleared up the situations which threatened their good relations. Persia was placed under their joint supervision, and their respective spheres of influence, the Russian in the north and British in the south-east, were defined. Great Britain's right to control the external policy of Afghanistan was admitted ; and both Powers recognized the suzerainty of China

over Tibet. Like the agreement of 1904 with France, the Anglo-Russian treaty of 1907 was essentially local in application. It neither provided for common action against a third party, nor included France within its provisions. It had not even the precautionary or protective character of Bismarck's complementary agreements with Austria-Hungary and Russia. It was a settlement of disputes between its signatories, and no more. A visit of King Edward to Reval in 1908 sealed the agreement.

Germany, it has been said, makes friendships *against*, not *with*. Hence her sinister interpretation of the *ententes* of 1904 and 1907. From her standpoint the situation called for another reminder of her existence, and the Bosnian crisis of 1908 afforded an opportunity. Germany seized it, her Chancellor explained later, " indirectly for the preservation of European peace, but above all for the sake of German credit and for the maintenance of our position in the world." She hoped to extend her political and economic influence towards the Dardanelles into Asia Minor. The Hohenzollern King of Roumania had conceded her direct communication with Constantinople through his territory in 1898, and in 1899 she obtained a concession for the construction of the Bagdad railway through Asia Minor from Konieh to Basra on the Persian Gulf, a menace to British India.

But Germany's ambitions had to reckon with the Slavs. In 1903 a palace revolution at Belgrade caused the assassination, under revolting circumstances, of King Alexander Obrenovich and his Queen Draga, and the accession of the present (1915) King Peter Karageorgevich. Detaching her policy from Vienna's control, Serbia forthwith looked confidently to Russia for protection. Under Baron Aehrenthal, " the Austrian Bismarck," who went to the Austro-Hungarian Foreign Office in the autumn of 1906, the policy of the German Powers declared itself threateningly. He planned a railway through the Sanjak of Novibazar to connect the Bosnian and Turkish railway systems towards Salonika, with a view to bringing the Triple Alliance on to the flank of Great Britain and France in the Eastern Mediterranean. At the same time, foreshadowing the methods employed in 1914, Aehrenthal set himself to fasten a quarrel on Serbia on the charge of promoting a Pan-Serb

programme among the Slavs of the Dual Monarchy. In the summer of 1908 wholesale arrests were made in Croatia, followed, when the international crisis subsided, by a notorious trial at Agram, the Croatian capital. The proceedings left no doubt that the evidence against the Croatian politicians arraigned for treason was forged, and that the forgery originated in the Austro-Hungarian Legation at Belgrade. The incident embittered Austro-Serbian relations and bore fruit in 1914.

Meanwhile, in February, 1908, Aehrenthal obtained from the Porte permission to proceed with a survey for the projected railway through Novibazar. Serbia, supported by Russia, at once requested Constantinople for permission to open railway communication with the Adriatic. At that point the situation was complicated by the outbreak (July, 1908) of the "Young Turk" revolution in the capital, followed in April, 1909, by the deposition of Abd-ul-Hamid. Bulgaria took advantage of the event to proclaim her Prince "Tsar of the Bulgarians" (October, 1908). Austria-Hungary simultaneously annexed Bosnia and Herzegovina, and renounced, as a sort of *solatium* to the Porte, her military occupation of the Sanjak. Montenegro in consequence demanded a revision of the clauses of the Berlin Treaty which restricted her sovereignty in Antivari Bay. There was grave danger that Russia would take action. But the war with Japan was recent, and her military reforms were not yet so far advanced as to permit her to challenge Germany. She joined the other members of the Triple *Entente*, however, in protesting that the Treaty of Berlin could not be torn up without the sanction of a European Congress. At the same time the excited state of Slav feeling threatened to drive her to take the field. In March, 1909, therefore, Germany warned Russia that any military movements on her part would invite the intervention of the German Empire. The opposition of the Triple *Entente* at once collapsed. Neither France nor Great Britain was prepared to draw her people into war on a Balkan question. The violation of the Treaty of 1878 was accepted tacitly, and Turkey was placated with hard cash by Austria-Hungary and Bulgaria. The policies of the German Powers had been advanced materially.

After the Algeçiras Conference the Kaiser had telegraphed his appreciation of the backing of Austria, his "brilliant second," with the promise of "like service on a similar occasion." The debt was now discharged, and in the autumn of 1910 the Kaiser visited Vienna. He received a particularly hearty welcome, which he attributed to the city's appreciation of "the action of an ally in taking his stand in shining armour at a grave moment by the side of your most gracious Sovereign." The incident obliterated Germany's recollection of Tangier. "The sky of international politics cleared, and German power on the Continent burst its encompassing bonds," the German Chancellor declared. But the success was won by inflicting deep humiliation on Russia. In 1914 Russia took her revenge. For Austria-Hungary, too, the consequences were not wholly satisfactory. The annexed provinces had been hers in all but name for thirty years. She acquired the sovereignty of them at the sacrifice of the Sanjak and with the enmity of Ottoman and Serb. Serbia was forced to accept (March 31, 1909) as final Austria-Hungary's annexation of the Old Serbian region, of which she had been cheated at Berlin, to promise "to modify the direction of her policy with regard to Austria-Hungary, and to live in future on good neighbourly terms with her." Five years later (1914), like Russia, Serbia showed another spirit to her assailant.

Secure in the friendship of Great Britain, which the Kaiser tested in 1905, and in Europe's recognition of her position in Morocco, France took vigorous action there in 1907, consequent upon a massacre of her nationals by fanatic Moors. She occupied the disturbed districts on the Atlantic coast (Casablanca and Shawia) and Udja on the Algerian frontier. From Shawia she pushed into the interior along the Moulaya valley, and Germany recognized (1909) France's political interests in Morocco. In 1911 France sent troops to Fez to uphold the Sultan against rebellious tribes, and Germany seized the occasion to make her *rentrée* into Moroccan politics. Great Britain was immersed in domestic controversies, and the opportunity was taken to test the strength of the Anglo-French *entente* once more. In July, 1911, the German gunboat *Panther* visited Agadir, a port on the Atlantic seaboard of Morocco. Her arrival, the British Foreign Minister, Sir Edward Grey, declared later, showed that "in an attempt to

crush France" Germany "was fastening a quarrel on [her] on a question that was the subject of a special agreement between France and us." The Chancellor of the Exchequer publicly warned Germany that she could not be permitted to remain at Agadir, on the South Atlantic trade route. The Premier added a warning, that British interests might prove to be more directly involved than they had been in 1905, and that if Germany carried the quarrel with France farther Great Britain would take a hand in the discussion. Germany was not prepared to risk her fleet, and in November, 1911, an agreement was arrived at, which left France undisturbed in Morocco at the price of her cession of a district on the Congo to enlarge the German Cameroons.

The settlement, the Chancellor declared, "cleaned the slate" between France and Germany. Between Germany and Great Britain it produced a rankling sore. "Only the fear of the possible intervention of England deterred us from claiming a sphere of interests of our own in Morocco," wrote the Chauvinist Bernhardi in November, 1911. Clearly Germany held herself too weak to proceed confidently along the provocative course she had charted. But "Germany," said her Chancellor, "was firmly resolved not to be pushed aside." New Army and Navy Bills were commended to the *Reichstag* (1912) as necessitated by the events of 1911, the Navy Law committing Germany to an increased annual expenditure of £1,000,000. At the same time Germany opened conversations with Great Britain to achieve by other methods what her displays at Tangier and Agadir had failed to accomplish. She invited (1912) from the British government a pledge of neutrality in the event of Germany being "entangled" in war, on terms which were tantamount to consent to desert friends bound to Great Britain by reciprocal obligations, leaving Germany a free hand to settle her account with France, and at her own time to strike "to dominate the European world" (Mr. Asquith, Oct. 2, 1914). In the circumstances it was advisable that the Anglo-French *entente* should assume a closer, though still defensive, character. The Balkan War had begun. Constantinople already was in dread of avenging armies. Hence in November, 1912, the Anglo-French governments agreed, in the contingency of an unprovoked attack by a third Power, to discuss joint action, and in the

event of a resolution to adopt active measures, to work upon a pre-considered military plan.

The Balkan War.

The Balkan situation at the close of 1911 was governed generally by the Treaty of Berlin (1878). But Roumelia and Bulgaria had come together in 1885 : Bosnia and Herzegovina passed under Austro-Hungarian sovereignty in 1908 : Serbia (1882), Bulgaria (1908), and more recently (1910) Montenegro had raised themselves to the rank of kingdoms. The desire to establish his newly gained dignity upon a victorious campaign brought on King Milan defeat at Slivnitsa (1882), a battle prophetic of the military prowess displayed by Bulgaria to an astonished world a generation later. Greece had challenged Turkey vainly in behalf of Crete in the " Thirty Days' War " of 1897, and had been punished by a slight rectification of the frontier of 1881. Otherwise the Berlin Treaty gave the Balkans a generation of peace. An Austro-Russian agreement in 1897, pledging the champions of *Germanentum* and *Slaventum* not to press their rivalries, contributed to that result, but was broken by Aehrenthal's advent in 1906.

But material for a conflagration existed in Macedonia. Its population was mainly Bulgarian, Serb, and Greek ; Turks were relatively few in number. But the jealousies of the Christian population facilitated the continuance of the Porte's misgovernment, and the reforms promised in the Treaty of 1878 were not carried out. In 1899 a Macedonian Committee with headquarters at Sofia petitioned the Powers to create an autonomous Macedonia under a Bulgarian Governor-General. Austria-Hungary and Russia, co-operating in the spirit of their recent agreement, drew up at Mürzsteg, in 1903, a scheme which provided for the organization of a *gendarmerie* under a foreign Inspector-General, aided by British, French, Italian, Austrian, and Russian officers settled in five Macedonian districts. Germany, pursuing her calculated courtship of Turkey, held aloof. The Porte accepted the scheme. But the international military officers possessed no executive power. Macedonia's condition consequently did not improve, and Greeks and Bulgarians organized rival and hostile bands to protect their own nationals. In 1905 the

British government proposed the appointment of a financial Commission and the extension of the Mürzsteg scheme to the eastern *vilayet* of Adrianople, a proposal which the Porte accepted after an international naval demonstration off Mitylene.

The Young Turk revolution in July, 1908, profoundly affected the Balkan situation and encouraged the Christian kingdoms to united action in order to put a term to the Macedonian scandal. The idea of combination had emerged after the Treaty of Berlin, which disappointed all the Balkan States in varying degree. But the Roumelian movement of 1885 produced an atmosphere of jealousy between Serbia and Bulgaria, whose armies already had met in conflict at Slivnitsa. The Greek statesman, M. Trikoupis, revived the projected alliance in 1891, suggesting a joint Greco-Serbo-Bulgarian campaign against Turkey and a subsequent partition of Ottoman territory. But the throne of Prince Ferdinand (1887–) was too insecure to permit Bulgaria's participation in a policy of adventure. During the Greco-Turkish War of 1897 Austria-Hungary and Russia united to prevent a general assault upon Turkey, and Bulgaria again refused an offensive alliance with Greece.

The Young Turk revolution in 1908 at first promised to reform the Turkish system. In a sanguine spirit the Powers recalled their military officers and abandoned Macedonia to the Turkish reformers. The result was a bitter disappointment. Rehoboam succeeded to Solomon, and renewed massacres in 1910 rooted the conviction that the eradication of the Turk from Macedonia must be compassed. Serb, Bulgar, and Greek drew together in that common conviction, and Turkey's refusal to link up the Bulgarian and Macedonian railway systems, and her unyielding attitude regarding Crete, helped to bring Greece and Bulgaria to common action.

In September, 1911, encouraged by the Balkan situation, and with the countenance of the Triple *Entente*, which hoped to embroil her with her German allies, Italy at length shot her bolt, and after a war of a year's duration gained Tripoli (1912). The Balkan States deemed the hour of deliverance arrived, though Italy, in deference to the Triple Alliance, pledged herself to respect the Balkan *status quo*. Nicolas of Montenegro proposed the instant mobilization of the Balkan armies, and Greece,

Bulgaria, and Serbia entered upon secret conversations which bore fruit (March–May, 1912) in an agreement that triumphed over great difficulties. Early in 1912 Bulgaria effected a *rapprochement* with Serbia, whose outlook did not coincide exactly with her own. Serbia, since 1908, was more hostile towards Austria-Hungary than Turkey. Indeed, in 1908 she suggested a Turco-Serb alliance against the common foe. She welcomed, however, the idea of a Balkan combination to bar Austria-Hungary's progress towards Salonika and the Ægean. Bulgaria's joint action with Austria-Hungary in 1908 made her suspect at Belgrade. But negotiations, begun in 1909, were concluded by a formal treaty in March, 1912, which aimed at securing political and constitutional rights for Serbs and Bulgars in Macedonia. It provided, in the event of a successful war against Turkey, for the division of the Macedonian spoils between the two allies. To Serbia was allotted Old Serbia and the Sanjak of Novibazar. Bulgaria was to find her gain south and east of the Rhodope Mountains and the Struma River. The rest of Macedonia was to form an autonomous State, which, Bulgaria hoped, eventually would follow Roumelia into her possession. If the autonomous State did not take shape, Bulgaria was to receive the southern part of the unallotted territory (Monastir, Ochrida, Kratovo, Veles), while the Tsar was to settle the disposal of the remaining districts contiguous to Serbia. Neither Albania nor the Adrianople *vilayet* was mentioned. A later military Convention stipulated the minimum number of troops which each ally should place in the field.

Two months later (May, 1912) Bulgaria and Greece came to an understanding. Since April, 1911, the Cretan Eleutherios Venizelos, who had been entrusted with the formation of a Greek Ministry in the previous autumn, was engaged in secret negotiation with Bulgaria for joint action in behalf of the Macedonian Christians and a defensive alliance against Turkey. The Turco-Italian War broke down Bulgaria's reserve, and in May, 1912, "an alliance of peace and mutual protection" was signed with Greece, to remain operative for three years. On the eve of the Balkan War, in the autumn of 1912, a military Convention was concluded on the lines of the Serbo-Bulgarian agreement. Greece undertook to control the Ægean, where her compensation

was to be found, and to prevent communication between Asia Minor and European Turkey.

The spring and summer of 1912 passed amid constant alarms. In May, indignation meetings at Sofia demanded Macedonian autonomy. Crete returned Deputies to the Greek Chamber, whom Venizelos refused to allow to take their seats. Albania broke out in revolt. A Turkish massacre of Bulgarians at Kotchana early in August roused demands for war and prompted Austria-Hungary's appeal to the Powers to exchange opinions on the situation. But Turkey intimated that she would not accept foreign interference, and another massacre at Berane on the Montenegrin frontier made it impossible for the Allies any longer to forbear action. On September 30, 1912, Bulgaria and Serbia began to mobilize. Greece, Turkey, and Montenegro did so the next day (October 1). Faced by a Balkan alliance, the Porte put forward belated proposals for consideration. They were in discussion when Montenegro, whose statesmen felt that the time had arrived to challenge " a place in the sun," declared war (October 8), a step which was taken without agreement with the other Allies. Within a week (October 13) Bulgaria, Serbia, and Greece delivered an Identic Note to Turkey demanding the institution of " radical reforms, strictly and honestly applied," in Macedonia. Turkey at once (October 18) cleared for action by signing preliminaries of peace with Italy, and on October 17 declared war on Serbia. On the same day Greece declared war on Turkey.

European Turkey in 1912 consisted of three areas, each of them a distinct theatre of war. The Thracian area strategically was of chief importance. It was open, suitable for the operations of large bodies, and provided the direct road to Constantinople. In it Bulgaria deployed her main forces, whose total strength numbered about 340,000. General Savoff, the creator of the army, was in supreme command. The central area lay between the Ægean and the Rhodope Mountains, and was therefore allocated to the operations of the Greek army, which numbered about 125,000 under the command of the Crown Prince Constantine. The western area was formed by the mountainous region between the Vardar River and the Adriatic. Here the Serbians, about 200,000 strong, under the Crown Prince, had their chief field of operations. The

Montenegrins, in strength over 30,000, were under Prince Danilo; the capture of Mount Tarabosch and Skutari and the attachment of the Sanjak of Novibazar being their objectives. The Turkish forces probably numbered 400,000 under the supreme command of Nazim Pasha. The main or Eastern Army was stationed in Thrace to meet the Bulgarians, with Kirk Kilisse and Adrianople as its fortified posts. The latter had a garrison of 32,000 men under Shukri Pasha, and was protected by a circle of forts having a perimeter of about twenty-two miles. The Western Army was concentrated in the Plain of Uskub to meet the Serbian attack. The Sanjak was held by a subsidiary force. A Southern Army, concentrated at Kozhani and Diskata, faced the Greeks. Epirus was held by Essad Pasha between Janina and the Greek frontier. Skutari was defended by another small force, mainly Albanian.

The chief interest of the war centred in Macedonia and Thrace. In the latter, Turkey calculated on Bulgaria's advance being arrested by Adrianople and Kirk Kilisse, thereby affording time to complete the Ottoman concentration. The movements of the Bulgarian army conveyed the impression that Adrianople was in fact its objective. On October 18 a Bulgarian force occupied the frontier post Mustafa-Pasha, and closed on Adrianople. Meanwhile, other bodies from the north advanced on Kirk Kilisse, and after a three days' engagement took possession of the place on October 24. Bulgarian divisions descending from the Rhodope range meanwhile cut off the Turks in Thrace from their forces in Macedonia. Leaving a strong force to contain Adrianople, the Bulgarians on October 29 began the series of operations which received the name, Battle of Lule Burgas. It ended on November 1 in the rout of the Turks, their disordered retreat to the river Ergene, and thence to the Chatalja Lines. The latter formed a position of great natural strength, strongly fortified, extending across the peninsula on which Constantinople is built.

The slow advance of the Bulgarian army after the Battle of Lule Burgas, due to fatigue and heavy marching caused by the persistent rains, gave the Turks at Chatalja time to recover from their rout and to receive reinforcement from Asia Minor. On November 17, the Bulgarians attacked

the formidable position. Almost immediately Turkey invited an armistice. The Bulgarians demanded the surrender of the Lines and of Adrianople, and hostilities recommenced upon Turkey's rejection of the terms. On November 24 negotiations were resumed and on December 3 an armistice was signed. It stipulated that the Turks should retain, but should not revictual, the besieged fortresses, and that the armies should hold the positions they then occupied.

The Serbian objective was Uskub, the old capital. On October 24, the date of the fall of Kirk Kilisse, the Serbian army routed the Turks at Kumanovo, and two days later (November 26) the Crown Prince entered Uskub in triumph. Simultaneously the Sanjak of Novibazar was wrested from the Turkish force and Serbs and Montenegrins joined hands. After the capture of Uskub the main Serbian army followed the retreating Turks southward towards Monastir. After four days' hard fighting (November 17–20) it routed the remnant of the Turkish army before Monastir, and Western Macedonia lay at its feet. With a view to securing coveted access to the sea, the Serbs dispatched a couple of divisions to the Adriatic coast. Crossing the snow-clad mountains, they captured Alessio (November 18), and occupied Durazzo ten days later (November 28).

The Montenegrin campaign was confined chiefly to the siege of Skutari and Mount Tarabosch, whose fortifications proved too strong for the besiegers' guns. A Montenegrin brigade also occupied San Giovanni di Medua on the coast on November 16, and took part with the Serbians in the capture of Alessio two days later. On November 29 Ismail Bey proclaimed the independence of Albania.

The Greek main army crossed the frontier through the Meluna Pass on October 18, having Salonika as its objective. Driving the Turks before him, the Crown Prince received the surrender of Salonika on November 8. Three weeks later (November 28) the western army, which had crossed the frontier near Arta, appeared before Janina in Epirus, whose siege, as also that of Adrianople and Skutari, continued while the Powers were searching a way of peace at London. At sea the Greek fleet held almost undisputed maritime supremacy, having occupied the islands Thasos, Imbros, Samothrace, Mitylene, and Scio in the early weeks of the war. Greece

was not a signatory to the armistice of December 3, being unwilling to interrupt her blockade of the Epirus coast.

Europe heard with relief that the belligerents had consented to submit their quarrel to discussion. The interests of all the Powers asked for peace, but with differing motives. For Germany and Austria the signal victory of the Balkan League constituted a disaster; for in the promotion of German *Weltpolitik* Turkey was a "natural ally." William II assiduously had courted Abd-ul-Hamid, and, after his fall, the Young Turks his successors. German officers had taken the Turkish army in hand, and Germany counted it as her own. She now desired to conclude peace between Turkey and her assailants, foreseeing that so soon as their common enemy faced them no longer the Balkan Allies would fight for the spoils and remove the impediment which their union offered to the progress of German policy.

Austria also faced the ruin of her policy. Salonika was in the hands of the Greeks. Serbia had revealed herself a formidable military power, was planted with Montenegro in the Sanjak, and clamoured for sovereign rights on the Adriatic. The effect upon the Slavs of the Dual Monarchy could be foreseen, and Austria-Hungary deemed it wise to take "precautionary" military measures. Italy, also, was averse from the settlement of Serbia in Albania.

The Triple Alliance, therefore, united to resist the demands which Serbia made known to the world in the *Times* of November 25. In imposing a veto on her expansion to the Adriatic, Austria-Hungary shrewdly calculated that Serbia would be obliged to seek an economic outlet along the valley of the Vardar and to challenge Bulgaria over Macedonian spoils which, counting on her compensation elsewhere, she had abandoned to her ally before the war began. Russia watched the situation with equal concern. Her heart was with her race in its *Befreiungskrieg*, and like Austria-Hungary she had taken "precautionary" military measures. Already a breach had been threatened by Vienna's excitement over the isolation and alleged mutilation of M. Prochaska, her Consul at Prisrend, after the occupation of that town by the Serbians. Great Britain and France worked to localize the war and to circumvent the German Powers' pro-Turkish policy. An earlier warning to the Balkan League,

that it would not be permitted to alter the Balkan balance, was corrected by Mr. Asquith on November 9. "The victors," he now told the German Powers, "were not to be robbed of the fruits which cost them so dear." Such were the dispositions of the Powers, and at the suggestion of the British Foreign Secretary their Ambassadors accredited to the Court of St. James' met informally and concurrently with the plenipotentiaries of the belligerents.

On December 16, 1912, the plenipotentiaries met at St. James' Palace. Four days later (December 20) it was announced that the Powers had come to a resolution on matters which at the outset threatened insurmountable obstacles: they agreed on the principle of Albanian autonomy, and to give Serbia commercial access to the Adriatic. On January 1, 1913, the Turkish delegates, who adopted dilatory tactics, relying on the divergent interests of the Powers, agreed to abandon everything west of the *vilayet* of Adrianople, but stipulated that the captured islands should be restored and that Crete's fate should be left to the interested Powers to decide. Counting on German sympathy, Turkey refused to abate her terms, and the Allies with equal insistence demanded the surrender of Adrianople. The Powers, therefore, intervened, and on January 17 presented a Note at Constantinople urging the Porte to give up the city and leave the other islands, with Crete, to their adjudication. A week later (January 22) a Grand Council of Notables accepted the Powers' advice. But the next day (January 23) the Young Turks, led by the Germanophil Enver Bey, recently returned from the Turkish Embassy at Berlin, overthrew the Cabinet, murdered Nazim Pasha, and set up an administration with the declared object of retaining Adrianople. Negotiations clearly were useless. The Allies denounced the armistice (January 29), and on February 3, 1913, resumed hostilities.

The interrupted campaign was notable chiefly for the reduction of Turkey's "impregnable triangle" of fortresses, Janina, Skutari, and Adrianpole. Janina fell to the Crown Prince of Greece on March 6, 1913, shortly before the assassination of his father, King George, by a Greek degenerate at Salonika on March 18. Adrianople fell to Bulgaria after a five months' investment on March 26. On April 22 Essad Pasha abandoned Skutari to the Montenegrins, who reluctantly surrendered it

to the Powers on May 4. In these circumstances the Powers proposed that the belligerents should resume the broken conversations, and by the middle of May their plenipotentiaries reassembled at St. James' Palace. Jealousy and suspicion, however, already divided the Allies. Serbia was "digging herself in" on the Macedonian territory she had won, which their agreement assigned to Bulgaria. Greece was pushing up into southern Macedonia. Even while their representatives were discussing peace in London, the Allies were fighting an "unofficial war" in the Balkans. The Powers had set forth already the bases of a settlement, and a Treaty, drafted by Sir Edward Grey with their approval, had received the general assent of the Allies on April 21. In view of their present attitude, therefore, Sir Edward Grey intervened on May 26 with a notification that the plenipotentiaries must either accept the Treaty of Peace forthwith or leave London. Four days later (May 30) the short-lived Treaty of London was signed. It provided that Turkey should cede to the Allies all her territory on the mainland of Europe west of a line drawn from Enos on the Ægean to Midia on the Black Sea, the boundary to be delimited by an International Commission; that the delimitation and settlement of all questions relating to Albania should be left to the Powers; that Turkey should surrender her sovereign and other rights in Crete to the Allies; that the fate of all the Turkish islands in the Ægean, and the peninsula of Mount Athos, should be left to the Powers; that an International Commission sitting at Paris should settle financial questions arising out of the war and of the consequent redistribution of territory; and that questions relating to prisoners of war, jurisdiction, nationality, and commerce should be settled by Conventions *ad hoc* between the belligerents.

Even before the Treaty of London was signed Serbia had taken action which provoked a second war. Assured of the support of Greece and counting on that of Russia and Roumania, she demanded from Bulgaria, on May 28, a revision of the treaty of partition to which she had put her hand in March, 1912. Her object in entering the war had been to obtain Northern Albania and an outlet on the Adriatic. To that end she had established herself at Alessio and Durazzo on the Albanian coast. But on the day that Adrianople fell

(March 26) the Powers agreed upon a frontier for Northern Albania which entirely excluded Serbia from the Adriatic. She found herself, therefore, under obligation to give up to her ally territory which her arms had won, with no opportunity to recoup herself elsewhere. Hence she fell easily under the control of her military *clique*, which in Serbia and throughout the Balkans at this crisis overcame the sober judgment of statesmen. Roumania, whose geographical position exposed her first of all the Balkan States to Russian military operations, and whose Sovereign was a cadet of the Hohenzollern House, was in some sort a satellite of the German Powers, and had refrained from participating in the first Balkan War. But she viewed with much jealousy the Balkan preponderance which Bulgaria's success gave her. Serbia's action, therefore, brought Roumania into the field with demands on Bulgaria. Greece had made no agreement with Bulgaria for a division of the spoils. But hating Bulgaria she sided readily with Serbia in the hope to dismember her. Montenegro followed in the wake of Serbia, rather to requite Serbia's recent military assistance than because of a specific grievance against Bulgaria. The European Concert was in no position to restrain the embittered Allies. Its efforts were directed towards preventing the conflict embroiling the Powers.

The demands of Roumania were put forward during the London conferences in the spring (1913), and were submitted to the arbitration of the Ambassadors of the Powers at Petrograd. In May Bulgaria accepted the Protocol of Petrograd, which assigned Silistria and its circumjacent territory to Roumania, thereby expanding the frontier granted the latter in 1878. For the moment, therefore, the Serbo-Bulgarian quarrel alone held the field, and on June 12, after minatory telegrams from the Tsar to both Sovereigns, Serbia and Bulgaria agreed to accept Russian arbitration on the territorial dispute between them. But Bulgaria took the matter out of the hands of the diplomatists. She stood doggedly by the precise fulfilment of her agreement with Serbia. To some extent she was carried away by the magnitude of the victory her arms had won. But by nature the Bulgarian is a hard bargainer. Russian policy also drove Bulgaria to use the sword. She had been induced to stay her hand after the fall of Adrianople, when her armies were almost at the gates

of Constantinople, by Russia's promise to influence Serbia to abide by the agreement of March, 1912. But at the end of May Russia proposed that Bulgaria should surrender to Serbia not only the "contested zone," but also the districts of Veles, Kratovo, and Krushevo. Bulgaria's acceptance of Russia's offer of arbitration, therefore, by no means assured peace, and Austria-Hungary and her German ally, much resenting Russia's assertion of hegemony in the Balkans, once more prepared to correct the situation.

On June 1 Greece and Serbia concluded an anti-Bulgarian agreement, and entered into a Convention with Roumania under which the latter undertook to intervene in case of the resumption of "official" war between the late Allies. On June 29 General Savoff ordered an advance against the Serbian and Greek positions between the Vardar and the Struma. The conflagration spread. On July 10 Roumania declared war and occupied Silistria. Two days later (July 12) the Turks, led by Enver Bey, crossed the Enos-Midia boundary and within a fortnight recovered Adrianople. Weakened by the first great struggle, Bulgaria was unable single-handed to meet her late Allies supported by Turkey and Roumania. She therefore intimated her readiness to satisfy Roumania's demands, and opened negotiations with Greece and Serbia.

On July 28, 1913, a peace Congress of all the Balkan States except Turkey opened at Bucharest. The occasion was memorable; for the first time in their history the States of South-East Europe assembled to settle their own differences. On August 10 the Treaty of Bucharest was signed. Roumania added a large slice to her kingdom at Bulgaria's expense. On the Black Sea she carried her frontier southward from Hanlik to between Baltchik and Varna, and thence inland to the Danube at Turtukai, enclosing Silistria. The Serbian boundary was carried southward along the watershed between the Vardar and Struma rivers, making a bend westward to include the Strumnitza valley, and joining the Greco-Bulgarian boundary in the Belashitza Mountains. Serbia thus acquired Old Serbia, the whole of Macedonia under her occupation, and even the purely Bulgarian lands in the east of the *vilayet* of Kossovo. Greece obtained a great extension of territory. Her northern frontier extended from the island of Corfu through Epirus to the Belashitza range, where it joined the

boundaries of Serbia and Bulgaria. Thence, extending eastward, it included a portion of Thrace as well as the whole peninsula of Salonika, and terminated on the Ægean at the mouth of the river Mesta. The attenuated remainder of Macedonia was left to Bulgaria, whose Ægean frontier was whittled down to the coast-line between the Mesta and Turkish Enos, a boundary purposely drawn in order to restrict her to the poor harbour Dedeagach. Prevented by the Powers from acquiring Skutari, Montenegro received from Serbia a slight extension of territory towards Albania, and a larger expansion eastward in the Sanjak of Novibazar.

Bulgaria's formal renunciation of claim to Crete gave that island automatically to Greece. The Balkan world having composed its differences, the only questions which remained were with Turkey—the Thracian frontier and the destination of the Ægean Islands. On September 29, 1913, the Treaty of Constantinople compelled Bulgaria to accept a rectified frontier which gave to Turkey the territory eastward of a line from Enos on the Ægean to Sveti Stefan on the Black Sea, some distance to the north of Midia, the boundary arranged by the Treaty of London. Turkey thus recovered Adrianople as well as the battlefields of Kirk Kilisse and Lule Burgas. A settlement (Convention of Athens) followed between Turkey and Greece on November 11, 1913. It implicitly recognized the decision of the Powers and left in the hands of Greece the islands Thasos, Samothrace, Lemnos, Mitylene, Scio, Psara, Nikaria, and Samos. Tenedos and Imbros were retained by Turkey in view of their strategical importance as guardians of the Dardanelles. The Sporades, occupied by Italy during her war with Turkey in 1912, were left in her possession pending Turkey's complete evacuation of Tripoli.

The issue of the Balkan Wars confounded, at any rate temporarily, the policies of the German Powers; the ruin of Turkey and the elevation of Slav Serbia were concurrent and equally damaging to their plans. Greece occupied Salonika, and the *Entente* Powers were relieved of the fear of its becoming a German naval base in the eastern Mediterranean. The war affected Italy also. Her new acquisitions in Tripoli and the islands off the coast of Asia Minor made her less dependent than before upon her Allies, and in August, 1913, she refused to join them in a projected attack upon Serbia.

The issue of the Balkan War interposed a serious, and perhaps insurmountable, barrier between Germany and the hopes she had built upon Turkey in pushing her economic interests towards fertile Mesopotamia and the Persian Gulf. Still, Turkey had survived the crisis, the Balkan union was dissolved, German dynasties were established in Roumania and Bulgaria, and the Greek Court was closely related to that of Berlin. In the newly created Principality of Albania, also, the Powers had set up another German princeling, William of Wied, as Mpret, who on the opening of the German War in 1914 laid down a task beyond his ability. The position, therefore, was not wholly desperate, and in 1914 the German Powers struck openly to mould it to their interests.

CHAPTER XIX

THE COMING OF WAR

After forty-three years the larger peace of Europe secured by the Treaty of Frankfort, to which Germany adhered on May 10, 1871, was broken by her declaration of war upon Russia on August 1, 1914. Not for one hundred years had Europe vibrated to a war so general as that which followed. Germany, Austria-Hungary, and Turkey faced Great Britain, France, Russia, Belgium, Serbia, Montenegro, and Japan. Alone among the Great Powers Italy at first held aloof. The Scandinavian kingdoms, closely concerned in the Baltic balance of power, maintained neutrality. The Portuguese Republic also remained detached, though it inherited from the fallen Braganza Monarchy (1910) the tradition of Anglo-Portuguese friendship. Holland, alarmed by Germany's flagrant violation of Belgian soil, was racially sympathetic to her great neighbour, and maintained a neutrality which Germany's ruthless naval warfare disturbed. Switzerland shared the apprehensions of Holland, but relied upon an international guarantee that failed to protect Belgium. Spain, whose colonial prospects in the Mediterranean were threatened in the event of the Germanies' victory, had neither means nor inclination to intervene. The Balkan kingdoms, excepting Serbia and Montenegro, were controlled by Germanophil Sovereigns, who moderated the eagerness of their subjects to reopen the rivalries of 1912–3. At the same time Bulgaria only awaited an opportunity to strike for the recovery of what the Treaties of Bucharest and Constantinople had deprived her. Roumania, after the death of King Charles in the autumn of 1914, eagerly looked for the Russian conquest of Galicia to strike for union with her kindred in Transylvania. Greece was stirred deeply by the prospect of

Turkey's expulsion from Europe, and when the Anglo-French fleet entered the Dardanelles in the spring of 1915 was held back from immediate action only by the refusal of King Constantine, brother-in-law of the German Emperor, to support his Prime Minister, M. Venizelos.

The ostensible causes of the German War were two: the assassination of Archduke Francis Ferdinand, heir to the Habsburg throne, at Serajevo on June 28, 1914; and Germany's violation of Belgian neutrality on the following August 4. Accompanied by his morganatic wife, the Duchess of Hohenberg, the Archduke, while attending army manœuvres in Bosnia, arrived at Serajevo to inspect the troops there. As they passed through the streets, he and the duchess narrowly escaped death at the hands of an Austrian subject, Nedeljko Gabrinovich, who threw a bomb at their automobile. Continuing their drive, they were shot dead by Gavrilo Princip, another Austrian subject. Austria insisted that both men were in the employ of the Serbian government, aiming at the detachment of Bosnia-Herzegovina from the Dual Monarchy. Opinion elsewhere regarded them as agents of interests within the Dual Monarchy itself; for the Archduke disliked Magyar intolerance and was suspected of an intention to balance the Slav population of the Monarchy against Hungary.

Behind the crime was a problem which, after facing the Habsburg Empire for centuries, became acute upon the establishment of the Dual Alliance in 1879—whether South-Eastern Europe should be brought into the orbit of *Deutschtum*. Austria, indeed, sprang from the medieval Ostmark formed to protect *Deutschtum* against Slav and non-Teutonic peoples who formed the larger part of her population in 1914. Diverted from her early mission by other interests, her misfortunes in the nineteenth century threw her back upon it. In 1806 she lost the Roman Imperial title. In 1815 she was driven from Western Europe. Bismarck pointed her to the Balkans for compensation, partly because Russia's consequent enmity would make Vienna dependent upon Berlin, partly because it was in Prussia's interests that Austria should de-Germanize herself. Continued ill-fortune disposed Austria to obey her sinister mentor. She lost Italy, excepting Istria and the Trentino, in 1859–66. In 1866 Prussia drove her out of Germany also, leaving her with a minority German population

which provided only 29 *per cent.* of her army in 1914. Her internal state, too, was critical. Magyar-German rivalry, which burst into civil war in 1848, only superficially was resolved by the *Ausgleich* of 1867, which created a Dual Monarchy of co-equal members. The Magyar was the more masterful and politically experienced race, and its aggressiveness intensified the problems which confronted the conjoined States; for Magyar rather than Austrian intolerance goaded the South Slavs to disaffection.

With the intrusion of the Macedonian question upon Europe in 1899, the Balkan situation developed rapidly to the crisis of 1914. Influenced by Bismarck's revelation (1896) of the lapsed "Reinsurance Compact," Austria-Hungary drew towards Russia (1897) and joined her to press upon Turkey the Mürzsteg programme of Macedonian reform. But in that year (1903) the fall of the Obrenovich dynasty released Serbia from Austrian tutelage, to which King Milan (1868–1889) and his son Alexander (1889–1903) had committed her. Vienna and Petrograd drifted apart. Austro-Hungarian policy hardened, particularly on the advent of Baron Aehrenthal to power in 1906. His annexation of Bosnia-Herzegovina (1908) almost goaded Serbia to war. She protested against it as a "deep injury done to the feelings, interests, and rights of the Serbian people." But Russia, threatened by the apparition of Germany in "shining armour," failed to give support, and after five months of severe European tension the Belgrade government was forced to make an abject declaration (March 31, 1909): "Serbia admits that the *fait accompli* regarding Bosnia has not affected her rights. . . . She undertakes, moreover, to modify the direction of her policy with regard to Austria-Hungary and in future to live on good neighbourly terms with her."

Germany's ostentatious assistance in 1908 was not wholly agreeable to Austria-Hungary. And from that moment, and especially after the death of Aehrenthal in 1912, she was the puppet of Germany's anti-Slav policy and plans of economic development in Asia Minor and Mesopotamia, where, after vain endeavours to secure a *pied-à-terre* in South America and North and South Africa, she hoped to find her "place in the sun." Magyar anti-Serb animosity coincided with German ambition, and from 1908 to 1914 was focussed to the outlook of

Berlin upon a common purpose. The triumph of the Balkan League in the First Balkan War (1912–3) was equally disagreeable to Germany and her ally. Hence they launched an autonomous Albania to thwart Serbian access to the Adriatic. Their encouragement also inspired Bulgaria to display the grudging attitude towards Serbia that provoked the Second Balkan War (1913). Within a few days of Bulgaria's defeat in the final Treaty of Bucharest (August, 1913), they were discussing an assault upon victorious Serbia and vainly seeking to engage Italy in it. On her part Austria-Hungary resumed a repressive policy towards her Slavs, interrupted by the Agram trial and the exposures that attended the subsequent trial of Professor Friedjung, who in March, 1909, in the *Neue Freie Presse*, accused the Serbo-Croatian leaders of treasonable correspondence with Serbia. The Croatian Constitution and the Charter of the Serb Orthodox Church were suspended in retaliation. Racial sympathy naturally drew Serbia to her brother Slavs inside the Dual Monarchy. Undoubtedly she was in touch with and encouraged their propaganda. That she was criminally cognisant of the Serajevo plot is unproved and improbable. But Austria-Hungary insisted upon her guilt and resolved to force the situation to a crisis: either Austro-Magyar interests must succumb to Slavism, or Serbia, its backer and after Russia its main support, must be annihilated. Germany's interests asserted the same alternatives; for a strong Serbia supported by Russia barred the door to her deliberately chosen "place in the sun."

The "crime of Serajevo" excited anti-Serb feeling throughout the Dual Monarchy, and a Court-Martial was set up at Serajevo to probe the circumstances of the crime. But a month was permitted to elapse before Austria-Hungary disclosed her policy. For though her ally's preparations for war at her own time had been elaborated since 1911, it was necessary to complete them and to gather in the harvest before launching the brief and victorious campaign German strategy anticipated. On July 23 Vienna delivered an ultimatum to Belgrade. It alleged that the Archduke's murder was planned at Belgrade; that six bombs, four Browning pistols, and ammunition were delivered to the assassins there through a Serbian Staff officer; that the bombs were manufactured in

the Serbian arms' depot; and that the murderers were conveyed across the frontier with the connivance of Serbian officials. The Note declared that the "history of recent years, and in particular the painful events of the 28th June last, have shown the existence of a subversive movement with the object of detaching a part of the territories [Bosnia-Herzegovina] of Austria-Hungary from the Monarchy." "Far from carrying out the formal undertakings contained in the declaration of the 31st March, 1909," it proceeded, "the Royal Serbian Government has done nothing to repress these movements. It has permitted the criminal machinations of various societies and associations directed against the Monarchy, and has tolerated unrestrained language on the part of the Press, the glorification of the perpetrators of outrages, and the participation of officers and functionaries in subversive agitation. It has permitted an unwholesome propaganda in public instruction; in short, it has permitted all manifestations of a nature to incite the Serbian population to hatred of the Monarchy and contempt of its institutions." The Note required Serbia to publish on July 26, on the front page of her "Official Journal" and in the Army's "Official Bulletin," a declaration in prescribed terms equivalent to an admission and recantation of Vienna's charges, with a promise of amendment. Serbia also was asked (1) to suppress publications stimulating hatred of the Dual Monarchy or directed against its territorial integrity; (2) to dissolve the *Narodna Odbrana* and other Serb national societies; (3) to reorganize her system of public education to the same end; (4) to purge the civil and military administrations of persons whose names the Austro-Hungarian government undertook to communicate; (5) to permit officials of the Dual Monarchy to take part in eliminating anti-Austrian propaganda; (6) to allow them to co-operate in the judicial proceedings to be taken against persons accessory to the crime of June 28; (7) to arrest two men named as participators in it; (8) to prevent illicit traffic in arms and explosives across the Serbo-Bosnia frontier; (9) to explain the utterances of high Serbian officials, in Serbia and abroad, who since June 28 had expressed themselves in terms hostile to Austria-Hungary; and (10) to notify without delay the execution of these demands. The document was of a character unusual in communications between States: its fifth and sixth Articles especially

prejudiced the sovereignty of the kingdom to which they were addressed. The document, the *Times* commented on July 25, was "harsh and humiliating in the extreme." That it had been communicated in advance to Germany is not proved, but is not in doubt; the German government itself, admitted later that Austria-Hungary received "a completely free hand in her action towards Serbia." The Germanies, in fact, looked to war to solve the lesser issues between Austria-Hungary and her small opponent, and were prepared in advance for the larger conflict their policy was designed to provoke. For the moment, in order to close the door against interference from outside, a submissive answer was demanded from Serbia within forty-eight hours.

The Austro-Hungarian Note was worded to secure its rejection. Serbia, however, returned (July 25) entirely conciliatory answers to all except its fifth and sixth Articles. Even in regard to them she declared her readiness to adjust her criminal processes to Austria-Hungary's demands. In the event of her reply not being held satisfactory she was willing to refer the matter to the Hague Tribunal or to the Great Powers concerned in the declaration made by her on March 31, 1909. But Vienna did not want peace. Her government, the British Ambassador there reported, was "fully resolved" to fight, holding her "position as a Great Power to be at stake." Serbia's conciliatory reply, therefore, was dismissed as "mere sham." On July 28, exactly a month after the Archduke's murder, Austria-Hungary declared war upon her small opponent: "an end must be put to the incessant provocations of Serbia," the Emperor declared in a Manifesto to his people. On July 30 the bombardment of Belgrade opened a campaign whose development failed to retrieve Austria-Hungary's military reputation. On August 7 Montenegro took her place beside Serbia.

The action of Vienna inevitably involved Russia, whose intervention Austria-Hungary discounted, relying on Germany's grant of a "free hand" and assured that, as in 1908, her ally would stand beside her. Europe, in fact, at once realized that the key of the situation was at Berlin. But Germany refused to support British efforts to discover a *modus vivendi* between Vienna and Belgrade. She maintained a similar *non possumus* when the larger peace of Europe hung upon the relations of

Vienna and Petrograd. Alone among the Powers she refused to permit her Ambassador to discuss the situation with his colleagues and the British Foreign Office. Though invited to do so, she declined to make any suggestions on her own part. From first to last she refused "to press the button" in the interests of peace, and at the eleventh hour rejected the Tsar's invitation to refer the whole issue to the Hague Tribunal. Relying on preparations for war made during long years of peace, she convinced herself that the moment had arrived to strike, in the formula of her ex-Chancellor, "for the maintenance of our position in the world." The invariable charge of *Einkreisungspolitik* on the part of her neighbours was employed to cover her premeditated aggression.

German diplomacy throughout was clumsy and ill-informed. It miscalculated the situation in Great Britain, where the recent Buckingham Palace Conference had failed to solve the Home Rule *impasse*. It enabled Italy to release herself from her treaty obligations to the Triple Alliance. It assumed that Russia "neither wanted nor was in a position to make war." Moved by the loss of a close friend the Kaiser regarded the Serajevo murders as "opening the abyss," and the Prussian *Junker* militarists were resolved that he should not shirk the alternative of war, as in 1911. They represented as "an intolerable provocation" the French Army Law of 1913, which increased the period of colour service from two to three years. At the same time, disclosures in the Senate gave grounds for believing the French army's equipment to be defective. Mme. Caillaux's trial for her assassination of a newspaper editor hostile to her husband, a prominent politician, revealed other weak places of French political life.

But the success of Germany's plot depended on Great Britain's attitude. In 1905 and 1911 she defeated German ambitions. But Germany judged correctly that her government, whose pacific disposition had been both persistent and pronounced, would not make war on behalf of Serbia, even if France was drawn in by treaty obligations to Russia. To satisfy herself, however, Germany made a proposal on July 29, 1914, which the Prime Minister characterized (August 6) as "infamous." It invited an "assurance of British neutrality" in return for Germany's declaration that she "aimed at no

territorial acquisitions at the expense of France." But her ulterior purpose stood revealed when the Imperial Chancellor, challenged by a direct question, admitted that the undertaking did not cover the French colonies. He offered a contingent recognition of Dutch neutrality, but virtually admitted an intention to violate that of Belgium, protected though it was by Prussia's signature in 1839 and Germany's in 1870. Sir Edward Grey instantly replied (July 30), that Great Britain neither would permit France " to be so crushed as to lose her position as a Great Power, and become subordinate to German policy," nor would " bargain away " her obligation to sustain Belgian neutrality, a categoric statement which failed to convince the German Foreign Office. Meanwhile Austria, alarmed by the situation, agreed to belated conversations between Vienna and Petrograd. At once Germany intervened, concealed from Great Britain Austria's willingness to treat, and plunged Europe into war.

On July 31 Germany issued an ultimatum to France and Russia; to the first, challenging her intentions in the event of war between Russia and Germany; to Russia, demanding her demobilization actually within twelve hours. The next day (August 1) she declared war upon Russia, but struck first at France. On August 2 her troops invaded Luxemburg, of whose neutrality Prussia was not only one of the guarantors but the proposer of it in 1867. On the same day she violated French territory at Cirey, and on August 3 declared war upon France. So clearly was she the aggressor, in spite of her representations to the contrary, that Italy announced (August 3) her neutrality, her liability calling her to the side of her allies only in a defensive war.

It was already probable that the German Staff intended to turn the line of France's eastern fortresses (Verdun-Toul-Épinal-Belfort) by assailing her through Belgium. Great Britain's obligations under the treaties of 1839 and 1870, and her own interests also, which could not tolerate German power at Antwerp, made the maintenance of Belgian neutrality a vital condition of her abstention from war. On July 31 Sir Edward Grey addressed identic communications to Paris and Berlin asking whether each government was prepared " to respect the neutrality of Belgium so long as no other Power violates it." France gave the assurance immediately (July 31).

The German Secretary of State prevaricated: "any reply they might give could not but disclose a certain amount of their plan of campaign in the event of war"; therefore he was "very doubtful whether they would return any answer at all." On August 1 Sir Edward Grey warned Germany that her answer was "a matter of very great regret, because the neutrality of Belgium affected feeling in this country." Nevertheless, on August 2, Germany delivered a Note to Belgium demanding facilities for the conduct of her military operations against France.

In view of the plain warning she had received, Germany's action was a direct challenge to Great Britain. But British diplomacy, meticulously cautious, shrank from an actual rupture. On August 3 Sir Edward Grey merely assured France, that "if the German fleet comes into the Channel or through the North Sea to undertake hostile operations against the French coasts or shipping, the British Fleet will give all the protection in its power." But on August 4 the situation was clarified, and upon the issue Great Britain had warned Germany to avoid. Belgium having rejected her "well-intended proposals," Germany sent her an ultimatum (August 4) threatening "to carry out, if necessary by force of arms," her demand to pass through Belgium. Simultaneously she violated Belgian territory at Gemmenich. At the same time, a "most positive formal assurance" was sent to Great Britain that, "even in the case of armed conflict with Belgium," Germany would "under no pretence" annex Belgian territory." Her word of honour twice given (1839 and 1870) forbade her to be in Belgium at all. Great Britain therefore delivered an ultimatum to Berlin on August 4, demanding by midnight an undertaking to respect Belgian neutrality. Military considerations forbade Germany to do so. On the afternoon of the critical day (August 4) the Imperial Chancellor frankly told the *Reichstag*: "We are now in a state of necessity, and necessity knows no law." He admitted France's undertaking not to violate Belgian neutrality "as long as her opponent respects it." But "France could wait," he explained; "we cannot wait. Anybody who is threatened, as we are threatened, and is fighting for his highest possessions, can have only one thought —how he is to hack his way through [*wie er sich durchhaut*]." Germany, his colleague Herr von Jagow, the Secretary of State,

explained, "had to advance into France by the quickest and easiest way, so as to be able to get well ahead with her operations and endeavour to strike a decisive blow as early as possible." "It was a matter of life and death with them," he protested; "for if they had gone by the more southern route [Lorraine], they could not have hoped, in view of the paucity of roads and the strength of the fortresses, to have got through without formidable opposition, entailing great loss of time." In the event, the war proved that fortresses deemed impregnable were little able to resist powerful modern artillery. But the violation of Belgium formed part of German plans long matured. Strategic railways to her frontier had been recently completed. The widening of the Kiel Canal also had been finished a few months before for the passage of warships of *Dreadnought* draught. As to moral considerations, the traditions of Prussian diplomacy contemned them. The Imperial Chancellor, in a final interview with the British Ambassador, affected to be surprised and indignant that Great Britain should challenge Germany "just for a scrap of paper," a phrase which vividly revealed to the world the danger with which Germany threatened public morality and the sanctity of international agreements.

Before midnight on August 4 Germany was at war with all the members of the Triple *Entente*. Her single ally, having breached the situation for Germany's assault, followed her obediently. On August 6 Austria-Hungary declared war upon Russia, with whom she had come practically to an understanding when Germany drew the sword on July 31. Four days later, on the ground that her troops were either being employed against France or were freeing German troops for that service, France broke off relations with Austria-Hungary (August 10). On August 12 Great Britain also declared war upon her.

The war, which already engaged all but one of the European Powers, was enlarged by the entrance of Japan and Turkey into it. Japan was drawn partly by treaty ties with Great Britain, chiefly in hope to pay off an old score against Germany. In the last quarter of the nineteenth century she had transformed herself into a Europeanized State, and the Treaty of Shimonoseki (1895), which terminated the Chino-Japanese War (1894–5), constituted her a new Power in the

Far East. The Treaty surrendered to her the Liao-Tung peninsula, which contained the ice-free Port Arthur, and also Formosa and the Pescadores islands. On the plea of concern for China, Russia and France, whose *entente* was almost complete, and Germany, who was on the eve of her plunge into *Weltpolitik*, summarily ordered (1895) Japan to surrender Liao-Tung. Japan obeyed, in return for an increased subsidy from China. Thereupon the Powers that thwarted her secured the forbidden concessions for themselves. Germany made the murder of two missionaries the pretext for demanding the port and district of Kiao-Chao on a ninety-nine years' lease (1898). Russia obtained (1898) Port Arthur on a twenty-five years' lease, which was transferred to Japan in 1905 and was extended to ninety-nine years in 1915. France secured (1898) Kwang Chow Wan near Tonkin, and Great Britain obtained (1898) a lease of Wei-Hai-Wei during Russia's tenancy of Port Arthur. Four years later (1902) Great Britain, whose policy then was suspicious of France and Russia, made an alliance (renewed in 1905 and 1911) with Japan, which provided that whenever, in the opinion of either State, " any of the rights and interests referred to in the preamble of this agreement are in jeopardy, the two governments will communicate with one another fully and frankly, and will consider in common the measures which should be taken to safeguard those menaced rights or interests." In effect, Great Britain and Japan constituted themselves guarantors of peace in the Far East. The alliance also was of material advantage to Great Britain in Europe, since it obviated the maintenance of a powerful fleet in the Pacific.

The Russo-Japanese War of 1904–5 confirmed the impression of Japan's strength. Her victory was neither expected nor welcome in Germany, and the Kaiser's constant warnings to Europe of a " Yellow Peril " whetted Japan's desire to cry quits for 1895. She was uneasy also at the economic and political progress of Kiao-Chao. During her sixteen years' tenancy Germany expended about £20,000,000 upon it. Tsingtao, its fortress capital, mounted 600 Krupp guns. Its fine harbour was the base of a powerful squadron. German influence was pushed insidiously throughout the Shantung province, and in 1914 the export and import trade of Kiao-Chao exceeded that of any extra-European German possession.

The outbreak of war in 1914 therefore gave Japan opportunity to remove a menace and to right an injury. On August 15 she issued an ultimatum to Germany, whose terms carefully reproduced those of the Note addressed to herself nineteen years before. It demanded within a week an undertaking to evacuate Kiao-Chao and to withdraw German naval power from Chinese and Japanese waters. No answer was vouchsafed, and on August 23 Japan declared war.

Turkey entered the war more deliberately and after an interval of characteristic indecision and duplicity. Bankrupt, retaining hardly a foothold in Europe, she still possessed assets which made her co-operation essential to German policy. Her Sultan, the only Mohammedan ruler admitted to the Concert of Europe, inherited the Imperial *prestige* of fallen (1453) Roum. And though the spiritual functions of the Khalif had been placed in commission—in Turkey they were exercised by the Sheik-ul-Islam—and the Sultan was not of the Koreish, the Prophet's tribe, he still was regarded widely in the East as the spiritual chief of Islam. For a generation past Berlin had courted Constantinople with a view to promoting Germany's economic and political advancement in Asia Minor. In the impending struggle she calculated particularly upon the effects of *Jehad* (Holy War) in India and Egypt. India, in fact, did not recognize the Sultan's spiritual pretensions, and in Egypt also Germany's plans rested on mislaid foundations. She worked patiently, however, to dull Turkey's sense of indebtedness to Great Britain in 1853 and 1878, and ostentatiously dissevered herself from the European Concert's treatment of the Macedonian situation. On the outbreak of war she redoubled her intrigues to induce the Sultan to proclaim *Jehad* throughout Islam; the unexpected efficiency of the Russian army, and the "tradition of defeat" that dogged Austria-Hungary, Germany's only ally, making Turkey's help increasingly necessary. The older and cautious Turkish statesmen looked askance upon a doubtful policy of adventure. The Teutophil hot-heads, led by Enver Bey, Minister of War, eventually carried the day.

Turkey's decision was eased and hastened by the arrival of the German battle-cruiser *Goeben* and the cruiser *Breslau* in the Dardanelles on August 10. The vessels were in the Mediterranean on the declaration of war and sought shelter

from British pursuit. International usage required them to be disarmed and interned or to leave within twenty-four hours. Neither course was taken. It was represented that the vessels had been purchased by Turkey, in whose service they accomplished ultimately nothing of importance. Upon their arrival the British naval mission, which for some time past had been organising the Turkish fleet, was relieved of its duties ; the Dardanelles forts were manned by Germans ; guns and ammunition arrived from Germany in large quantities ; and Constantinople, the British Ambassador reported (September 20), " formed nothing more nor less than an armed German camp." A violent anti-British movement was launched in India and Egypt, where the credulous were invited to accept the Kaiser as a Muslim and Germany as the champion of Islam against Russia !

Uncertainty regarding the effect of *Jehad* upon the Mohammedans of India and Egypt influenced Great Britain to meet Turkey's provocations with excessive forbearance. But on October 26 the Egyptian frontier was violated by a Bedouin force. Three days later (October 29) Odessa was attacked without warning and a Russian gunboat was sunk. By these acts Turkey herself solved Great Britain's difficulty. On November 5 Great Britain declared a state of war. " The Turkish Empire," said the Prime Minister at the Lord Mayor's Banquet (November 9), " has committed suicide, and dug with its own hand its grave."

No fact is more striking in the circumstances attending the outbreak of war than the amateurish lack of perceptiveness of the German Foreign Office and its representatives abroad, and their inability to gauge the foreign situation with even a remote degree of accuracy. Germany counted on Turkey rallying India and Egypt to a Holy War. In fact, the Mohammedan world viewed her with less than indifference. For the first time in the long history of British India, its native soldiery fought for the British Raj on the soil of Europe. Without demur Egypt accepted Great Britain's detachment of her from Turkey to become a British Protectorate. Turkey's action also permitted Great Britain to settle herself irrevocably at Basra on the Persian Gulf, the very Mecca of Germany's hopes. Nor were these the only consequences of Turkey's ill-considered intervention. Early in 1915 Great Britain and

France began to knock at the gates of Constantinople itself, and ships of war and an increasing host patiently assaulted the strengths of the Dardanelles. Their appearance suggested the extrusion of Turkey from Europe as probable, if not imminent, and threw the whole Balkan world into anxious reckoning of the situation. Albania, deserted by her German Mpret, again faced an open future. Serbia again turned hopefully towards the Adriatic. Bulgaria and Roumania, in some degree within the orbit of the German Powers at the outset of the war, showed an increasing disposition to balance the situation to their particular advantage; Bulgaria envisaging the rectification of the disastrous treaties of 1913; Roumania eager to join hands with her Latin kindred in Transylvania. Greece also, where a philo-German Court and Staff were unable to coerce popular emotion, clamoured to enter a campaign which, for her own sake, she feared the Great Powers might bring to an end unaided.

Thus, Europe entered upon a struggle which promised on the one side to accentuate and prolong the troubles which had disturbed international equilibrium since the pacification of 1815, and on the other side to remove them and give assurance of permanent and well-grounded peace for the future. Italy, who declared war upon Austria-Hungary on May 23, 1915, and upon Turkey in the following August, looked to recover the natural frontier which Napoleon III and Bismarck had denied her in 1859 and 1866. France hoped to obliterate the crime of 1871 and fold Alsace-Lorraine once more in her maternal arms. The Balkans, released from the sinister influence of Germany and Austria-Hungary, at length saw before them a settlement based on the only sure foundation, that of the national principle. Poland was encouraged to hope that the crime of the eighteenth century against her would be expiated. The artificial State which the Habsburg so long had held together in defiance of the national principle faced the prospect of dissolution. And the long decay of Turkey, so baneful in its effects on South-East Europe, seemed likely to end in her expulsion whence she had come to trouble Christendom five centuries before.

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